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FEATURES, WHICH APPEAR IN ALL THE RELIGIONS OF THE
 WORLD BEFORE ANNO DOMINI.
 THE GOSPEL-MESSAGE.

LINGUISTIC AND ORIENTAL ESSAYS.

WRITTEN FROM THE YEAR 1861 TO 1895.

Fourth Series.

BY

ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.,

BARRISTER-AT-LAW,

HONORARY SECRETARY OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY,

LATE MEMBER OF HER MAJESTY'S INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.

*Facesti come quel, che va di notte,
Che porta il lume dietro, e se non giova,
Ma dopo se fa le persone dotte.*

LONDON:

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March 1, 1895.

Dedication.

TO MY DEAR WIFE, ELIZABETH.

*TO thee, who, bending o'er my table's rim,
Have marked my measures flow, my pages brim,
Who, linked for ever to a letter'd life,
Have drawn the dubious lot of Student's wife,
Kept hush around my desk, nor grudged me still
The long, dull, ceaseless, rustling of my quill;
Content to guide my house, my child to teach,
And hail my fitful interludes of speech;
Listened, while I th' unfinished tale rehearse,
And the thoughts gently mellowing into verse:
To thee this book I bring with joy and pride,
Sure of thy praises, if of none beside.*

—DEAN MERIVALE'S "TRANSLATION OF HOMER."

London, January, 1895.

P R E F A C E.

" ECCE ITERUM CRISPINUS."

I VENTURE to put together in a Fourth Series of my Linguistic and Oriental Essays, several score of pamphlets, and contributions to Periodicals, papers read at International Congresses in several Languages, in different years. I was hardly aware that there was such an accumulation. My subdivisions are: I. Linguistic, II. India, III. Africa, IV. Religion in its widest sense, V. Miscellaneous. Many apparently short Essays, for instance, the papers on the Túrki Languages, the Languages of the Caucasus, the Origin of the Indian Alphabet, and the several papers about Africa, in French and English, are the result of a long and wide course of study. My Italian motto on the Title-Page explains my object: I liken myself to a person travelling at night, who fastens his lantern to his back, thus depriving himself of any advantage, but trying to give some amount of light and guidance to those, who come after him. With the same object I habitually send forty copies of my books to Public Libraries in the United States, forty to Public Libraries in Great Britain, and ten to Public Libraries in British India.

Some Authors write substantial books in a long series of volumes, the very sight of which rather disheartens the casual reader; some expend their time and talents in brief Reviews of current literature, and ephemeral subjects,

in such periodicals as the *Saturday Review*. This leaves nothing to collect in a volume. Perhaps some readers may find profit in the perusal of such short Essays as the *Pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Treves*, p. 465, the *Census of British India in all its aspects*, p. 163, a word in defence of the poor African against his numerous enemies, p. 237, and many other side-views of important subjects. Such papers are neither ponderous and disheartening, like the class of great Works described, nor ephemeral like the fugitive columns in a weekly Periodical. The bricks in this collection are indeed small, but still they are bricks, and not mere counters: they may contribute to the building up of a wall.

I quote certain famous lines in my last page (631), and translate them into Latin Hexameters. Life is a great battle, "*Ars longa, vita brevis*"; after a long life of unceasing study I seem only on the steps of the threshold of the Temple of Knowledge, "*Scire meum nihil est*," while I look down the ever lengthening vista of Knowledge, even in my few and favourite subjects.

Another reason has been my desire to encourage retired Anglo-Indians, who come home with only half a century of years, of trained minds and ready pens, to turn their minds to doing something. Of course it may be wiser to be as Byron describes the Bishops of his time:

"Bishops who have not left a single sermon"; and many great administrators of British India have passed away without leaving in print anything good or bad. A warning also is given by Job, xxxi. 35:

"Oh! that mine adversary had written a book!" or the snarl of Erasmus to his antagonist:

"*Tuum librum, nisi in postremum usum, non servavi.*"
Be it so!

Over me the study of Language and Religion, of all times and places, has ever exerted an extreme fascination. To know something about every Language in the world,

past or present, and to test the principles of every Religious Conception, barbarian or civilized, has been my supreme pleasure. Some Nation, or some Epoch, may be stronger or weaker in some particular, or be devoid of some feature of life altogether, but ever since the Creation the Human Race has revolved round the two foci of Language and Religion, representing the action and reaction on each other of

“Self: the World: God.”

We cannot restrict, like the pedants of old, our studies to the Arian or Semitic Families of Speech; we cannot, like old ecclesiastics, confine our inquiries into the relation of man to his Creator to the Semitic Religious Conceptions, or the narrow dogma and sensational practices of the Evangelical middle-classes of Great Britain: we require a larger field and purer air to enable us to mark with reverent eye the dealings of the Creator with all His poor creatures in their numberless generations, and countless Millions, and to solve the question, which Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Kong-Fu-Tsee, Gautama Buddha, Socrates, and even Solomon, failed to solve.

“Ποῦ γένομαι; πόθεν εἰμι; τίνος χάριν ἦλθον, ἀπήλθον;
“Οὐδεν, καὶ Μήδεν νύκτος ἐνι σκοτίᾳ.”

The twentieth century, standing on the accumulated research of the nineteenth, may possibly succeed: hitherto we have failed in discovering the object, the principle, and the end, of Human existence. Every fresh generation, every new individual, is a mere adventurer on an unknown Sea of Divine dispensations, and Human possibilities.

London, Feb. 1, 1895.

R. N. C.

XIV.—Notices of Grammars and Vocabularies : PAGE

(a) ASIA.

(1) Gujaráti	102
(2) Têlugu	103
(3) Sowára	103
(4) Türki	103
(5) Kambódia	105
(6) Siyin	105
(7) Singhpó	106

(b) AFRICA.

(1) Fulah	106
(2) Lunda, Fiote	107
(3) Zúlu	108
(4) Giriama	110
(5) Tugúlu	111
(6) Kamba	111
(7) Hadendóá and Beni Amir	111

(c) OCEANIA.

(1) New Guinea	112
(2) Motu	112
(3) Bogótu	113
(4) Melanesia	113

XV.—Notes on Linguistic Works, 1888 to 1894 114

PART II.—INDIA.

I.—The Indian Career of Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I.,
D.C.L. 127

II.—James Thomason : a peaceful Ruler.. .. . 129

III.—Marriage-Customs 132

IV.—Baptizing Polygamists :

(1) Lahór-Conference, 1862	138
(2) London-Conference, 1894	140

V.—The Indo-Chinese Opium-Question, as it stands in 1893 :

(1) The Practical Question	143
(2) The Opium-Commission	160

VI.—The Census of British India, 1891 :

(1) Political Aspect	163
(2) As regards Women	166
(3) As regards Religion	171

VII.—Warning for the Twentieth Century (No. 1) :

(1) The Adolescence of a Native Church in Non- Christian Lands	176
(2) Letter to <i>The Times</i>	193
(3) Native Churches in Asia and Africa	193
(4) Speech at the Missionary Conference, June, 1894	195

VIII.—Warning for the Twentieth Century (No. 2): The Civil Disabilities of Native Converts in British India	PAGE 198
IX.—The Conversion of India (Dr. George Smith, C.I.E.) ..	204
X.—The Field of Bible-Work	206
XI.—Bangāl MS. Records, 1782–1807, with a Dissertation on Landed Property and Land Rights (Sir W. W. Hunter, K.C.S.I.)	215
XII.—The Ilbert-Bill in Calcutta	219
XIII.—Introductory Remarks to a Manual for the guidance of Revenue-Officers in the Panjāb	222
XIV.—The Liquor-Traffic	226
XV.—Native Servants	228
XVI.—Travels of Amīn Chand	231
XVII.—Obituary Notices :	
(1) Sir George Campbell, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.	232
(2) General Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.B., K.C.I., M.P. ..	234

PART III.—AFRICA.

I.—Suggestions with regard to the Annexation of U-Ganda :	
(1) 1892	237
(2) 1894	244
II.—The U-Ganda Scandal, 1892	251
III.—The Ethics of African Geographical Explory :	
(1) In English Language	273
(2) In French Language	285
IV.—L'Occupation de l'Afrique par les Missionnaires Chrétiens	299
V.—The Ma-Tabéle Scandal and its Consequences	330
VI.—(1) On Purchase of Slaves by Missionaries of the Church of Rome	365
(2) Slavery in Protestant Churches of Madagascar ..	369
(3) Christian Missions and Slavery	376
(4) Status of Slavery in the Zanzibār Protectorate ..	378
(5) Appeal to the Members of the Yāriba Churches ..	380
VII.—Letters connected with Missionary Map of Africa ..	382
VIII.—Reflections on the Relations between the White Christian and the Barbarian Black African	384
IX.—Letters connected with the Unjust Treatment of the African by the Anglican Church :	
(1) To Ven. Archdeacon Henry Johnson	386
(2) To the Secretary of a Missionary Society	389
(3) To the Secretary to African Sub-Committee of a Missionary Society	394
(4) To the Hon. and Rev. James Johnson, 1892 ..	397
(5) To the same, 1893	399

PART IV.—RELIGION.

	PAGE
I.—Contemporary Evolution of Religious Thought (Count d'Alviella)	405
II.—Ancient Religions before the great Anno Domini	408
III.—Les Anciennes Religions avant l'Ere Chrétienne	432
IV.—The Religions of the Ancient World (Lecture delivered at the British Museum). Warnings of the Twentieth Century (No. 4)	457
V.—The Holy Coat of Treves	465
VI.—The Congress of the Roman Catholic Clergy at Malines, 1891	476
VII.—Letter to a clergyman on the Subject of Oriental Churches	488
VIII.—On the Admission of Women to Religious Committees ..	489
IX.—The great and inestimable Gift of Self-Sacrifice	493
X.—Translations of the Book of Common Prayer	503
XI.—On Missionary Literature	505
XII.—The Literature of the time of our Lord	514
XIII.—Difficulties in Bible-Translation:	
(1) Letter to Bishop of Rangún	517
(2) Letter to <i>The Record</i> Newspaper	519
XIV.—The Societies for Producing, and Circulating, Christian Literature, Religious and Secular	521
XV.—Some Features of Bible-Translation:	
(1) The Form of Written Character	527
(2) Language and Dialect	528
(3) Nomenclature	529
XVI.—The Papal Bull on the Study of the Bible	531
XVII.—“Rome has spoken”	534
XVIII.—Bible-Work:	
(1) East Africa	537
(2) North America	539
(3) Missions of the S.P.G.	540
(4) West Africa	544
(5) North Africa	546
XIX.—Biographies of Bible-Translators:	
(1) Henry Martyn, B.D.	547
(2) Robert Morrison	550
(3) William Carey	553
(4) Robert Moffat	556
(5) Stephen Riggs, D.D., LL.D.	559
(6) Edward Steere	560
(7) Dr. Samuel Lee	562
(8) John Wenger, D.D.	563
XX.—Dedication of my Book on Bible-Diffusion	565
XXI.—Presentation-Copy of Missionary Methods	565

	<u>PAGE</u>
XXII.—Danger of Denominational Churches in India	566
XXIII.—The Shrines of Lourdes and Zaragossa	568
XXIV.—Address at Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary Society, 1889	579
XXV.—Preface to Part I. Notes on Missionary Subjects.. ..	586
XXVI.—It is not Success : it is Service	590
XXVII.—Difficulties of Missions : Warning for the Twentieth Century (No. 3)	592
XXVIII.—“ Iphigenia in Tauris ” at Cambridge, December, 1894 ..	601

PART V.—MISCELLANEOUS.

I.—Darkest Russia	609
II.—De Lunaticâ Inquirendâ	611
III.—The Workhouse	613
IV.—The Prison	615
V.—Epitaph on a deceased Nobleman	617
VI.—Speeches :	
(1) At a Haileybury Dinner	619
(2) At an Election-Meeting at Grantham, Lincolnshire	620
VII.—Review of Maspero's Dawn of Civilization	623

PART I.
LINGUISTIC.

I.

THE LANGUAGES OF THE CAUCASUS.

THERE are two or three corners in the world's surface, in which a strange collection of diverse Languages is found, the survivals of extinct Races, once great and strong. The Central Provinces of India, the refuge of the Kolarian aboriginal tribes; the hills and valleys of Abyssinia, in which remnants of Hamitic, or even Pre-Hamitic, races, pushed aside by the advent of the powerful Semites, are still found; the plateau of Tibet, and the Eastern slopes of that plateau: all these three are instances of the phenomena, which I describe; but none is so noticeable as the Range of the Caucasus, one of the dividing lines of Europe and Asia. As after a great hunt animals of all descriptions and sizes take refuge in some secure copse, or some unapproachable mountain, so, when the great Procession of the Indo-European, or Arian, Races from their primeval home on the Hindu-Kúsh commenced, all the Pre-Arian Races, which were not destroyed, were pushed aside. In the West of Europe there is one solitary survival, the Basque in the Pyrenees; on the extreme East of Europe we find a cluster of Languages in the Caucasus, which are neither Arian, nor Semitic, nor Altaic.

These mysterious Languages of the Caucasus have long had an exaggerated reputation. Herodotus (Book I. 203) remarks, that many and various are the tribes, by which the Caucasus is inhabited, most of them living entirely on the wild fruits of the forest. Strabo informs us (Book XI. 5), that no less than seventy Dialects were spoken in the country, which even then was called the Mountain of Languages. Pliny the Elder (Book VI. cap. 5, 12) quotes Timosthenes, a contemporary of Ptolemy Philadelphus, to the effect, that Dioscurias, on the shores of the Black Sea, was once a famous city, though then deserted, so much so, that three hundred Nations, all of different Languages, were in the habit of resorting to it, and in later times there were one hundred and thirty interpreters for the purpose of transacting business. Old legends had attached themselves to the Caucasus in the mind of

the Greeks, for Jason came to the River Phasis, now the Rion, and fetched away the golden fleece from Colchis, now Kutais; and the immortal myth of Prometheus is connected with this Range. In the minds of the Persians the Koh-i-Kâf was believed to surround the world; the mountain is still called Kafkas in the adjoining Provinces. The soldiers of Alexander the Great on their march Eastwards called the Paropamisus by the name of Caucasus, to which the epithet Indicus was subsequently attached, which survives in the modern name of Hindu-Kûsh. The Caucasus was the Northern boundary of the Persian Empire, and, though Mithridates was able to make his way along the coast of the Black Sea to the Sea of Azof, as a fact the Roman Eagles never crossed the Caucasus. The three Provinces of Colchis, Iberia, and Albania, were the limits of Roman knowledge and influence, with the exception of some shadowy notion of the Suani, and of the existence of the Caucasæ Pylæ, now the Pass of Dariel, leading through the mountains to the unknown Sarmatia. The River, that drains the Pass Southwards, is called by Strabo in the Augustan age Aragus, and still preserves the name of Aragwa.

The Caucasus proved an insurmountable barrier against conquering Nations advancing from the South, and a serious obstacle to those, which came from the North. For a long period Russia held the Province of Trans-Caucasia, accessible by the Caspian and Black Seas, without having established her domination over the tribes of the Caucasus. At length, however, after the close of the Crimean War, the Emperor Alexander II. effected the entire subjugation of the Range. The Circassians were expatriated on the West, and Schamyl conquered on the East, and the Province of the Caucasus established as a Government under the Grand-Duke Michael, divided into Cis-Caucasia, North of the Range, and Trans-Caucasia on the South, stretching from Sea to Sea, the Southern boundary marching with the Turkish and Persian Kingdoms, but liable to in the past, and susceptible of in the future, constant change. The population of this vast Province amounts to five millions four hundred thousand, which, when brought into contrast with a similar area in British India, appears scant; the Revenue is very inconsiderable, but the Province is important, not only as a basis of invasion of Turkey, Persia, and Trans-Caspia, but of British India also. Moreover, the population is so mixed, and various, split up into such irreconcilable strata of Race, Language, and Religion, that all idea of rebellion, or a struggle for independence, is improbable. More than one million out of the five are actually Russians. My object is to pass under review the ethnic and linguistic features of the Asiatic portion of the population of the whole Province, for it is impossible to treat the mountain-Range by itself, the population of which is estimated at about one million.

Shut up in their inaccessible mountains, the tribes had evaded all possibility of inquiry into their Language before the Russian Conquest. Some few Vocabularies had been picked up from the mouths of stray members of a clan. But the Russians are very active and apt in the work of Surveys and Ethnographic inquiry; in leed, sometimes they anticipate an intended conquest by preparing a Grammar of the Language of the tribe. The Afghans must have felt that some one was walking over their grave, when Prof. Dorn in 1840 published his Pushtu Grammar at St. Petersburg. As regards the Languages of the Caucasus, in books of such esteem on the general subject of Philology, as those of Max Müller, Whitney, and Hovelacque, there was nothing. In his "*Asia Polyglotta*," Klaproth had given a few Vocabularies, and some specimens in his "*Kaukasische Sprachen*." Julg in his "*Litteratur der Grammatiken*," 1847, had referred to all the books available at the time. Max Müller, in his "*Languages of the Seat of War in the East*," 1855, had brought together much valuable information. Latham in his "*Elements of Comparative Philology*," 1862, summed up all that was known at that period, unfortunately giving no references to the authorities quoted, without which a volume of facts collected at second-hand is valueless. Berger, in the Report of the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg, 1876, gives a full Ethnographic description of the Caucasus, but in the Russian Language.

When I visited St. Petersburg for the Third Oriental Congress in 1876, I made the acquaintance of Berger, who occupied the post of Chief of the Archæological Commission of the Caucasian Province: he was good enough on a large Map to point out to me the locality of the tribes speaking different Languages, and to indicate to me the important contributions to the Memoirs of the Imperial Academy of Sciences at St. Petersburg by Professor Schiefner, based upon the local investigations of Baron von Uslar. This threw a new light on the subject, as all previous accounts had been entirely devoid of the Geographical element. In 1878 I was fortunate enough to meet Schiefner himself at the Fourth Oriental Congress at Florence, and he promised to send me a brief sketch of our present knowledge of the Languages of the Caucasus: it reached me next year in the German Language: I had it translated and published in the Annual Report of the Philological Society, 1879, but before the Report appeared, Schiefner passed away, so I was only just in time to get the desired information. In the meantime another great authority, Fredk. Müller, of Vienna, had made use of Schiefner's and Uslar's published works, and in his "*Allgemeine Ethnographie*" (1st edition 1873, 2nd edition 1879), had made a valuable contribution to our knowledge. Not being quite satisfied from the Geographical point of view, I had written to Mr. Morrison, Agent to the British and Foreign Bible Society

at Tiflis, asking him to get from the Russian Authorities full Geographical and Statistical information of the population of the Region. In 1881 he sent me the Ethnological Map of the Province, in which every tribe was marked by distinct colouring, with Statistics showing the number of the population of each: this latter was translated and published by me in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Vol. XIII. p. 353, 1881). As I could not even then reconcile some of the Ethnological Divisions with the linguistic materials, I thought it best in the Autumn of 1883 to go myself to Trans-Caucasia, traverse the whole Region, and visit the Imperial Topographical Office at Tiflis, where I experienced that remarkable kindness and sympathy, which is so freely given in Russia to strangers, and generally so coldly denied in England. Mr. Morrison and I went carefully over the large Sheet-Maps then purchased, and the Ethnological Map, both in Tiflis, and subsequently in London, and arrived at certain conclusions. It will be admitted, therefore, that the results now stated are the outcome of peculiarly favourable opportunities, and local inquiry. As a rule Anglo-Indians, who are familiar with the administration of newly-conquered Districts, may be trusted to stick closely to facts, and to eschew all pet theories and delusive inductions. I have treated the Province of the Caucasus with the same rigour of inquiry, with which I treated in years gone by the Panjáb.

On my road back from Trans-Caucasia, Fredk. Müller presented me at Vienna with a copy of the third volume of his "*Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*" (1884), which he had been good enough to dedicate to me. In this he passes under review each of the peculiar Languages of the Caucasus in an exhaustive Grammatical Note. In the ninth edition of the "*Encyclopædia Britannica*" all the Geographical and Ethnographical information available in 1876 is brought together under the words Caucasus, Circassia, and Georgia. In Petermann's *Mittheilungen*, 1860, is a paper by Berger, "*Die Berg Völker der Kaukasus*."

The method, which I adopt, consists of two rules.

A. That no Language is to be admitted, unless the locality of the tribe, who use it, can be indicated on a Map, not prepared for the purpose, but independently by competent authorities for strictly Geographical purposes.

B. That no Language is to be admitted, unless some sufficient evidence, vouched for at first-hand, such as a Vocabulary, Grammar, or Text, or the personal knowledge of the reporter, can be produced.

Attached to my report now made is a Sketch-Map, on which the names of the tribes are indicated, and a Bibliographical Statement, setting out the names of the books, from which the information is gathered. It is obvious, that certain names of tribes are mentioned, regarding which the full information is not supplied. Such names

are excluded from the list of Languages. Time will show whether they use any of the Languages, which are entered, or whether upon maturer information new Languages will have to be added.

With a view of carrying out an exhaustive process, all the Languages spoken in the Province of the Caucasus are entered, whether they are members of well-known families, or belong to the peculiar group called the Caucasian group, with regard to which Fredk. Müller remarks ("Alg. Ethn." 1879, p. 26, Note): "It is doubtful, whether this group can be traced back to one common source. It is probable that the Languages spoken to the North of the Caucasus are quite distinct from those spoken to the South, and that in the Northern Sub-group there are Languages with totally distinct germs from each other."

I omit the German, French, Italian, and even Russian Languages, though there are many denizens, and even settled colonies of some of these nationalities of a modern date; but they lie outside this inquiry. I commence from the Southern boundary of the Province and proceed Northward. There is a strange admixture of Race and Language, and the attempt to show the difference features on the Ethnological Map is a very difficult one, and as regards the population of the chief towns, it is impossible. The great conquering, and commercial, Races are hopelessly intermixed. Of Jews there are none, as the Armenians do the dirty work; other Nationalities, such as Greek, Pole, Bohemian, Romanian, are sparsely represented.

I. Persian	Iranian Branch of Arian Family	
II. Kurd	do.	
III. Armenian	do.	
IV. Ossete	do.	
V. Túrki	Altaic Family	
VI. Georgian	Caucasian Group	Southern Sub-group
VII. Abkhás	do.	Northern Sub-group (West)
VIII. Tsherkess	do.	do.
IX. Awár	do.	(East)
X. Hurkan	do.	do.
XI. Kasikúmuk	do.	do.
XII. Tabasseran	do.	do.
XIII. Kurin	do.	do.
XIV. Artshi	do.	do.
XV. Ude	do.	do.
XVI. Tshetshen	do.	(North)
XVII. Tush	do.	do.

I shall describe each separately: of some Languages there are several Dialects; of others there are several synonyms; others are spoken by clans or tribes bearing tribal names. It is probable,

that the more powerful Iranian, or Altaic, Languages may have swallowed up in the struggle for life scores of smaller Languages, as they will no doubt swallow up some of the small ones recorded above; yet these seventeen names represent all that remains of the seventy of Strabo, and the three hundred of Pliny.

(1) *Persian*. A few words are sufficient for this celebrated Language. As Trans-Caucasia was until 1826 part of the Persian Kingdom, it is natural to find, that the use of the Language has outlived the political domination: besides, there exists a considerable commerce betwixt the two countries. The pure Persian-speaking population amounts to 8000. It is interesting to find amidst the settled population of the Province two Persian colonies, speaking distinctive Persian Dialects: (1) Talish, the Dialect of a small District with a population of 43,000 round a town of that name, and the better known Caspian Sea-port of Lenkoran; this Dialect has the character of being an ancient one, differing in forms, and words, from modern Persian. (2) Tati, spoken in the District of Bakú on the Caspian Sea, and the Peninsula of Aspheron, with a population of 81,000: it is supposed by some to be only a modern patois, corrupted by Túrki, but according to Beresine its name carries the appearance of antiquity, for in the celebrated Tablets of Behistún the word "Thatiya" occurs repeatedly preceding the name of Darius, meaning "Darius spake." This hypothesis seems doubtful.¹ All the Persians are Mahometan, but Shiah, and hostile to the Turks, who are Súi.

(2) *Kurd*. Forty-four thousand of this Nation have crossed the frontier, and settled in the Southern portions of Trans-Caucasia. They are all Mahometan.

(3) *Armenian*. Nearly three-quarters of a million of this industrious and respectable community are subjects of Russia, and occupy a large but broken area in Trans-Caucasia, especially in the towns. They speak a different Dialect from that used by their co-religionists in Asiatic Turkey. They are all Christians, and the whole Bible has been lately translated into their Dialect, and published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

(4) *Ossete*, called also Iron. This is one of the Languages spoken within the Range of the Caucasus, but as it belongs to the Iranian Branch of the Arian family, its description follows the other members of that branch. The tribe numbers one hundred and eleven thousand: they occupy a compact territory in the very centre of the Range, and it is traversed by the high road through the Dariel Pass, that leads from Tiflis to Vladikafkas. Some of these are Mahometan; the greater part are Christian, retaining many Pagan customs; they hold the upper valley of the River

¹ See J.R.A.S. (o.s.) vol. xi. p. 176, and Williams's Sanskrit Dictionary, p. 985. S. "sáns," G. "sagen," E. "say." We have no proof whether the word is "Tati," as written by the Russians, or "Thati."

Terek, as well as the mountain-tract to the West as far as the head waters of the Ardou, and the Mamisson Pass. The evidence of their Language is quite decisive as to their origin.

(5) *Türki*. Of this important nationality the Russian statistics give the following details:

I. Osmánli	700
II. Azerbijáni	976,000
III. Karachai	20,000
IV. Kabarda	14,000
V. Kumik	78,000
VI. Noga	10,000
VII. Kirghíz	11,000
VIII. Jágatai	77,000
IX. Kalmuk	11,000
	1,197,700

One million and one hundred and ninety-seven thousand seven hundred. Of these the Azerbijáni are the most important, and spread over the greater part of Trans-Caucasia, and they are homogeneous with the population of the Persian adjoining Province of Tebriz to such an extent that a translation of the Bible is now passing through the Press at the expense of the British and Foreign Bible Society, which will be intelligible to both. Allusion was made at the Third Oriental Congress at St. Petersburg in 1876, by Berger, to the importance of this Language, and to the fact that it had never been studied. Last year at Tiflis I made particular inquiries of the scholar Amirkhanians, employed in this translation of the Bible, and found that the only notice of this Language was in a Grammar of the Turkish Language in the Russian Language by Kasim Beg, translated into German by Zenker. Of the other varieties of the *Türki* Language (excepting, of course, the Osmánli) we know little. The Kumik occupy the low-lands betwixt the Caspian Sea and the Eastern slopes of the Caucasus, and the Gospel of St. Matthew is in course of translation for their use. The New Testament has been translated into Kirghíz, and the Gospel of St. Matthew into Jágatai or Trans-Caspian *Türki*. Of some of the rest we have scant Vocabularies. A scientific detail of the different varieties of the important *Türki* Language is greatly to be desired. The *Türki* tribes poured in from the North in historic times, causing great displacement of Arian and Pre-Arian Languages, and now that the whole of the scattered portions of the tribe are gradually coming under the firm rule of the Russians, their importance will be greatly increased. They are all Mahometan of the Súni sect.

(6) *Georgian*. We now arrive at the first of the Languages specially identified with the Caucasus, and belonging to none of the great Language-families of Asia. Fredk. Müller divides the group (for they have no pretence to such affinity among each other as would justify the use of the word "family") into a Southern and Northern Sub-group, and the Georgian with its Dialects composes the Southern Sub-group. The statistical account states the following facts:

I. Grusian	340,000
II. Imeritian and Gurian	380,000
III. Tushin, Phsav, and Chevsur ..	20,000
IV. Mingrelian	198,000
V. Suanian	12,000
	950,000

The origin of the name Georgian is presumably the Persian word "Gurj." The third Subdivision is unimportant: Tiflis, the Capital of the Russian Province, is the chief town of Grusia, Kutais of Imeritia, and Poti of Mingrelia. Suania is a small mountainous District difficult of access. They are all sometimes called the Kartalinian tribes, from their speaking a Language called by themselves Kartli. The Grusians, or Georgians proper, inhabit the basin of the River Kúr, East of the Suram water-shed, and spread up the valley of the Aragwa to the very foot of the main Range, and occupy the valley of Kakhetia. The Imeritians occupy the valley of the River Riou or Phasis, West of the Suram Range. They are separated from the Mingrelians by the River Zenesquali. The Mingrelians extend to the Black Sea. The Gurians are a small Sub-tribe to the South of the Mingrelians, and beyond these are the Lazians, who were known by that name in the time of Strabo, and have lately been annexed to Russia. The Suanians are mentioned by Strabo and Pliny. All these Sub-tribes speak Dialects, more or less distinct, of the common Language, the Georgian; or some may even be called Sister-Languages. All the tribes are Christian, except the Lazian. The Language is essentially non-Arian. It has two Alphabets, both of which derive from the Armenian Alphabet: one is used for the Bible and religious works, the Kutsuri, or Priest's; the other is the Mekhedsuli Kheli, or Soldier's, which is the ordinary cursive script. The translation of the Bible dates back to the eighth century, and there are other specimens of archaic literature. This is a strong Language, with great vitality, and will hold its own, and become the vehicle of culture and civilization.

In a general way the tribes, which make up the Northern

Sub-group, in the Western Regions of the Caucasus have been called the Circassian, in the Central Regions the Mizdzhedzi, and in the Eastern Regions the Lesgian: these are Ethnic terms. Almost all the Lesgians were Christians before the twelfth Century.

(7) *Abkhás or Abas*. This tribe occupies the coast of the Black Sea from the point of Pitzunta to the confines of Mingrelia: they are kindred to the Tsherkess: the population numbers twenty-two thousand. Their Language has been thoroughly studied and described. Mr. Peacock, Consul at Batúm, at my request, is preparing a collection of Sentences upon a fixed plan. They were once Christian, are nominally Mahometan, but practically Pagan.

(8) *Tsherkess*. These are the famous Circassians; their proper name is Adighé. After a prolonged struggle they were subjugated by the Russians in 1864, and emigrated in a body of 400,000 to Turkey in Europe: the Russians "made a solitude, and called it peace." The statistics still show a population of one hundred and fifteen thousand, under the designation of Kabarda and other Circassian mountain-tribes. The name of Kabarda appears twice in the statistics, and is marked off separately in the Map: first as a portion of the Türki population, and secondly as a portion of the Tsherkess, who knuckled under to the Russians, and hold the Country North of the Range from the valley of the River Kuban to that of the River Terek. All these tribes are Mahometan. Their Language has been studied, but it has not been treated grammatically in accordance with the requirements of Philology, either by Schiefner or Fredk. Müller. The latter omits it entirely from his Grammatical Notices in Vol. III. of his "Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft," as if he considered that the Language had ceased to exist, which can hardly be asserted, as regards the emigrants into Turkey, or those who stayed behind in their native Mountains.

(9) *Awár*. These mountaineers number one hundred and fifty-five thousand, and their habitat is in the Eastern portion of the Range, in the very heart of Dághestan. Materials for a study of their Language were collected by Berger, and on this basis, with the help of soldiers in the Circassian battalion stationed at St. Petersburg, Schiefner in 1862 published his Essay on the Awár. When Uslar published his more comprehensive Essay on the Northern Dialect of this Language, Schiefner returned to the subject, and published a comprehensive account, comparing the Awár grammatically, as well as lexicographically, with the other Languages of the Caucasus. This is the only one of the Lesgian tribes, who have a written Language, and they use the Arabic Character. They are Mahometan.

(10) *Hurkan*. In the statistics this tribe is called Dargin, but the Philologists prefer the name entered above. There are three main Dialects, Akusha, Tschardak, Wurunk: the former is the most

widely spoken, and best known. The population, which speaks this Language, amounts to eighty-eight thousand: their habitat is East of the Awár, in the latitude of Derbend on the Caspian Sea. Uslar made investigations into the Language, which Schiefner reported in 1871, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

(11) *Kasikúmuk*, who call themselves Lak. This tribe dwells in Central Dághestan, and number thirty-five thousand. They occupy a small enclave in the latitude of Derbend, betwixt the Awár and the Hurkan. Uslar made investigations, which Schiefner reported in 1866, followed by Fredk. Müller.

(12) *Tabasseran*. This small tribe of sixteen thousand occupy a small enclave South of the Hurkan. Uslar was engaged in the study of their Language, when he was prematurely cut off in 1875, and his work has never been printed. We know that the tribe and the Language exist, but nothing further. The Philological investigation has still to be made.

(13) *Kurin*. This is an important tribe in South Dághestan, extending to the confines of the Tati population of the Bakú District, and numbering one hundred and thirty-one thousand. The tribe dwells on both sides of the River Samur, as far as its outlet into the Caspian Sea, cutting through the territory of the Azerbijáni Túrki. Uslar made investigations, which were reported by Schiefner in 1873, followed by Fredk. Müller. The Kurin Language has been greatly affected by the Azerbijáni Túrki.

(14) *Artshi*. The name of a village with a population of only six hundred, within the enclave of the Kasikúmuk, yet Uslar reports that the inhabitants use a peculiar and isolated Language. Fredk. Müller describes it.

(15) *Ude*. This Language is only spoken in two villages to the South of Kurin, and therefore quite outside the boundary of Dághestan. They are surrounded by villages, the inhabitants of which speak Azerbijáni Túrki, and the population is barely ten thousand. The influence of the Túrki on this Language has been excessive. Schiefner published an Essay on this Language, and has been followed by Fredk. Müller.

(16) *Tshetshen*. } It seems expedient to treat together these two

(17) *Tush*. } Languages.

The compiler of the statistics takes no notice of the second name, but gives a population of one hundred and sixty-five thousand for the first. They inhabit the Northern slopes of the Eastern Caucasus extending down the valley of the River Terek from the territory of the Ossete on the West; they touch the Awár on the South, but do not extend up to the highest Ranges. Their Language is very distinct from all the others, and there are a great many Dialects. Schiefner mentions that with the aid of a native he made an exhaustive treatise upon the Tush Language in 1856. The appearance of this paper led Uslar, who had been

commissioned to draw up an Ethnographic description of the tribes of the Caucasus, to make similar investigations in the Tshetshen Language, which stands in the closest connection with the Tush. Uskar's work relates chiefly to the Dialect of the residents of the plain, and Schiefner was able on this basis in 1863 to show the relationship of the Language to the cognate Tush, and the greater antiquity of the latter. One of the tribes is named Kisti, and some authorities have used this name incorrectly for the whole. Fredk. Müller treats the two Languages as one with dialectal differences.

The Ethnographical Map, prepared by the Russian Government, accounts for every square mile of the territory, and on a careful scrutiny the names of the following tribes remain without having any peculiar Language of their own, and without being upon authority assigned to any Language already noticed: they are all in the Lesgian or West Caucasus Group.

1. Andi....	35,000	A sub-tribe of the Awár.
2. Dido....	9,000	do. do.
3. Agúl....	5,000	W. of Tabasseran.
4. Rutul ..	12,000	E. of Kurin, a sub-tribe of the Awár.
5. Tsakhur	4,000	W. of Rutul.
6. Dsheksh	8,000	S. of Kurin.
7. Khinalug	2,000	In the Kurin enclave.
8. Kriz....	5,000	In the Kurin enclave.
80,000		

Uskar died prematurely, so possibly there may be some other forms of speech spoken by the eight sub-tribes above noted, and there may be other Dialects of the Languages which have been recorded. On the other hand, we find in no volume on the Caucasus Vocabularies, or notices of Languages, which cannot be located, which is so common a feature in volumes on Africa. All other names, which appear in the pages of travellers are ethnical, synonyms, or sub-tribal names, or the varying names, given to each tribe by its neighbours, which is often a cause of confusion and double entries. If a new Uskar were deputed to the Region, his microscopic investigations might reveal new phenomena, though on a small scale.

We are most fortunate in having the careful studies of two such great Scholars as Schiefner and Fredk. Müller, based upon the local investigations of Uskar. I have no sympathy with those, who treat the Vocabularies of tribes, segregated for centuries in inaccessible mountains, as mere linguistic puzzles, furnishing materials for comparison with, and possibly fortuitous resemblance

with, Vocabularies of tribes, who never possibly could have come into contact with them, or derived from the same source. But the study of the structure of a Language is always interesting, so also is the degree to which that structure has been insensibly modified by the contact of powerful neighbouring Languages. This opens out the still unsettled question of Mixed Languages.

I will conclude with an anecdote illustrating practically the Poliphony of the Caucasian Province. When I was at Bakú on the Caspian Sea in October, 1883, I hired a carriage to drive six miles to the Petroleum-Fields. My coachman, a good intelligent fellow, spoke nothing but Azerbaijáni Túrki, but my landlord, an Italian, explained to him carefully what he was to do, and we did very well until we arrived at the middle of the machinery. I was unable to formulate any question, and he had not the innate skill of a practised guide to explain by gesture what was going on around us. I was in despair, when I beheld a gentleman approaching me, whom by his dress and appearance I recognised to be an Armenian. Hat in hand I addressed him consecutively in French, German, and Italian, and on each occasion he shook his head to indicate his inability to comprehend me. He then addressed me in what I knew by the sounds were Armenian, Azerbaijáni Túrki, and Russian: I shook my head hopelessly. It would have been an absurdity for me to address him in English, or for him to address me, as doubtless he was able, in Georgian. Nor did he presume to vex my soul with Tsherkess, or Awár, or any mountain-Language. We stood blandly smiling at each other, when under a sudden inspiration he muttered, rather than spoke, "I suppose you do not know Persian?" in the sweet Language of Iran. "Not speak Persian," I replied, "I have been familiar with it since I was a youth." We then fraternized, and he explained everything, as he was a proprietor of many Petroleum-Wells. He took me into his office, and gave me coffee and fruit, and we parted as warm friends, exchanging cards.

APPENDIX OF AUTHORITIES.

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II.	Kurd	—	Justi, Kurdische Grammatik, St. Petersburg, 1880.
III.	Armenian	Trans-Caucasian	Of the Standard Language there is an abundant literature, but of this Dialect there is nothing, except the text of the translation of the Bible.

NO.	LANGUAGE.	DIALECT.	AUTHORITY.
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VI.	Georgian ..	Brosset, Grammar (French), Paris, 1834 and 1837.	
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		do. Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii.	
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		Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, Memoires Acad. St. Petersburg, 1863.	
		Fredk. Müller, Alg. Ethn. 1879, p. 49.	
		do. Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 49.	
		Klapproth, Voc. Paris, 1823.	

NO.	LANGUAGE.	DIALECT.	AUTHORITY.
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X.	Hurkan		Graham, J.R.A.S. N s. vol. xiii. 1881. Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1871. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 108.
XI.	Kasikúmuk..		Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1866. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 33.
XII.	Tabasseran ..		Uslar's work in MS.
XIII.	Kurin		Uslar, Bericht von Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1873. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 128.
XIV.	Artshi		Uslar, Bulletin Academ. St. Petersburg, vol. vii. pt. 2. p. 99. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 102.
XV.	Ude		Schiefner, Memoires Academ. St. Petersburg, 1863, Series vii. vol. vi. No. 8, p. 119. Fredk. Müller, Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft, 1884, vol. iii. p. 139.
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XVII.	Tush		Schiefner, Memoires Academ. St. Petersburg, vol. ix. p. 160. Klaproth, as above. Fredk. Müller, as above.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1885, vol. xvii. pt. 2.

II.

NOTE ON THE TÚRKI BRANCH OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

Now that the entire Region occupied by Túrki-speaking tribes has come under the influence of European domination, it is desirable that some clearer understanding should be arrived at of the different languages of this wide-spread family. I had hoped to prevail on my friend Arminius Vambéry to write a paper for this Journal on the subject, and no one is more competent to deal with it, but the Council declined to offer any remuneration, and so the negotiation dropped, which I had commenced at Buda-Pest in 1883. Pavet de Courteille of Paris, at my request wrote a paper on the subject in the Transactions of the Philological Society, 1877; but, as it appeared to me to be rather a Geographical than a Philological subject, I went down in the Autumn of 1883 to Tiflis, to talk over the matter with Mr. Michael Morrison, the Agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and his learned colleague, the Rev. Amirkhanians, whom I found engaged in the translation of the Scriptures in the Túrki spoken in Trans-Caucasus and Azerbiján, the North-West Province of Persia. This was not so much a task for a profound scholar in his study in Europe, as for a person engaged in Asia in distributing the Bible to each horde in the Language intelligible to them. When Mr. Morrison visited London last year, we talked over the whole subject, and fixed approximately the number of Languages; but I consider this sketch to be only tentative, and a step in advance towards the final settlement of this important subject.

We learn from Vambéry, that though he calls the Language of the three Khanates of the Oxus the Jágatai, there are distinctly marked Dialects at Kokan, Bokhára, and Khiva, caused in each case by the peculiarities of each State. This paper assigns to Khiva the place of a separate Language, including the two other Khanates under the same Language with the Tekke. This may or may not be accurate. It is at least intelligible, and therefore easily susceptible of correction. I can, however, quote no authority.

Michael Terantief published, at St. Petersburg. 1875, *Grammars of the Túrki (Osmánli), Persian, Kirghíz, and Uzbek Languages*, as spoken in Central Asia, followed by a *Chrestomathy*: by Uzbek he means the two Languages described in this paper as Trans-Caspian and Khiva, and proposes to call it *Turkestáni*; but this would be going too far, as it would be assuming a name for one portion of the field, which belongs to the whole field. He admits that the Dialect spoken in Khiva is differentiated from the Dialect of Bokhára and Tashkend, owing to the contact of the former with the *Azerbijáni*. At the time that he wrote he knew nothing of the Language of Yarkand and Kashgar, as Shaw had not published his Grammar, and he knew nothing also of the Language of the Tekke of Merw, that country being at that time unvisited and unconquered. Every Russian hates Vambéry the Hungarian, and Terantief, as was to be expected, attacks the "*Jagutaische Sprach-Studien*," but Scholars will probably agree with Vambéry. Radloff is of opinion, that a single version of the Scriptures will be understood by the populations of Turkestan Tashkend, Bokhára, Khiva, and Kokan, amounting to two or three millions. A competent scholar, Ostramoff, is engaged in the translation of the Gospels: his work has been submitted to Radloff, who is entirely satisfied with it. It will be carried out at the expense of the British Bible Society, and a large issue published and distributed; and the question as to the Language spoken in these Regions will be settled by the test of experience. Schuyler, who is a trustworthy authority, in his *Travels* entirely supports the same view as Terantief.

I have had a Language-Map prepared, and add a table of authorities or Texts, as the best proof of the existence of the Language and family, and the best means of differentiating them.

Regarding their Written Character, it may be noted that some of them are perfectly illiterate. The *Osmánli*, the *Azerbijáni*, *Kumük*, *Kirghíz*, *Nogai*, *Yarkandi*, *Khiva*, and *Trans-Caspian* use the Arabic Character partially or entirely. Vambéry tells us that among the *Kirghíz* the Mongol Character is in use, and that the *Mulla*, who visit these Nomads for the purpose of propagating the Mahometan Faith, do not hesitate to use for that purpose the Character, which on other occasions they call the *Káfir* Character, and the use of which they try to suppress elsewhere. We find also that there are certain people who speak the *Túrki*, but read only the Armenian Character, and an Edition of the Bible has been published to suit their convenience. The *Chuwásh* tribes have been educated to read their Bible in the Russian Character, and are supplied with an Edition. The *Osmánli-Túrki* Language has been made the instrument of Religious Instruction to some of the Greek subjects of the Ottoman Empire, who have forgotten their glorious Language, but from mere racial and theological hate

will only use the Greek Character, and the entire Bible has been supplied to them in the Alpha Beta of Hellas. The Yakút, who are Christian subjects of Russia, apparently use the Russian Alphabet, to judge from the texts given by Böhrlingk.

There is, no doubt, no finality as yet arrived at. In dealing with Nomads we must expect the Dialects to fluctuate. M. Lessar had in his Survey from Kizil Arbát to Askabad two interpreters, one a Kurd from the frontier colony in Persia, who had been a prisoner among the Tekke, and spoke the Trans-Caspian Language, and the other a native of Kasán in Russia on the Volga, whose form of speech is stated, though no examples are given, to have resembled that spoken by the Tekke. We must take this statement for what it is worth. Vambéry mentions that, though he tried to make use of the Khiva Language instead of the Osmánli, the Khan of Khiva was obliged to have much translated to him. This admission from Vambéry, an accomplished Osmánli scholar, and who knew something of Khiva, and a good deal of Trans-Caspian, implies a great divergence. Bellew mentions that a Túrki Dialect was heard among the Nomads betwixt Herat and Farah, implying an intrusion into the Pashtu Language-field.

It will be at once remarked that two venerable names are omitted from this detail of Languages, and they are intentionally omitted. The object of this paper is Geographical: the name given to each Language indicates the Region or the tribe to which it pertains. But a place must be assigned to the Uigúr and Jágatai. Pavet de Courteille agrees with Vambéry in dividing the Túrki Languages into two great subdivisions. The North comprehends the Languages spoken from the Rivers Lena to the Jenissei, or rather the Northern slopes of the Sayan mountains; these Languages are the Yakút, Koibal, Karagas, and many Dialects. The South comprehends all the Túrki Languages spoken from the frontier of China to the Danube. This is a far better classification than the vague expedient of dividing the family with reference to the population being nomad or sedentary. The Uigúr is the most ancient form, in which the Túrki speech appears as a cultivated Language, while the Languages of the Northern subdivision, which may be called the Altaic, and which are totally illiterate, present the most primitive form of words and forms. There exists a manuscript, known as the Kudatkú-Bilik, the date of which is fixed at the latter half of the eleventh century of the Christian era: this is stated by some to be the oldest record, and is in Uigúr. Vambéry makes it the basis of his investigations. Though late in date compared with the literary monuments of the Arian and Semitic families, it is of great importance, as it is the most pure specimen of real Túrki, free from the influences of the Persian and Arabic Languages, and worthy to be considered the typical Language.

We have now to inquire what Jágatai is. One of the most remarkable writers on the subject of the Túrki tribes is Abul Gházi, of Khiva, who wrote a book called "The Genealogical History of the Tartars." He lived at Khiva in the seventeenth century of our era, and he remarks that he wrote his book in Túrki, in order that all might understand him, and that he employed words, which a child of the age of five years would comprehend, and that he rejected all loan-words from Jágatai, Persian, and Arabic. This shows that the Language, which he used, was not called Jágatai, in his time, but that he used what he deemed pure Túrki. Pavet de Courteille comes to the following conclusion: that the Jágatai was the Language, in which the Kudatkú-Bilik was written, and was, in fact, the Language in its most ancient form, and in the Region nearest to its birthplace. Abul Gházi would not allow himself to use antique words, which were intelligible in the eleventh century, but which had fallen into desuetude in the seventeenth, and were only known to the learned. The literature of every country supplies an analogy of this process. The words Jágatai and Ugúr only indicate differences of age, and stages of dialectic variation, through which the Túrki Language passed. Shaw confirms this view, and writes that, though some European linguists have called the Túrki of Kashgar and Yarkand Ugúr, the name is totally unknown to the people, and would be a misnomer for a modern Language. Terantief confirms this view. The term should be abandoned. Vambéry, in his "Jagataische Sprache," goes so far as to state that it is probable that the word "Jágatai Túrki" means nothing more than "pure Túrki," just as the word Jágatai coupled with the word "man" means a "brave, trustworthy man."

I have tried to catch up all the names, which are scattered through the books of reference, which are sometimes tribal, sometimes local, sometimes synonyms, sometimes artificial. They will find their place under one or other of the Geographical terms now supplied. Karachai and Kabarda in the Caucasus Region, Kapehak on the Lower Volga, and Uzbek in Transoxania, are tribal names. Chantú is identical with Túrki. Tatar, converted by the wit of a Pope into Tartar, is identical with Túrki (J.R.A.S. n.s. Vol. XIV. p. 125). Alatyan is identical with Altaic. Vocabularies in Meshtsheriak, Tobolsk, Chasowo, Chjulim, Jenisee, Kusnek, Baraba, Kangayen, Teleut, Chiwa, are supplied by Klaproth, in the Túrki chapter of his "Language-Atlas of Asia Polyglotta," published at Paris, 1822. If they have any surviving value, it must be appraised after identification of their locality, and testing their accuracy. In these days learned compilations in an imposing form are of no value, unless the Geographer can mark the spot with precision on the Language-Map, and the compiler can give other authority and security for the genuineness of the Vocabulary than

the notes in his own Diary. We have got beyond the uncritical stage, and like to know the latitude and longitude, and the capacity of the compiler, as well as his method of transliteration.

It is worthy of remark, that the whole of the *Túrki*-speaking population of the world is slowly, but surely, gravitating towards Russian domination. A few corners still lie outside the absorbing influence, but they seem tottering on the brink of the chasm. The *Taranchi* of *Kulja*, and the *Yarkandi* of *Kashgaria* are still in the Chinese dominions; and the *Túrki*, who inhabit the Regions behind the *Oxus* and the *Hindu-Kúsh*, are still in *Afghanistan*; the Province of *Azerbiján* still forms part of the *Persian Kingdom*, and *Asia Minor* is in the *Ottoman Empire*: but this state of affairs is only for a time. Every fragment of the *Indic* branch of the *Arian* family of Languages, with the exception of the rude form of speech of the *Siah-Posh* of *Kafiristan* and the *Dards*, has been absorbed in the *Indian Empire*; the same fate of being gathered under one sceptre awaits the whole of the widely-scattered *Túrki* tribes, and it is a notable fact for the future, since unity of Language is put forward as the basis of political union.

How far the Russians possess the necessary sympathy for such a task, and the capacity for educating such a population, nomad, as well as sedentary, is a question. The *Russian Language*, with its ponderous word-store and illogical *Arian* structure, has but slight attraction to the *Agglutinative* and severely logical *Túrki*, which stands at the head of all Languages in its wonderful symmetry and power of form. evolution, or accommodation. Perhaps the *Bántu* family of *South Africa* alone can rival it. Of the kind of words, which will come into existence from the contact of such uncongenial elements as *Russ* and *Túrki*, we have a specimen in the name of a son of a *Kirghíz* chief in the *Russian Service*, *Vali Khan*, who has assumed the name of *Valikhanoff*. In *India* we should hardly call the son of *Gulab Singh Gulabsinghson*, but such words may hereafter be formed.

How the subtle poison of the *Arabized Persian Language* has found its way into the veins of the linguistic body of the *Osmánli Túrki* is well-known, but it is surprising to find in the distant and secluded Language of *Yarkandi* in *Chinese Tartary* the same infiltration of foreign elements, though to a less degree. The celebrated *Uigúr Manuscript* is quite free from this contagion. The presence of a *Tájik* servile population would supply the *Persian* element, and the conquering Religion of *Mahomet* would force into use *Arabic* words and forms. But we have the authority of *Vambéry* for asserting, that it was quite unnecessary for the *Osmánli Language* to make such prodigious loans from *Arabic* and *Persian*, as it had in its own *Túrki* root-store and expanding mechanism, a capability of expressing every Human Idea, and could at pleasure replace every foreign word by drawing upon

its own stores; and, in fact, the East-Túrki Languages have done so to a very great extent. We find the same linguistic phenomena in the marvellously beautiful and versatile lingua franca of India, the Urdú, or Hindustáni, in spite of the wealth of word-store and grammatical forms of the great Sanskritic Vernaculars, and the high degree of culture, to which the pure Indian literature had reached long before the Mahometan Conquest, which rendered loan-words quite unnecessary. The very word "Urdú" marks the Túrki conquest of India by the Mughals. The Baber-namah of the great founder of that dynasty is in Jágatai. A certain proportion of words, though not many, have survived in the great Indian Vernacular. The word "Turk" survives in the Hindustáni Dictionary in connection with horses and horsemen. I close with the proverb:

فارسی شکر	عربی اصل
ترکی هنر	ہندی نمک

Arabic is the root: Persian is the sugar:
Hindi is the salt: Túrki is the *art*.

The desideratum is a scientific Comparative Grammar of the whole family, worthy to be placed on the same shelf with the Comparative Grammars of other families of speech which we already possess, and it is stated on good authority that Radloff is preparing such a work.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1886.

(2.) ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE TÚRKI BRANCH OF THE URAL-ALTAIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

I have long been desirous of arriving at some definite idea of the living Languages (as distinguished from any Ethnological considerations), known generally as Tatar, or Túrki. I propose to drop the former name, and use the latter exclusively. The vulgar Idea has been, that the word "Túrki, Turkish, or Turk," applies exclusively to the Mahometan subjects of the Ottoman Empire, and it is not understood over what a vast area in Asia the name extends, from Kasán on the River Volga to the confines of British India in Yarkand, from the Turkoman hordes on the Persian frontier to the Yakút far away in the Northern Regions of the Asiatic Continent. It is only lately, that it has become clear, that there are certain distinctly defined varieties of this symmetrical and beautiful form of speech, and it is worthy of remark, that the

whole of the Turkish-speaking population of the world is slowly, but surely, gravitating towards Russian domination. A few corners still lie outside the absorbing influence, but they seem tottering on the brink of the chasm. The Tarantchi of Khúlja, and the Yarkandi of Kashgária, or Chinese Tartary, are still within the Empire of China. The Túrki tribes who inhabit the regions betwixt the River Oxus and the Range of the Hindu-Kúsh, are still in Afghanistan; the Province of Azerbiján still forms part of the Kingdom of Persia, and the Osmánli Túrki inhabitants of Asia Minor and the ruling classes of Constantinople are still under the sceptre of the Sultán: but this state of affairs is clearly only temporary. Unity of Language is put forward elsewhere, as a basis of political union, and is no doubt a factor in politics. I take the opportunity of the International Oriental Congress of Stockholm to lay the matter before the Central Asian Section. The presence of so many distinguished Russian Scholars will greatly advance my object, as, when they are aware of the deficiency of our knowledge in certain branches of the subject, they will be able and willing to enlighten us.

It is unnecessary to allude to the characteristic features of the Grammatical structure of this branch of the Ural-Altaic family: they are well-known, and are classified as Agglutinative. Nor is it necessary to make more than a passing remark on the fact, that the majority of the tribes of this branch have at one time or another accepted the Mahometan Faith, though some are Shamanist, or Christian, and that, as a consequence, the word-store of some Languages has been affected by the influx of the Semitic Arabic, and Arian Persian, and to an extent scarcely paralleled elsewhere. My object on the present occasion is restricted to linguistic Geography, rather than to linguistic Science pure and simple.

I. In my course from the West to the East, I come first upon the Osmánli Túrki, the representative in the eyes of the general Public, of all that is implied by "Turkish." This beautiful literary Language is thoroughly well-known: its proper field, as a Vernacular, is in Asia Minor; but it is spoken by the ruling and influential classes in other parts of the Turkish Empire in Asia and Africa, and in the great City of Constantinople, and its environs in Europe.

II. Proceeding Eastward I come to the Nogai Túrki: their number is estimated at 190,000; their most Westerly settlement is in the province of Bessarabia, where they have about twenty villages. They are numerous in the Crimea, where they are good agriculturists. I have myself visited them in their villages betwixt Sebastopol and the River Alma; and they have a distinct Dialect. They are found in the Provinces North of the Caucasus, on the Rivers Kubán and Kúma, dwelling in villages. Nomads of this tribe are found North of the River Volga at Astrakhan, which is in

fact their ancient home: some of them tend their flocks on the Kirghiz steppes. The Beziau shepherds in the pastures North of the mountain of Elburz are included in the Nogai. It will be remarked, that their settlements are exclusively in Europe, and within the limits of the Russian Empire. Their Language has been imperfectly studied, but it is represented by a translation of the Pentateuch, and the New Testament: specially prepared by British Missionaries at the town of Karass in 1807. A book of Proverbs of the Crimean Turks has been published at Kasán, and the book of Genesis in London in the peculiar Dialect of the Crimea.

III. Proceeding up the basin of the River Volga, I come to the Province of Kasán in European Russia, where a population of 200,000, intermixed with Arian Russians, and members of the Finnic branch of the Ural-Altaic family, speak a well-recognised *Túrki* Language of their own, which is sufficiently illustrated by translations of two Gospels, a Grammar published by Balint at Buda-Pest in 1875, a Dictionary published by Ostramoff at Kasán in 1876, and other books.

IV. In the European Provinces of Kasán, and Nijni Novgorod, and in the Asiatic Province of Orenburg, reside the Chuvásh, numbering about 450,000, spread along both sides of the River Volga. This Language has been distinctly proved by Schott in his Essay, 1876, to belong to the *Túrki* branch, but those, who use it, are intermixed with the Mordvin, and Cheremiss, members of the Finnic branch of the Ural-Altaic family. A translation of the Four Gospels has been made into this Language from the Slavonic, and published in the Cyril Character by the Russian Bible Society in 1818. A Dictionary has been published at Kasán in 1875 by Zolonitzki: it would be interesting to be informed, how far this Language was affected by the loan-words, and Grammatical forms, of its Finnic neighbours, and how far it is exceptionally free from Arabic and Persian influences.

V. In the Cis-Caucasian Province of the Russian Empire in Europe is the Kumuk tribe, inhabiting the North-West shore of the Caspian Sea near Petrovsk, and the North-East District of Daghestan, watered by the Rivers Aksai, and Sunja. They number about 70,000, agriculturists. The Gospel of St. Matthew has been published in this Language: there is a Vocabulary by Bodenstedt in the "*Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenl. Gesellsch.*," vol. v. and it is alluded to in Makharoff's "*Túrki Languages spoken in the Caucasus.*"

VI. In the Trans-Caucasian Province of the Russian Empire in Asia, and in the Province of Azerbiján of the Kingdom of Persia, is the Language known as Trans-Caucasian, or Azerbijáni-*Túrki*. The population amounts to three Millions. The entire Bible has been translated into this important Language, which may possibly have a great literary future, as it has held its own against the

Georgian, Armenian, and Persian literary Languages, while it was still uncultivated. Allusion to it is made in Kasem-Beg's "*Allgemeine Grammatik der Türkisch-Tatarischen Sprache*," published in Russian, and translated by Zenker into German, Leipzig, 1848. Bergé published at Leipzig, 1868, "*Dichtungen Transkaukasischer Sänger*."

VII. Proceeding Eastward across the Caspian Sea, I enter the Province of Trans-Caspia, and Turkestan, in the Russian Empire in Asia, a region of some linguistic uncertainty: three of its boundaries are well defined: as to the South it presses upon the Language-field of the Kurd and Persian in the Kingdom of Persia; to the East on the Region of the Persian and Pastu-speaking inhabitants of Afghanistan; to the West on the Caspian Sea; to the North our knowledge fails in accuracy. Whether the same Language with dialectic varieties is spoken by the Turkoman Nomads South of the Oxus, and the Túrki-speaking settled inhabitants of Transoxiana in the Russian Dominions, and the inhabitants of the Kingdom of Afghanistan North of the Hindu-Kúsh Range, remains to be seen. One Gospel has been translated, but there is no certainty as to the Language, or Dialect of the Language, in which it has been composed. It is in this quarter of the Túrki Language-field that we require fresh, accurate, and locally-collected information.

VIII. Proceeding Northward I enter another debatable field, to which in this Geographical Essay I assign the name of "Central Asia, or Khiva," which is intelligible, even if not accurate, while the terms Uigúr, Jágatai, and Uzbek appear to have no certain linguistic meaning. Here we have the advantage of the learned works of Dr. Radloff, "*Aus Sibirien*," Leipzig, 1884, and his Comparative Grammar. A translation of four Gospels has been prepared by Professor Ostramoff, and submitted to careful revision by competent Scholars. Here at least we are on safe ground. It is stated, with what accuracy it is impossible to say, that this same Language is spoken in the Great Desert betwixt the Amu Daria and the Caspian Sea, including the Nomad Yomut tribe.

IX. Proceeding still further Northward I come to the Kirghíz, which Language is spoken on the steppes of the Lower Volga River, right across Asia to the valleys of the Thien Shan Mountains on the confines of China. There are two great Divisions, the Kara or Burut, who are highlanders in the Altai, Pamir, and Thien Shan Mountains; and the Kazák Kirghíz, dwellers on the plain, who are subdivided into three hordes. A portion of the Bible was translated into this latter Language by a British Missionary at Orenburg. We have the advantage of the writing of Ilminsky: still more light is desirable.

X. Far to the East in the Province of Chinese Tartary in the Chinese Empire is the Yarkand Language-field, revealed to us by

the Grammar of Shaw, a late employé of the Government of India. We have here a pure and archaic form of *Túrki*, with the most primitive forms of words, and a certain amount of literary culture; but here again we require more certainty. What relation does this Language bear to the *Kara-Kirghíz*?

XI. Far to the North, in the North-East corner of Siberia, are the *Yakút*, and, thanks to Böhrling's celebrated Monograph, we have an amount of certainty: this tribe has preserved its ancient form, and is free from the influence of the Semitic Arabic, the Arian Persian, and the Altaic Finnic congeners, which have so much affected the purity of the other Languages of the *Túrki* Family: they are partly Pagan, and partly neo-Christian of the Russian Church: no portion of the Bible has reached them in print; they have no literature or Written Character of their own.

XII. There remains one other possible Language-field, that of the *Bashkír*, North of Astrakhan, East of the River Volga: whatever may be the potentialities of this Language, nothing has been done.

There may be other Dialects, but I cannot find any other substantive Language; indeed, some would reduce the number, which I have enumerated. A great many names appear in the statements of different writers, but it is not clear, whether they are the names of tribes, or Languages, or Dialects of Languages; so I leave them. It would be mere waste of time, from my point of view, to allude to possible affinities with the Languages of Japan, and Korea, of modern times, or with the *Akkad* of a dim and remote antiquity. My interest is with living Languages only, obviously descended from the same Mother-Language.

I place these lines on paper, conscious of great inaccuracy of expression, and insufficiency of knowledge. I sit at the feet of the great Russian Scholars, who alone can direct us right. No British information is at first-hand, and all is unsatisfactory. My object is a very practical one, viz. to make a translation of the Bible, without note or comment, accessible to the women, school-children, and uneducated males, of every tribe which speaks *Túrki*: it is not necessary that they should read or write, or be educated: the Gospel is very simple, and can be understood, if orally explained to the most uneducated. I have, therefore, no theory to uphold, no interesting historical difficulty to unravel: let the terms *Uigúr*, *Jágatai*, and *Uzbek*, mean what they will in times past, I desire to arrive at contemporaneous facts. My problem is as follows: Given a certain population, speaking a certain Language, differing from that of its neighbour: what is it? Let us have a Text in its living form, and a statement of its Grammatical form, its word-store, Phonetics, and Written Character, if it has one. This does not mean that I wish to bring into unnecessary prominence any patois, or local Dialect. In the English and Russian Imperial

Languages many such variations exist, but one translation of the Bible is understood by all, who claim the honour of speaking English or Russian.

So, as regards the Túrki family of Languages, through the learned labours of Russian Scholars we may arrive at a practical result, and it is their duty, as much as it has been the duty of the British Scholars, to illustrate the Languages of British India, and they have not been wanting. A translation of the Bible exists in all the great Languages of British India, and of some of the second class. I wish to arrive at the same result in Russia. Great Britain will supply the money, and the genius of order for distribution, if Russia will supply the Scholarship, which is far more precious than money or order. It will be useful to the sceptical Scholar, as well as to the uneducated Believer.

It is not desirable to galvanize into a weak life a Language, on which the sentence of death has been passed by some inexorable law, of the nature of which we are ignorant: the cause and the cure of the disease, of which they are succumbing, is unknown to us. If, with a dawning civilization, the nation desires to accept an Imperial Language other than its own, let it do so, so long as the motive power is spontaneous, and not the result of political short-sighted despotism, or narrow-minded Religious craft. But, if a Nation desires to retain the Language of its ancestors, as the Welsh have done in Great Britain, the Breton in France, the Pole in Russia, and the Magyar in Austria, let no attempt be made to prevent them. In British India not one of the hundred Languages has been stamped out. British rule is maintained in the Vernacular of the people, which is as dear to them as their Religious convictions, and ancestral customs. The matter is one of high Human policy, far beyond the power of Emperors and Parliaments, and depends upon the uncontrolled secret tendencies of particular sections of the Human Race. It is not: "*Ego sum Rex Poloniæ, et super Grammaticam*," but: "*Hæc est Grammatica, et super Reges, Imperatores, et Senatûs*."

International Oriental Congress, Stockholm, July, 1889.

III.

ON THE PROGRESS OF AFRICAN PHILOLOGY UP TO THE YEAR 1893.

I HAVE at different times lectured, and published, on the subject of the Languages of Africa, collectively bringing to a focus all the scattered contributions of Scholars and Missionaries. My knowledge is all second-hand: I am only a compiler. After several Lectures and Essays I at length in 1883 published in London two volumes containing 560 pages, called

“A SKETCH OF THE MODERN LANGUAGES OF AFRICA.”

It was only a sketch, and restricted to the Modern Languages of Africa, and therefore excluded all European, Asiatic, and such Languages as Egyptian, Koptic, Gaunch. which were dead. One of the most important, and laborious, features of my book, was the Bibliographical Table of Languages, Dialects, Localities, and Authorities: Appendix C, p. 467. I had accepted Frederick Müller's Linguistic Classification into six groups: Semitic, Hamitic, Nuba-Fulah, Negro, Bantu, and Hottentot-Bushman. Nothing in the last ten years has been published to induce me to set aside that Classification. The Ethnologist, who examines the physical features of African Races, informs us, that there are two varieties of woolly-haired Races: (1) the fleecy-haired and (2) the tufted, and there exist also lank curly-haired Races. The linguistic division is sixfold, and, applying it to the Ethnological characteristics above described, we find another grouping of the population of Africa:

I.	Lank curly-haired Races	Semitic
II.	do.	- Hamitic
III.	do.	- Nuba-Fulah
IV.	Woolly fleecy-haired Races	Negro
V.	do.	- Bantu
VI.	Woolly tuft-haired Races	Hottentot-Bushman.

Within the Region of each group my method was strictly Geographical: Mr. Ravenstein, the celebrated Cartographer, made my Language-Map: he was responsible for the Geographical entries, and I for the linguistic, and no entry was allowed by him, where a habitat of the tribe could not be correctly laid down, and no entry was allowed by me, where I had not sufficient evidence of the existence of a separate form of speech. Thus our knowledge was placed for the first time on a certain basis, with a power of expansion on the same lines, and all subsequent writers have acknowledged their obligation to the Language-Map and the Bibliographical Appendix. The time may, and will come, when the whole subject will again be taken up, and a more accurate classification and sub-classification introduced, as every decade materially enlarges the area, and accuracy, of our knowledge.

In the interim I have kept my eye steadily upon Africa, have been in constant correspondence with Geographers, linguists, and Missionaries, and nothing has taken place in that Continent without being observed. I have personally visited the whole of the North portion, and have had to do with the work of Evangelization, and of Bible-translation, over the whole Continent. My interleaved copy of the "Modern Languages of Africa" is illustrated by copious Notes; my list of Languages, and of Bible-translations, has been constantly increasing: the time has not yet come for a new Edition of my book: it would be advisable to let a quarter of a century pass over it, and I am on the look-out for a literary legatee of my accumulated Notes.

I am greatly indebted to one or two Scholars for their contributions to knowledge since 1883. The Basin of the River Kongo has been illuminated by the labours of Mr. Holman Bentley, of the British Baptist Mission, his colleagues, and his talented wife. The Portuguese Province of Angóla on the West coast, and the Regions adjacent, have been rendered accessible by the labours of M. Heli Chatelain, of Bishop Taylor's American Methodist Mission. Captain Guiraudot, of the French Army, has been good enough to make two Reports on the Progress made in the Study of African Languages in the years subsequent to 1883, the date of my book. Dr. Elmslie, of the Free Church Presbyterian Mission on Lake Nyasa, has greatly assisted me by a report of the Languages in that region. Father J. Torrend, of the Society of Jesus, a Missionary of the Church of Rome, on the River Zambézi, has published in the English Language a Comparative Grammar of South African Bántu Languages: I assisted him with material for this work: this is indeed an epoch-making book: it is quite possible, that many will not agree with all the conclusions of the talented young Author, but all must rejoice, that the first step has been taken towards the scientific treatment of this great subject, and the Bántu family, from the amazing

variety of its branches, and the rigid system, which actually does, or is at least supposed to, underlie its Grammatical development, presents a peculiarly interesting study. We may hope, that in the twentieth century some qualified Grammarian will undertake the classification of the so-called Negro group, which will be a still more difficult task. As to the assertion, that Grammarians form a Language, or that a Language can exist without an internal organisation, such as men call Grammar, it is sheer nonsense. Did Grammarians, or the early Hellenic Poets, form Greek? The organic features of a Language develop themselves according to the genius of the people, and it is impossible to say why, or how, this took place. No rules could have stopped, or accelerated, the process, for they come into existence as the result of a single blow, as it were, of an enchanter's wand, and spring from the deep unfathomed fountain of the intellectual tendency of each Race: it is indeed the great intellectual compromise, which they must take once, and once for all, as representing their particular machinery for conveying their thoughts by word of mouth to their contemporaries, and to generations yet unborn by the sleight of their hands: this last Art they can borrow from other Races; but the first is their own, very own, neither to be borrowed from, or lent to, others.

A great many new books on African Languages reach me through the kindness of the Authors, and notice of more through the periodical lists of Language-books put forth for sale by enterprising Publishers: I never fail to make a note of a new book, on which my eye falls in the pages of the Newspapers. I have been in the habit of reviewing briefly such books in the pages of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, so as to give publicity to their existence, but as books are constantly appearing in the English, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, Italian, Norwegian, Dutch, and even Finnic, Languages, it is out of all probability that my additional lists now put forth will be exhaustive. As to the translations of the Bible, I can write with more certainty, and also as regards the publication of general and religious literature in the Languages of Africa by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Religious Tract-Society; generally speaking, nothing African appears in England without passing under my observation. In Germany also, by the kindness of friends, I become acquainted with the works that are issued by Missionary Presses, or in the character of contributions to scientific Periodicals: the names of Dr. Buttner and Dr. Christaller must always be pronounced with feelings of gratitude. The attention of one of my Scholar-friends has been turned to the new Languages, or Dialects, or patois, which are springing into existence from the combination of African and the great European Languages, which are localized on the coast. Another great fact must be recorded,

that the hand of death is necessarily upon many African Languages: they have neither the strength derived from civilization, nor that infusion of elements of a more powerful, or a dead, Language, which will enable the Languages of India to resist for all time the invasion of the English Language. The Swahili on the East coast is the only African Language, which has been strengthened in this way by an infusion of the Arabic. On the other hand some scores of the Native Languages, totally uncultivated previously, have had the inestimable advantage of passing in their original purity into the hands of European or American Missionaries, who have made use of them in their Schools and Chapels, have entrusted to them portions of the Bible, have without undue use of loan-words developed the previous undeveloped potentiality of their structure and word-store; in fact, done for them in one half-century of literary activity what in an unliterary age required the long discipline of centuries to achieve for European Languages, *i.e.* fixing a standard of purity of Grammatical expression, uniformity of spelling in the Roman Character, and a recognised mode of pronunciation. It will necessarily follow, that the weak forms of speech of weak tribes will be swallowed up, or pushed aside, by stronger Vernaculars, native or alien, which have been more fortunately circumstanced, and great Languages like the Swahili, the Zulu, the Kongo, the Yáriba, the Hausa, and many others less well-known to the general reader, will exert the same influence in Africa, that the great European and Asiatic Languages exert in their several Regions, by becoming vehicles of civilization, Religion, and political supremacy.

Old Homer tells us, that the generations of men are like the leaves of the forest. The similitude applies still more to the Languages of men. In one sense nothing is so transitory as the life of a Language; from another point of view nothing is so enduring, so imperishable, as *the words* of a Language. Languages have come into existence, and have melted away like drifting snow. In Asia, and North Africa, for instance Egypt, thanks to the art of the Scribe, some débris of these extinct Languages have come down to us on painted or engraved stone, baked clay, and papyrus: the pronunciation, and probably the ordinary phraseology, of the people have passed away for ever: false praise of a reigning Monarch, expressions of real woe for a lost relative, have been spared by Time to test the ability of modern decipherers, and create a link of sympathy with the forgotten dead, men of like passions to ourselves: the three consonants *k, t, b* and *b, r, k* conveyed to Moses and his hearers the idea of "writing" and "blessing," and they convey that idea still to Millions of Arabs, Turks, Persians, Indians, and inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago: what larger conception can we have of immortality than that fact? On the other hand, many mighty forms of speech, in which proud

edicts were issued by proud kings in ancient days, have perished without leaving a word of them impressed on the sands of time, because no inspired Prophet, no reverend translator of the Bible, condescended to make use of them.

Having thus far stated the progress of the work, I ask myself what is required of me in preparing an Essay on the subject for the world's Congress at Chicago? A kind friend has expressed his opinion, that it should be both popular and scientific, that it should be calculated to conciliate the attention of an educated community, to some of whom the subject may be new. The story should be told of the origin and career of African Philology, the great families or groups, into which the hundreds of African Languages have been provisionally, only provisionally, classified, their Geographical distribution, the decision of which fell to the great Cartographer, Ravenstein, which is a record of facts; their linguistic features, linguistic affinities to each other, which is still a matter of opinion, awaiting the decision of some future great Comparative Scholar like Bopp in the Indo-European family; their past history, little of which is as yet known; their literature, or Written Character, which for the whole of the Southern, Western, Northern, and partially the Eastern Regions, is non-existent.

Then comes the great question of their affinities to the Languages of Europe and Asia, past or present. As regards the Southern, the Eastern, the Western Regions, the answer is an absolute negative; as regards the Northern it is sufficient to mention, that the Semitic family of African Languages is undoubtedly part of the great Asiatic family, and that the Hamitic groups are credited with affinities with the old Languages of Asia, but the proofs have not yet been worked out.

Then comes the interesting duty to indicate the good and able men, to whom we are indebted for such knowledge as we have of the forms of speech in the Dark Continent; to point out that to Christian Missionaries and Religious Associations, *not* to Sovereigns, or Parliaments, or Geographical Explorers, or Men of Commerce, are we indebted in time past, time present, or with any likelihood in time future. The Sovereign, or the Parliament, may annex and enslave a population for a mere whim, or pretext, because they have a giant's strength (as they have done at U-Ganda in 1893); the Geographical Explorers may shoot, hang, plunder, make prisoners, barter women for food, burn villages, lay waste districts, as they did in the famous attempt to relieve in 1888 a man, who did not wish to be relieved, and as soon as he could, went back to the spot, whence he had been relieved; the Men of Commerce may import an untold amount of Gin, Brandy, and filthy alcoholic liquors, Arms, and Gunpowder, working for the destruction of the Natives after the high-handed form of European and North American benevolent civilization now in fashion: but the hope of Africa,

the poor dark God-forgotten Continent, rests for its material, spiritual, and scientific, development on the enthusiasm, the holy devotion, the great and very excellent gift of self-consecration, and self-abnegation, of the Christian Missionaries of Europe and North America, whether of the Church of Rome, or of the Protestant Churches. In 1891, I published a volume exclusively devoted to this subject, called "*Africa Rediviva*; or, the occupation of Africa by Christian Missionaries of Europe and North America"; and in my volumes of "*Bible Translations*," 1890, and "*Bible Diffusion*," 1892, I show what progress has been made in translating portions of the Bible into these newly revealed Languages. Africa has achieved more translations in half this century than the whole world achieved in eighteen centuries. "The Holy Spirit is now more outpoured on mankind than it was in former days: that is the reason." Thus remarked Cardinal Manning on his visit to the Bible-House, Queen Victoria Street, London.

Philology in the mode, in which I propose to treat it, is a part of Geography. The first branch of that Science is no doubt "Physical," and its second "Political," but a third and a fourth are distinctly marked out, "Ethnographical" and "Linguistic." When we have been informed of the natural characteristics of a Continent, and the Social Institutions, which the population inhabiting that Continent have adopted, we are led on to inquire to what Race of Mankind they belong, and what Language they speak. The two phenomena are totally distinct. The West Africans of Sierra Leone and Liberia speak excellent English, as their only Language, and enjoy an English culture; yet no two Races can ethnologically be more diverse than the Negro and Anglo-Saxon.

I commence my survey at the North-Eastern corner, where Africa touches Asia. The Semitic Races passed from Asia into Africa in historical times, and the people of Egypt are instances of an entire change of Language. The old Egyptian, and its descendant Koptic, which were Hamitic Languages, gave way to the Arabic. That Language accompanied the wave of Mahometan conquest into Tripolitána, Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, and became the symbol of Empire, Religion, Commerce, and culture, but by no means trod out the Hamitic Languages, which exist even to this day. Another branch of the Semitic Races crossed the Red Sea from Arabia, and the old Ethiopic or Gíz, and the modern Amhára and Tigré, superimposed themselves upon the Hamitic Languages, which still exist. A third influx of Semitic Races took place across the Red Sea in the persons of the Nomad Arabs, who dwell in the Egyptian Sudán. A fourth influx is from the South-East corner of Arabia to Zanzibar, on the East coast of Africa. The Arabs, and half-bloods, carry it everywhere in Equatorial Africa, and it is spoken as far as the banks of the Upper Niger. Correspondence was necessarily carried on in it as the only written medium, until English and Portuguese

appeared. Travellers have reported, that round Lake Chad are *bonâ fide* Arab settlers, speaking Arabic; and late reports tell us of the settlement of Arab-speaking Slave-dealers at Nyangwé on the Kongo. The Arabic has materially affected some of the Languages of Africa, such as the Kabáíl, the Swahili, and the Fulah, and has given birth to imperishable names, such as the first two above quoted, and the Káfir. The Gíz, Amhára, and Tigré, are fully illustrated by Grammatical works.

The Hamites passed into Africa from Asia, possibly Mesopotamia, and spread from the Red Sea to the Canary Islands, from the Mediterranean as far South as the Senegál River. The Egyptians must have been last in the procession from the Euphrates to the Nile, and have pushed forward to the West all their predecessors. The affinity of the Hamitic to the Semitic Languages is brought out by a consideration of the essential particulars, in which they, resembling each other, differ from all the other Languages of Africa. Although the Hamitic Languages of Egypt, Tripolitána, and the Canary Islands, have perished, there are spoken distinct forms in Tunisia, Algeria, Morocco, and the Great Sahára, quite down to the banks of the River Senegál. This group of Languages existed at the time of the foundation of the Phenician colony of Carthage, but it has outlived the Phenician Language of that colony, and the Latin Language of the Roman domination. A second influx of Hamitic Languages must have taken place across the Red Sea into Abyssinia, there also preceding the Semitic. Several varieties of Hamitic Languages are found in existence spoken by tribes in a very low state of culture. All these Languages, both in Algeria and Abyssinia, have been studied, and separate Grammatical works published. A Comparative Study of the whole group, which for convenience is divided into three sub-groups, the Egyptian, the Libyan, and the Ethiopic, is much to be desired.

Some authorities, having disposed of the two alien Races and Languages, of the Semites and Hamites, would proceed at once to the description of the great group of pure Negro Races and Languages, which no doubt is to a great extent conterminous with the Semitic and Hamitic. Other authorities would interpose a third group, very much broken up into separate enclaves, which is called the Nuba-Fulah from the two leading Languages. Our information is obviously imperfect, both from a Geographical and Philological point of view, and whatever classification is now made is only provisional. In dealing with a subject on so gigantic a scale, any proposal for subdivision may for convenience be accepted. The Nuba occupy the Nile-Valley from the first Cataract to Dóngola; other tribes in the imperfectly known country of the Bahr al Ghazal, such as the Nyam-Nyam Cannibals, and the Monbutto, on the mysterious watershed of the Nile and the Shari Rivers, and the Masai and Kwáfi more to the East, pushing South

of the Equator into the Bántu Region, are provisionally added from alleged, but not sufficiently proved, Grammatical affinities to each other, and divergences from the conterminous Negro and Bántu forms of speech. Far to the West is the Fulah Language, spoken by a superior and conquering Race, which has adopted the Mahometan Religion, and established several independent Kingdoms in Central Equatorial Africa, North of the Equator, reducing the inferior Negro Races to subjection. As Arabic is the Language of Religion in those Regions, so Fulah is the Language of Empire. The Nuba and Fulah Languages have been thoroughly studied by competent Scholars, and some progress made as regards the others.

The Region of the pure Negro, as distinguished from the above-noticed three subdivisions on the North, and from the great Bántu Race, and the unimportant Hottentot tribes to the South, stretches from the Atlantic to the Nile, from the River Senegál round the great Western bend of Africa to the Kamerún Mountains, and the Bight of Biafra. The population is estimated at one hundred Millions, and the distinct Languages spoken by them amount to one hundred and ninety-five, in addition to forty-nine Dialects. Some of these Languages are of great importance, such as Wolof, Mandé, Susu, Mendé, Bullom, Kru, Grebo, Ashánti, Akrá, Ewé, and Yáriba, of the Ivory Coast, the Grain Coast, the Gold Coast, and the Slave Coast. Behind these littoral Languages, which have been well studied, and in which some portions of the Bible have been translated, is a large number of Languages less well known, but of whose existence there is no doubt. This makes up the Atlantic sub-group of the Negro group. To the South extends the Niger sub-group, spreading up the bed of that great River-way, comprising many important Languages, spoken by Millions, such as Idzo, Ibo, Igára, Igbara, Nupé, and Efík, and a crowd of others. In the study of these Languages we have had the advantage of the co-operation of pure Negro Scholars, who have evinced great linguistic powers, entirely sweeping away the old notion, that Negroes had no power of logical discrimination. Passing into the interior of Negro-land, we come upon the Central sub-group, the linguistic varieties of which have been evidenced by the Vocabularies collected by the travellers Barth and Nachtigall. In the midst of several unimportant Languages, some Vernaculars are conspicuous: the Hausa, which is the great commercial Language and lingua franca of the Regions North of the Equator, as the Swahili is to the South; the Súrhai, which is the Language of Timbaktú on the Quarrah branch of the Niger; the Kanúri, which is the Language of the Central Kingdom of Bornu round Lake Chad, and the Tibbu, spoken by tribes who occupy the Western portions of the Great Sahára, South of Tripoli and Fezzan; by some this last has been classed as a Hamitic Language, but the best authorities class it with the Negro group. The Hausa and Kanúri have been fully

illustrated by Grammatical works. Proceeding further West, we come on the Nile sub-group, occupying the dimly known Regions of the Upper Nile right up to the frontier of the Hamitic group, and continuous with the Bantu-family-field at the Victoria Nyanza. In this group are the important Languages of the Dinka and the Bari. A great many of the Negro Languages in each of the sub-groups have been thoroughly studied by competent European Scholars, and Grammars are available; many translations of the Bible have been made, and more are in progress. Comprehensive Vocabularies are in the Press, and in one or two a large literature, Educational and Religious, is springing up from the local Presses, which are at work. It must be remembered, that the phrase "group" is only a convenient Geographical expression for collecting together Languages, which have no *proved* affinity to each other. A great many theories have been started to explain the origin of this mass of Languages, so diverse from each other, but nothing satisfactory or conclusive has been arrived at. The Negro is depicted on the walls of some of the earliest Palaces of the old Egyptian Kings, and no literary document exists in these Languages, before they felt the influence of the contact of Arabic, or one of the European Languages. With two or three exceptions, the Grammatical feature of Gender is totally absent. A Comparative Grammar is much to be desired, and much material is available, and is being added to daily; but few care, or are able, to master more than three or four of these multiform varieties of speech; the problem is, therefore, reserved for the next generation, for the German Scholars now in their cradles.

South of the Equator, right to the extremity of Africa, is the Region of the Bantu family of Languages, with the exception of certain enclaves, occupied by the Hottentot-Bushman group. Over this vast Region one multiform yet identical system of Languages prevails, resembling not only in Grammatical method, but to a certain extent in word-store. No one Scholar knows more than a limited number of the one hundred and sixty-eight Languages and fifty-five Dialects of this family, for family it is in as strict a sense as the Indo-European and Semitic families. Some of these are magnificent and lordly Vernaculars, spoken by Millions, who delight in public orations. The Swahili, the Zulu, the Suto, the Herero, the Bunda, the Kongo, the Pongwé, and the Dualla, are described by those, who know them, as vehicles of speech unparalleled in melody and comprehensiveness, able by their Grammatical method to express every shade of thought, and out of the wealth of their word-stores, when properly developed, sufficient to convey every Idea, however abstruse, without demanding loan-words from more cultivated Languages. The Bible in its entirety has been translated in some of these Languages. Behind the first row of well-known and literary Languages comes a

second, and much more numerous, row of Languages, which lie in the path of discoverers : Grammars are being compiled, Vocabularies collected, and translations commencing. Behind these is a still larger row of distinct, but as yet unstudied, Languages, spoken by unknown Millions, who are coming under the influence of the European. Each Traveller in his journey brings tidings of new Languages ; and behind this row of Languages, of which we only know that they exist, is another row of Languages, of the existence and names of which tidings have not reached us yet, but which will be introduced to us shortly, when the blank spots in the heart of Africa are filled up by the scientific Explorer and the Missionary.

Quite at the South are the Hottentot-Bushman enclaves, but the Languages of those Races appear to be doomed, and superseded by a Dialect of the Dutch Language. The Language of the Khoikhoi is thoroughly known, and the Bible translated into the Nama Dialect, but the printing has been arrested by the news, that the Language is falling out of use, and that the younger members of the tribe prefer Cape-Dutch. As to the Languages of the Bushman or Sán, and the other dwarf and helot Nomad tribes scattered here and there, their doom is at hand ; if their Languages are studied, it is only as a linguistic curiosity, and in a few years they will disappear.

In old days Vocabularies were collected from the mouths of Slaves, who could not indicate where they were spoken. All such doubts have passed away. Many of the names entered may upon closer investigation prove to be only Dialects, or perhaps so slightly differentiated as to be identical, though bearing different names.

I hesitate to pass under review the peculiar Grammatical characteristics, which distinguish the six families or groups from each other, and the four families or groups South of the Sahára from any other family or group of Languages in the World. Attempts have been made to trace affinities, but they are not yet recognised as proved. One great advantage of the number of translations of the Bible, from a linguistic point of view, is that extensive Texts are supplied to the Comparative Scholar for the purpose of inter-comparison. The same well-known Gospel-Story is set out in a form of speech, of which the sole object and *raison d'être* is, that it should be understood by an uneducated people, and the same or similar Written Character is used. The subject is not one, which offers attraction to the general reader : however, the characteristics are fully detailed in the volumes of "Modern Languages of Africa."

I now proceed to notice the names of the Scholars, to whom we are indebted for our knowledge ; for convenience of reference I have prepared a list. As an instance of the slight appreciation extended to their labours, it may be mentioned, that in two

celebrated series of Lectures on the Science of Language in its widest sense, a few lines are deemed sufficient to illustrate the marvellous phenomena of African Languages, and the praiseworthy labours of African Scholars.

To the Botanist the wild flower is of greater interest than the more beautiful development, which is the result of culture. So to the linguist, the unwritten forms of speech, caught alive as it were from the lips of uneducated savages, who are totally unaware of the wonderful organism, which they are handling, supply deeper lessons than can be found in those Languages, whose spontaneous development has been restricted by becoming the vehicle of a written literature. The Continent of Africa, year by year, supplies new and wondrous forms, the examination of which will upset many favourite theories, based upon the very limited phenomena, supplied by the Arian and Semitic families. I pass lightly over the whole subject, and record with a loving hand names, which ought to be more known and honoured. It is very well for a University-Professor to sit in his arm-chair, and talk wisely about Languages, not one of which he has ever heard pronounced. The individuals, whose names I record, have undergone perils and discomforts, and in many cases sacrificed their lives, in the attainment at first-hand of the knowledge, which they have communicated to the learned world. The feeling of astonishment, which welcomed the earlier revelations of unknown tongues, may have passed away, because it has been replaced by a conviction of the boundless stores of Language-variety, which exists, and has existed for countless ages, indicating how utterly hopeless and visionary is the speculation as to the origin of Language, and how unfounded is the favourite theory of a Language altering that organic structure, the germs of which were, as it were, born with it. And two or three great Scholars have already been led by a consideration of the revealed phenomena to question the axiom of the impossibility of the existence of a Mixed Language, and to propound a new system of Classification based on the existence or non-existence of Gender.

Let it not be supposed, that the study of Languages of barbarian African Races, while still as it were in solution, and unfettered by the bondage of contemporary literature, or the survival of monumental Inscriptions and papyri, is useless and leads to no further knowledge of the material, intellectual, and spiritual, history of the Human Race, which after all is the end, and object, of all the researches of Science. On the contrary, it is priceless. It is the voice crying from the wilderness: "We are men, the same in weakness, strength, and passions, as you are: we are men, such as your forefathers were before the dawn of your civilization: we are men, who may become such as you are, if we had but the chance: our Languages, the words of which you are collecting

“ from our mouths, tell you, how we have held our own against
 “ the beasts of the Forests and the River, how we have outwitted
 “ the Elephant, and triumphed over the Crocodile, and the Hippo-
 “ potamus; how we have founded communities, established customs
 “ having the force of law; how we have unconsciously clothed
 “ Ideas in word-forms with logical completeness of thought, and,
 “ without being aware of the task, which our brain-power has
 “ guided us to accomplish, have worked through the diapason of
 “ Human sounds, and the orbit of Human reason; thus developing
 “ Languages and Dialects differentiated by delicate tests of pro-
 “ nunciation, by multifarious building up of words, and marshalling
 “ of sentences, which rise sometimes to euphonic beauty, such as
 “ would rival the Languages of Europe and Asia, and sometimes
 “ fall to the degraded clicks, which seem to belong to the brute
 “ rather than the man.”

Do not such considerations rouse the deepest sympathy in the heart of the philanthropist, the philosopher, and the worshipper of the great God of the Universe? Do we not in tapping these sealed fountains of African Philology seem to approach nearer to the cradle of the Human intellect, touching the hidden springs of Spiritual Life within us, catching virgin Nature, as it were, alive, and dropping a lead into deep waters, where there is still no bottom?

There are four classes of contributors to our knowledge:

I. In the first order as regards time, and in the lowest order as regards value, are those Travellers, often unscientific, and always untrained, who have recorded Vocabularies. We gratefully accepted half a century ago such crumbs of knowledge, and in many cases a Language is still only represented by a Vocabulary; but care has been taken to indicate to modern Explorers the particular classes of words, which should be selected, and the proper mode of uniformly expressing the sounds. Many books of Vocabularies and short sentences, prepared in this way, are of the highest value.

II. In the second order come those, who undertake to write a Grammar, a Dictionary, or a lengthy Grammatical Note, on one or more Languages; such are not always trained Scholars, and many have not the genius for that particular work. Others have come to the work with excellent training, or have found themselves possessed intuitively of the faculty of grasping the real elements of the particular organism. We have two or three scores of such Grammars and Dictionaries, some of the highest merit, others which make the path ready for a skilled Grammarian to follow. In all cases the work is honest, and done upon the spot, to be used at once in schools, and by fellow-labourers, who will immediately bring the work to the test. This is a formidable check on any imposture, which might have passed current in Europe undetected,

when the Grammatical treatise is written to pass under the eyes of those only, who are even more ignorant than the compiler.

III. In the third order come two or three great Scholars, masters of the principles of Comparative Philology, under whose eyes these Grammars and Dictionaries, as well as the less valuable Vocabularies, pass. Here begins the process of inter-comparison of forms and methods, as well as of words, and the isolated work of many becomes a part of one great scheme of classification.

IV. In the fourth order come the popularizers, or dishers-up, of the knowledge acquired by others in a palatable form suited to the taste of an unlearned public. In the form of Lectures and Essays the raw materials of hard-working and unknown Scholars are boiled down and served out, and pass current as the result of original inquiry, instead of being mere assimilations of the work of others. This renders necessary an occasional reminder of the names of such original inquirers, which I now make.

I drew attention to the amount of good work done by Continental, chiefly German, Scholars, and I recorded their names, in the African Section of the Oriental Congress at Berlin, 1881, remarking how little would have been known, had not German industry and acumen been available, to carry out the work commenced by English and American energy and resources.

English, French, German, Swiss, Norwegian, Swede, Spaniard, Portuguese, Italian, citizens of the United States of North America, and African Negroes, have contributed to this great work. Some few have been servants of the English or French Colonial Governments, but by far the greater portion have been Christian Missionaries, for no other earthly consideration could have induced men to live among the people, and acquire their Language, but the highest motives of benevolence. Many have visited Africa for purposes of general Science, or Explory, and have made contributions to knowledge, more or less perfect, but such have rarely attained to an accurate knowledge of any Language themselves, still less have they been able to prepare scientific treatises. Lepsius, Almqvist, Munzinger, Reinisch, and Fred. Müller, are splendid exceptions. The Dutch, in spite of their long settlement in South Africa, have not contributed one line to linguistic Science, and their Language in a debased Dialect has trodden out some of the primeval vehicles of speech of the indigenous inhabitants.

Of the one ancient Language of Africa, which has died leaving no lineal living descendant, the old Egyptian and Koptie, it would be impertinent in an Essay like this to attempt a proper notice, and yet it would be incomplete not to mention, that it is designedly omitted. The same remark applies to modern Arabic, which, with more or less purity, is spoken over such wide Regions in Africa. Its elder sister, Phenician, represented in Africa by numerous

Inscriptions, has passed away. It is the Language, in which Hannibal reported his conquests in Italy to the Senate of Carthage.

The progress of knowledge may be deemed worthy of a passing remark. It is wonderful to notice, how from the point of view of physical Geography Lakes, mountains, Rivers, tribes, and Kingdoms, have appeared on the Map, and from the point of view of linguistic Geography names of Languages have found their way to current European and American literature, to the lips of Lecturers, and Professors, as if a new Planet had rolled into view, or a new slide been slipped into a lantern of dissolving views; yet for long centuries these tribes have been *there*, where we now find them, and yet we, who made a show of knowledge, knew as little of their Language as of the humming of their insects, the howling of their wild beasts, and the roar of their cataracts. This is a solemn thought: generations of men in Africa, for whom also Christ died, have for centuries lived in vain, if life be measured by the invention of an Art, the propagation of an Idea, or the Salvation of a Soul. In imagination we can depicture them migrating through their grand forests, huddled together in their straw-huts, fighting their cruel fights, dancing their wild dances, and practising their abominable customs of Cannibalism, Human Sacrifice, bloody ordeals, slaughter of children, women, and Slaves; ignorant of the earth's surface beyond their own narrow region, ignorant of laws Human and Divine, ignorant of the existence, or true Worship, of God: of the form of words, which they uttered, their phraseology, the names of their wooden or stone-idols, their families, and their fellow-men, we know nothing.

The egotistical, self-satisfied Greek, and the hard, unsympathizing Roman, have left us no shred of knowledge of the Languages of Africa, if they possessed any. They crowded out the old Egyptian Language, buried the Etruscan out of sight, strangled the Punic and the Hamitic Languages of North Africa, which they were pleased to stamp with the immortal name of "Barbarous," which still lives in the great name of "Berber" and "Barbary." They would have stamped out the Language of the Hebrews also, with that of Syria, Tyre, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites, and the dwellers in Asia Minor, but that they came into collision with a Power greater than their own, and the Hebrew Language, to which were committed the Oracles of God, itself became immortal, and handed on the treasure, entrusted to its care, to the Greek and Latin Languages, thus securing to them also that Immortality, which the productions of their own marvellous genius might not have unaided secured.

It seems strange, that the intelligent Roman Prætors, either never possessed, or never transmitted to others, even the most general acquaintance, such as any Anglo-Indian authority has, with the numerous Arian and non-Arian Languages of British

India. Their navigators must have penetrated down the Red Sea to the Eastern coast of Equatorial Africa, and past the Islands of the Blest to the Western coast; the *Sahára* was traversed, and a powerful Roman colony was settled for centuries in the midst of a Semitic Phœnician, and Hamitic Numidian population. Africa once at least had been circumnavigated: it seems reasonable to have expected from Juvenal, who was banished to Syène in Upper Egypt, from Strabo, Sallust, Juba the Second, and Cornelius Balbus, some knowledge of the Language of the Blemmyes, the Garamantes, the Atarantes, and Getulians. There were Negro Slaves then as now, and it must be presumed, that their vocal utterances among themselves could have been extracted from them and recorded. There is absolutely nothing. In the Middle Ages the dark cloud of Mahometan rule fell over the northern portion of Africa, and the power of Europe was relaxed. In 1638 A.D. appeared a Dictionary of the Ethiopic, and in 1659 a Grammar of the Kongo, both in the Latin Language and printed at Rome. These were the first drops of a great shower. We must not be hard on our mediæval ancestors: they did what they could, and confessedly their opportunities were limited; they had not the strength, which we possess, or the opportunities open to us. We should try to do what we can: now is our time, our great innings in the great game of world-enlightenment, and it must be admitted, that our powers are unlimited, if only the will, and the resources, are not wanting, not without wisdom and self-control. At any rate, we know exactly what is wanted: we can indicate the gaps, that have to be filled up; the lines of study, that have to be extended, and, as stated above, the great comparative network, that has to be thrown over each Region. We know in what quarter translation of the Bible into fresh Languages, or enlargement of the store translated already in old Languages, are required; and this leads me, to whom only one thing is dearer than linguistic research, to indicate what that thing is: "Evangelization of the non-Christian world, and the bringing of Souls to God."

It has been wisely remarked by an American authority, that the "Religious Instinct," like the "Language-making Faculty," is a part, and an indispensable part, of the mental outfit of the Human Race. On this occasion our thoughts are directed to the latter element only. Let us think it out. The animal-world live and prosper, grow fat and multiply; they dwell together in herds and flocks, and in some cases in dwellings appropriated to a single couple; they resist their common enemies, and go out on the warpath against their weaker neighbours: (so far not unlike the European political freebooter, the scientific Geographical Explorer, and the commercial land-pirate, and wholesale dealer in poison, now under the protection of flags of Christian States,

let loose upon poor, unhappy Africa). Some of the animal-world construct places of residence, to which they periodically resort: they erect permanent structures, which resist the elements: without the help of the compass, or knowledge of the stars, they traverse the Continent, and the Ocean: they exhibit the highest forms of intelligence and industry in the ant and the bee, the imitative powers in the monkey and the parrot: they develop various forms of subtle and deadly treachery, quite worthy of the Human Race: they do all this from generation to generation, and yet have no power of articulate speech: *they have no Language*: they do not seem to want it: they get on well without it, as far as this world is concerned, which comprises all their desires, their fears, and their wants. Man, the Lord of the Universe, the only animal, which can exist under every variety of climate, and condition of existence, was no doubt in the earlier period of Geology, a speechless biped, "*ἄλαλος ἄνθρωπος*": "*mutus homo*": but he was gifted with brain-power, with a Soul yearning after the Creator, as the sunflower turns to the sun, and a capacity of handing on to the younger generations the accumulated experience of the past: thus he developed the art of issuing articulate sounds varying under the different circumstances of each particular environment, sometimes Polysyllabic, sometimes Monosyllabic, sometimes Inflexional, sometimes Agglutinative, in forms and on principles entirely irreconcilable with the idea of a common seedplot.

Why, then, was Language given to the "*genus homo*," or the Language-making faculty, except as a vehicle and an instrument of Worship, or the Religious Instinct? Men even in their barbarous savagery had immortal Souls, and they were formed in the Image of God. God spake unto men in ancient days, and the early Records of Man were entrusted to them in the form of perishing sounds, Written Characters, words, and sentences. How could the experience of the past, the wisdom of the present, and the hopes of the future, those attributes which distinguish the "*genus homo*" from the brute beasts that perish, be handed on except by the sounds, that issue from the labial, lingual, dental, palatal, and guttural, apparatus of the mouth, and the cunning symbols, which the hand has learnt under the teaching of centuries, to convey by the apparatus of up and down strokes, curves, dots, and dashes, to the material of stone, clay, papyrus, parchment, and a fabric of soaked and prepared rags?

The Missionary finds Languages and Written Characters to be the only, but the sure, instrument for getting to the hearts, ears, and eyes, of every population under the Sun, none of whom have fallen so low, and been left to lie so long in hopeless ignorance of the Art of Man, and the Nature of God, as the poor African.

The Art of the pencil, of the Painter's brush, and of the

Photographer's lens, has done much to make the careless world familiar with the woes, and wants, of the African. Familiar to everyone is the picture of the Slave-dealer's caravan wending its way with its daily diminishing train from a Region of burnt homesteads, and slaughtered villagers, to the coast; the sick and the useless infants left at each camping-ground to be devoured by the more merciful wild beast. Another kind of picture the present decade reveals: the Christian Missionary on the march, struggling on through forest, through marsh, across unbridged Rivers; a scant supply of personal comforts, but a sufficiency of medicines, and an abundance of translations of the Bible, of Hymns, of Prayer-Books, of Educational helps in the several Languages, in which the barbarous tribes are to be brought out of their heathen ways into the path, that leads through Faith to Morality, Holiness, and to God. Soon spring up the School, and the Chapel; and Language, the exclusive speciality of the Human Race, conveys to the astonished African their first Ideas of Human sympathy, of gentle words, the forerunner of kind actions, and the new conception of Love, a word with difficulty supplied with a Vernacular rendering in a form of speech, where *Ἀγάπη* and *Caritas* had no intellectual or material existence; Love casting out fear, which has led young men and women of European and American culture and origin to forsake their homes, and die for the welfare of their brethren and sisters, on the Niger, the Kongo, and the Zambézi Rivers, and on the Lakes of Victoria, Tanganyika, and Nyása.

Under the Grace of God the great Heaven-sent gift of articulate speech has done this. The legend of Orpheus tells us, how the strains of music dominated the intelligence, and the savage nature, of the beasts, but here there is something more; those, who were degraded lower than beasts, come under that influence, by which Ideas are conveyed from mind to mind, and from Soul to Soul. Souls are roused from a state of godless sleep to a new life, to prayer and to praise; eyes are opened to the wondrous capacity of reading, understanding, and being moved by, the Bible translated into a barbarous African Language, formerly full of words of cruelty, and indecencies, and now sanctified to become the censer containing the daily offerings of converted Souls to their Creator and Saviour. This is the work, which we have seen performed before our very eyes during the last quarter of a century by the Missionary.

The debt of Africa is great to the long train of Missionaries, who have studied and placed on paper Grammars, Grammatical Notes, Dictionaries, Vocabularies, and Texts, in the Language, which they used in their daily lives; still greater the debt from a scientific point of view to the succession of great Scholars, chiefly German, who have examined the truthful, though unscientific, works published by the men on the spot, and who have instituted

orderly and scientific comparison of Language with Language, group with group: thus gradually out of a confused heap of bricks, brought from the brick-kiln, a wall has been erected, or a fabric devised, the plan of which has been thought out by some greater diviner; the bundle of feathers has been examined, and each feather has been arranged in heaps according to colour, shape, and conformation. Africa, with the exception of the valley of the Nile, has no works of Art and Science to show as the outcome of long silent centuries, and dark Millions, who have been born, lived and died since the time of Herodotus, or the dim unknown centuries before the epoch of the great Greek Traveller; but the existence of the great Negro group, with its scores of isolated and totally distinct forms of speech, conterminous with the great Bantu family with its scores of kindred Languages, though differentiated in Vocabularies and Phonetics, still clothed on the same backbone and skeleton of the Bantu Grammatical organism, is an unparalleled record of the power of the Human Intellect, acting unconsciously, spontaneously, through the agency of Barbarians.

Twenty years ago there was a rebellion against the tyranny of Indo-European and Semitic Scholars, who attempted to cut down all Languages to the Procrustes-bed of the only type, with which they were acquainted, and on this narrow basis built towers of speculation on the origin of Language, as fabulous and misty as the Tower of Babel. This great problem cannot even now be approached until the secrets of the Languages of Africa, Oceania, and America, have been revealed, and have passed under the touch of the great Comparative Scholar, in order that the lessons, taught by the study of each, may be considered with reference to the linguistic phenomena of the whole world; and this work will be accomplished neither in this century, nor by this generation.

It may reasonably be assumed, that not one of the adventurers on the late scientific warpath to relieve a German Jew, who did not wish to be relieved, and who after his unwelcome relief went back to the spot, whence at the cost of the lives of many hundred poor Africans he had been relieved, knew one word of the Languages of the tribes, through whose Regions they forced themselves: their instrument of communication was the stick, the whip, the rifle, the hangman's rope; they did not teach the Ten Commandments, but gave in their own conduct object-lessons of the breach of them, especially of the Sixth and Eighth. The Agents of the great Commercial Company, who enabled the so-called Political Protestants to slaughter their fellow-Christians of the Church of Rome, knew nothing of the Language of either the slayer, or the slain: the bullet, the Maxim-gun, were their modes of expressing Ideas, or carrying conviction. The Alphabet of the liquor-dealer consists of demijohns of gin, and his mode of conveying love and peace is the conventional "dash" of alcohol. The epoch of the

Slave-trade was bad; is not the present epoch worse? Our grandfathers stole individual Africans from Africa, and somehow or other their descendants have developed into nine Millions of free citizens of the United States; our contemporaries steal Africa from the Africans, reducing to political bondage barbarous, but at least independent, populations, who are to be exploited by a Nubian soldiery. A bitter cry is rising up from all sides of Africa against the great Commercial Companies, the sellers of alcoholic liquor, the importers of arms and gunpowder, and that great partition of Africa among European States, not for the benefit of the poor people, but for the advantage of speculators, manufacturers, and adventurers, for shooters of wild beasts, and mowers down of African men, women, and children.

Leave the Missionaries alone: let them not lean, as in U-Ganda, on the carnal arm of the flesh: "Peace has her victories no less renowned than war": let their arm of precision be the School-primer, the simple Gospel sold for the cost of one banana, the Maps on the walls of the School-house, the slate and pencil on the desk, the industrial School, the gentle word of the teacher, the loving language of the preacher, the great example exhibited by the white man in his own life, the great and inestimable gift of Self-Sacrifice. How puny seem the traditions of ancient history regarding patriotic and religious devotion! The Roman, who leapt into the yawning abyss to save his country; the forlorn hope, that died at Thermopylæ, so that Athens might not be plundered; the Jewish matron, who went down alone in her chaste beauty into the camp of the alien invaders, and slew their Chief on his own bed: how insignificant, weighed in the wondrous scale of Human littleness, and Divine greatness, of Human possibilities, and Divine guidances, appear such stories, compared to what, with bated breath, sparkling eye, and heaving breast, we read of the simple European and American Christians, who for an unselfish motive, higher than that of patriotism, armed with weapons that cut deeper than the sword, and yet are steeped in Love, only Love, step out from their quiet homes in old and new England to die for the spiritual welfare of an African tribe, because the Master has so ordered it, and has set the great example:

"Scarcely for a righteous man will one die; yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die. But God commended His love to us in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."—*Romans*, v. 7, 8.

A prolonged study of many years, and the sympathy, and collaboration, of men in every part of Africa, without reference to their nationality, have enabled me to throw together in one treatise all that is known of African Languages at the present epoch. I stand at the bar awaiting the judgment of the Court of Appeal in the next generation, which will stand, as it were, on our

shoulders, availing itself of our knowledge, and, I hope, pardoning our errors, on account of our good intentions.

And after all the *Commerce of Thought* is the greatest, the oldest, form of Commerce, that the world can ever have known, and no manufacture is older, or more widespread, or more ingenious, or representing more definitely the line betwixt man and beast, than the *Manufacture of words*, and the *Marshalling of sentences*, which have been going on without ceasing over since the power of articulate speech was acquired. In the course of examining the words of an African Vocabulary, the 100 or 200 words, which represent the requirements, and environment, of his simple life, we obtain, or think that we obtain, a standard of Comparative Chronology, and Progressive culture, in the History of the world. How far advanced in Ideas, and the minted coin of words, which represent Ideas, was Abraham, the Father of the Hebrew Race in the nineteenth century B.C., above the African Barbarian of the nineteenth century A.D., yet the latter is now introduced, as it were *per saltum*, by the Missionary to that Divine knowledge, Ἡ ἀγία Σοφία, which Abraham might have desired to obtain, but failed, but which, as we are told by One, who cannot err, that he saw afar off, and was glad!

LIST OF SCHOLARS, WHO HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE EXTENSION OF
OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE LANGUAGES OF AFRICA UP TO 1893.

I. SEMITIC FAMILY.

Name.	Nationality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Ludolf	G.	Gíz.	—	G.D.
Dillmann	G.	do.	—	G.D.
Prætorius	G.	do.	—	G.
Massaia	F.	do.	—	G.
Isenburgh	G.	Amhára.	—	G.D.
D'Abbadie	F.	do.	—	D.
Guidi	I.	do.	—	G.N.
Beke	G.	do.	—	} Literary Contributions.
Munzinger	G.	do.	—	
Vidaithet	F.	do.	—	
Gesenius	G.	do.	—	
Renan	F.	do.	—	
Sapéro	I.	do.	—	
Schrader	G.	do.	—	
Krapf	G.	do.	—	} Literary Contributions.
Prætorius	G.	Tigré.	—	
Nöldeke	G.	do.	—	
Beurman	G.	do.	—	
Schreiber	G.	do.	—	
F. Müller	G.	Harári.	—	
Mallet	F.	do.	—	
Bourton	E.	do.	—	G.N.

II. HAMITIC GROUP.

Name.	Nation- ality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Du Ponceau	F.	Berber.	—	Voc.
Faidherbe	F.	do.	—	—
Halévy	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Ventur de Paradis	F.	do.	—	G.N.
F. W. Newman ...	E.	do.	—	Voc.
W. Hodgson	E.	do.	—	G.
De Slane	F.	do.	—	T.
Delaporte	F.	do.	—	D.
Duveyrier	F.	do.	—	Voc.
Hanoteau	F.	Kabáíl.	—	G.
Cuendet	F.	do.	—	D.
Brosselard	F.	do.	—	T.
Jaubert	F.	do.	—	D.
Creusat	F.	do.	—	D.
Newman	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Sierakowsky	Po.	do.	—	G.N.
W. Hodgson	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Hanoteau	F.	Tamashek.	—	G.
Freeman Stanhope	E.	do.	—	G.
Ball	E.	Shilha.	—	G.N.
Jackson	E.	do.	—	Voc.
Basset	F.	do.	—	G.D.
Macintosh	E.	do.	Sus, Riff.	T.T.
Summers	E.	do.	Shlu.	T.
Faidherbe	F.	Zénaga.	—	G.N.
Minutóli	I.	Siwah.	—	G.N.
Richardson	E.	Ghadamsi.	—	Voc.
Newman	E.	Ghát.	—	D.
Freeman Stanhope	E.	do.	—	G.
Hunter	E.	Somáli.	—	G.
Rigby	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Schleicher	G.	do.	—	G.
Tutschek	G.	Galla.	—	G.D.
Massaia	F.	do.	—	G.
Lottner	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Krapf	G.	do.	—	G.N. Voc.
Schmidt	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Wakefield	E.	do.	Bararetto.	T.
Almqvist	Sw.	Bishári.	—	G.
Beke	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Lepsius	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Munzinger	G.	do.	—	G.N.
F. Müller	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Watson	E.	do.	do.	Voc.
Halévy	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Waldmeir	G.	Agau.	—	Voc.
Halévy	F.	do.	Kara Falasha.	G.N.
do.	do.	do.	—	G.N.
Reinisch	G.	Bilin or Bogos.	—	G.N.

Name.	Nation- ality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Salt	E.	Dankali.	—	Voc.
D'Abbadie.....	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Isenburgh	G.	do.	—	Voc.
Reinisch.....	G.	Barea.	—	G.
do.	do.	Saho.	—	G.N.
do.	do.	Irob Saho.	—	G.N.
do.	do.	Kunáma.	—	G.N.
Englund.....	Sw.	do.	—	G.N.
Colizza	I.	Afar.	—	G. Voc. T.

III. NUBA-FULAH GROUP.

Lepsius	G.	Nuba.	—	G. Voc. T.
Rochemontaux ...	F.	do.	—	T.
Reinisch.....	G.	do.	—	G.
König	G.	do.	—	Voc.
Nerucci	I.	do.	—	D.
Tutschek	G.	Tumale.	—	G.N.
Erhardt	G.	Masai.	—	Voc.
H. H. Johnson	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Krapf	G.	Kwafi.	—	Voc.
Schweinfurth	G.	Monbutto.	—	G.N.
do.	do.	Nian-Viam.	—	G.N.
do.	do.	Krej.	—	G.N.
do.	do.	Golo.	—	G.N.
Sheltrame	I.	Shangalla.	—	G.N.
Beke	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Maruo	I.	do.	—	Voc.
Halévy ..	E.	do.	—	Voc.
Reichardt	G.	Fulah.	—	G.
Faidherbe	F.	do.	—	G.
Sanderval	F.	do.	—	Voc.
De Tautain	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Vohsen	G.	do.	—	T.
Krause	G.	do.	—	G.N.
Baikie	E.	do.	—	T.
Reichardt	G.	do.	Futatóro.	T.

IV. NEGRO GROUP.

Kobez... ..	F.	Wolof.	—	Handbook.
La Moise	F.	Serér.	—	do.
Raimbault.....	F.	Susu.	—	D.
Duport	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Schlenker	G.	Temné.	—	G.
Macbriar	E.	Mandé.	—	G.
Binger	F.	Bambára.	—	G.N. Voc.
Montel	F.	do.	—	G.D.
Crowther	N.	Yáriba.	—	
Wood	E.	do.	—	G.D.
Christaller.....	G.	Ashánti.	—	Reading Book.
Cannell	E.	do.	Fanti.	

Name.	Nation- ality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Zimmerman	G.	Akrá or Gá.	—	G.
Schlegel	G.	Ewé.	—	G.
Henrici	G.	do.	—	Reading Book.
Usera y Alarcon ...	Sp.	Kru.	—	G.
Wilson	E.	Grebo.	—	G.N.
Crocker	E.	Basa.	—	G.
Nylander	G.	Bullom.	—	G.
Schön	G.	Mendé.	—	G.
Koelle	G.	Veí.	—	G.
Schön	G.	Hama.	—	G.D.T.
Barth	G.	Súrhai.	—	G.N.
Norris and Koelle	E. & G.	Kanúri.	—	G. G.N.
Crowther	N.	Nupé.	—	G.
Goldie	E.	Efík.	—	G.D.
Schön	G.	Ibo.	—	G.
Crowther	N.	do.	—	Voc.
Miterrutzner	G.	Dinka.	—	G.
do.	G.	Bari.	—	G.

V. BANTU FAMILY.

Schreuder	No.	Zula.	—	G.
Grout	A.	do.	—	G.
Colenzo	E.	do.	—	G.D.
Dohne	A.	do.	—	D.
Ambrosius	?	do.	—	G.
Boyce	A.	do.	—	G.
do.	A.	Xosa or Kafir.	—	G.
Davis	?	do.	—	D.
Appleyard	?	do.	—	G.
Archbell	?	Chuána.	—	G.
Crisp	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Casális	F.	Súto.	—	G.
Endeman	G.	do.	—	G.
Jacottet	F.	do.	—	G.
Kruger	F.	do.	—	G.
Kolbe	G.	Hereró.	—	G.N.D.
Brincker	G.	do.	—	G. G.N.
Hahn	G.	do.	—	G.
Steere	E.	Swahili.	—	G.
Madan	E.	do.	—	D.
Krapf	G.	do.	—	G.D.
Maples	E.	Makua.	—	G.N.
Rankin	E.	do.	—	Voc.
Hetherwick	E.	Yao.	—	G. Voc.
Courtois	F.	Tete or Nyai	—	G.
Rebman	G.	Nganga or Niasa	—	D.
Laws	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Scott	E.	do.	—	G.

Name.	Nation- ality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Last	E.	Kagúru.	—	G. Voc.
do.	E.	Kamba.	—	G.N.
Elmslie	E.	Tamboka.	—	G.N.
Clark	E.	Gogo.	—	Voc.
Woodward.....	E.	Boondei.	—	G.N.
Wilson	E.	Ganda.	—	G.
R. C. Mission	E.	do.	—	G.
Taylor	E.	Giriáma.	—	T.
Wurtz	G.	Pokómo.	—	Voc.
Krapf.....	G.	Nika.	—	D.
New	E.	Chagga.	—	Voc.
do.	E.	Taita.	—	Voc.
Sanders and Fay ...	A.	Ambandu.	—	G.
Stover	A.	do.	—	Voc.
Da Cunha	P.	Mavia.	—	G.N. Voc.
Swan	E.	Luba.	—	G.
Carvalho	P.	Lunda.	—	G.N.
Chatelain	Sw.	Bunda.	—	G. G.N.
Cordeira.....	P.	do.	—	Voc.
Craven	E.	Kongo.	—	D.
Van der Gheyn.....	B.	do.	—	G.N.
Bentley	E.	do.	—	D.G.N.
Cambier.....	E.	do.	—	G.N.
Zabala	Sp.	Fan.	—	Voc.
Chatelain	Sw.	Mbamba.	—	G.N.
Wilson	A.	Pongwé.	—	G.
R. C. Mission	F.	do.	—	G.D.
Delaporte	F.	do.	—	Voc.
Preston and Best...	A.	Kele.	—	G.
Meinhoff	G.	Benga & Dualla.	—	Com. G.
Mackey	A.	Benga.	—	G.
Saker	E.	Dualla.	—	G.N. Voc.
Christaller.....	G.	do.	—	Handbook.
Merrick	E.	Isubu.	—	G.N. Voc.
Richardson	E.	Kundu.	—	G.N.
Clarke	E.	Ediya or Bubi.	—	G.
Bauman	G.	do.	—	Voc.
Juan da Madrid ...	Sp.	do.	—	G.N.
Sims	A.	Teke.	—	Voc.
do.	A.	Yansi.	—	Voc.
Carrie.....	E.	Kabinda or Kakongo.	—	G.
Ussel	E.	do.	—	G.
De Santos and Silva	P.	Fidé.	—	Voc.
Visseg	F.	Yalulema.	—	D.
Eddie and de Hailes	E.	Lolo.	—	Voc.
McKittrick	E.	do.	—	G.
Eddie	E.	Ngala.	—	T.
Belgian R. C. Miss.	F.	do.	—	Voc.

VI. HOTTENTOT-BUSHMAN GROUP.

Name.	Nationality.	Language.	Dialect.	Nature of Work.
Hahn	G.	Hottentot.	Nama.	G.
Schils	G.	do.	do.	G.
Tindall	E.	do.	do.	G.
Lepsius	G.	do.	do.	Naba G.
Wallmann	G.	do.	do.	G.N.
Bleek	G.	do.	do.	Comp. G.
De Charency	F.	do.	do.	G.
Schmelin	G.	do.	—	T.
Knudsen	G.	do.	—	T.
Kronlein	G.	do.	—	T.
Hahn	G.	Bushman.	—	G.N.
Bertin	F.	do.	—	G.N.
Beltrame	I.	Akka.	—	G.N.

VII. COLLECTIVE LINGUISTIC WORKS ON AFRICA,
OR REGIONS OF AFRICA.

Bleek	G.	South.	Comparative Grammar.
Beke	G.	East.	Geog. Distribution of Languages.
Munzinger	G.	do.	Ostafriken Studien.
Halévy	F.	?	
Koelle	G.	West.	Polyglotta Africana.
Abbadie	F.	East.	Langues de Kam.
Lepsius	G.	East.	Nuba Grammar.
F. Müller	G.	Africa.	Algemeine Ethnologie. Sprachwissenschaft.
Barth	G.	West.	Travels.
Schweinfurth	G.	East.	Linguistische Ergebnisse.
Nachtigall	G.	Central.	Travels.
Bastian	G.		} Literary Contributions.
Baikie	G.		
Cust	E.	Africa.	Modern Languages of Africa.
Christaller	G. }	Africa.	Zeitschrift Africanische Sprachen.
Buttner	G. }		
Latham	F.	do.	Philology.
Bleek and Peters ...	G.	Mozambik.	Collective Vocabulary.
Clarke	E.	West Coast.	Collective Vocabulary.
Hall	E.	Africa.	Dictionary of Languages.

IV.

ON THE ASÓKA-INSRIPTIONS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE INDIAN ALPHABET.

It is very desirable, that some definite opinion should be arrived at on this great subject. All the evidence, which we are likely to obtain, is now under our hands, and the most convenient course seems to be to give out on the occasion of such a Congress of Specialists as this a distinct and certain sound, and to leave it to others to controvert the opinion thus expressed, to suggest another solution, or to accept provisionally the opinion given.

To keep the discussion to its real issue, I must ask my hearers to admit for the present certain postulates: they are capable of proof on their own merits, but they lie outside the particular question at this moment before us, and I wish, for the sake of clearness, to narrow the issue. These postulates are:

I. That at some remote period the Phenician Alphabet was derived from the Hieratic form of the Egyptian Script of the Old Empire, notably the *Prisse-Papyrus*.

II. That the Phenician Inscription of the Moabite Stone is the oldest monument, with a definite date, of pure alphabetic writing, and dates back to the ninth century before the Christian era.

III. That the Alphabet of that Inscription is a complete and highly elaborated one, evidencing a long and established usage, and is considered by many to be the parent of every other form of alphabetic writing in Europe or Asia, that exists at the present moment.

IV. That there has existed from time immemorial commercial intercourse by land across Persia and Afghanistan, and by sea from the Persian Gulf and Red Sea, betwixt Western Asia with India in its fullest Geographical extent.

A consideration of these postulates must convince, that the derivation of the Indian alphabetic system from the Phenician Alphabet, the date of which may safely be carried back to the period of 1000 years before the Christian era, was *possible*.

Let us now consider whether it was *probable*.

I. The copious Indian literature, so garrulous, so faithfully reflecting the introspective and egotistic character of the Indian mind, so ready to supply a mythical origin to every fact or event, even to the descent of the River Ganges, or to the origin of the rocky ridges, which connect Ceylon with India, is absolutely silent as to the origin of the Alphabet, which is used in conserving that literature. The Indian Authors from some remote and uncertain period, certainly anterior to the invasion of India by Alexander the Great, made use of alphabetic writing for ordinary literary purposes, and have treated upon every possible subject, physical and metaphysical, and yet no account has been handed down of the origin of the marvellous vehicle of thought, which lay under their hands, and which they have elaborated to a degree unparalleled in any other country.

II. An Alphabet cannot spring into existence in full development from the brains of any people; nor is it the result of a compact made at any given period. Where such Alphabets have been constructed in modern times, in England or in China, the process has been only that of adapting new symbols to the old Phenician method. It may safely be laid down, that an alphabetic system is the outcome of a long and tedious usage of ideographic and syllabic symbols. A nation, capable from its own self-consciousness of carving upon rocks alphabetic Inscriptions, would assuredly have left traces of the same tendency on the same endurable tablets in ideographic and syllabic symbols. Now in India, from the Himaláya to Cape Cómorin, no trace of a pre-alphabetic Inscription, found so frequently and in such divers forms in Western Asia and North Africa, has been found, and a prolonged and careful archaeological survey of the whole of India is now drawing to a close.

III. The resemblance of the Indian alphabetic system with the Alphabets, which have sprung up in Europe and Asia, undoubtedly from the Phenician Mother, is so striking, that the Idea of a separate origin can hardly be entertained. And yet there appears to be no necessity pre-existent in the Human mind of one, and one only, system of representing sounds by symbols; at any rate, we have the evidence of totally distinct and independent ideographic and syllabic systems, which might, uninfluenced by the contact of the Phenician model, have developed into an independent alphabetic system. The Idea of the Nations of Western Asia being indebted to India for the germ of their alphabetic system, as unquestionably they are for their numerals, cannot be entertained.

A consideration of the above points leads to the conviction, that a separate and independent origin of the Indian Alphabet is highly improbable, or in other words, that a common origin is exceedingly *probable*.

The importance of these *a priori* arguments of possibility and probability lies in this, that it throws upon the opponent of the

solution now suggested the necessity of explaining away the remarkable facts, or reasonable inductions, above stated.

Turning to the earliest evidence of the existence of an Alphabet in India, we have the significant fact, that Xerxes, King of Persia, who was unquestionably cognizant of a distinct system of writing in use by his own nation, that of the Cuneiform Persian, ordered his scribes to write to the authorities of the different Provinces of his Empire, from India to Ethiopia, "unto every Province *according to the writing thereof*, and unto every people after their Language" (Esther viii, 9). This evidences a plurality of forms of script, in addition to the Persian form so well-known, and to the Hebrew form, which is specially mentioned, and a distinct allusion made to India; the name of India is inseparably connected with the River Indus and the North-West frontier of that country. In 327 B.C. Alexander the Great, having conquered Persia, invaded India, and penetrated as far as the River Beas in the Panjáb. The historians of that celebrated expedition mention incidentally, that the art of writing for private purposes was then known in India. These historians themselves used the Greek Alphabet, and their not alluding to any such radical difference between their own and the Indian system, such as would arise from the use of Ideographs, and the great variety of symbols rendered necessary in a Syllabary, implies, that an Alphabet was used in India at the time and place alluded to, and for the ordinary requirements of civilized life, as distinguished from monumental Inscriptions. The material, strips of bark and pieces of linen, is specially noticed; and this implies a wide and developed system, meant to be practically understood. As regards Inscriptions, from the sites chosen for them it is clear that, whatever was their object, they were not meant to be generally read, as they were carved either in inaccessible heights, as at Behistun, or in the uninhabited jungle.

In India the group of Asóka-Inscriptions stands unrivalled in magnificence, wide diffusion, clearness of meaning, certainty of date, and excellence of preservation. Forty in number, in two distinct forms of Alphabet, in three Dialects of the same Language, in the form of tablets on the naked rock, or on sculptured pillars, they are found from Pesháwar on the North-West frontier of India, down to Katak on the East, and Kathiawár on the West coast. No allusion is made by any Sanskrit writer to the existence of these Inscriptions, or to the Sovereign who carved them. He was a Buddhist by religion, Asóka by name, though always called Piyadási on the tablets, King of Upper India, with his capital at Patna on the Ganges, grandson of that Sandracottus, to whom Seleucus, the successor of Alexander the Great, had sent ambassadors. The edicts relate to social and moral subjects of an elevated and surprising character, and their date is fixed at 253 to 250 B.C. by the allusion in some of the edicts to four contemporary Sovereigns

of Europe and North Africa, showing that in those days there was sufficient intercourse betwixt Europe and India.

The Character used is magnificent and highly developed, indicating a long and constant previous usage. The Language used is the Pali, one of the Prakrits, which represent the first stage of decomposition of the great Vedic vehicle of Ideas known as the Sanskrit, and are the forerunners of the great modern Vernaculars of Northern India, the Hindi, Bangáli, Gujaráti, Maráthi, Uriya, Asámi, Sindhi, Panjábi, Kashmíri, and Nipáli, which inherited the literature, Language, and script of their great prototype, when Synthetic Sanskrit, like the Latin, died away from the lips of men as a living form of speech, and was replaced by a family of magnificent and powerful Inflexional, or analytic, Vernaculars, each with its own modification of the Indian Alphabet. But beyond this, the form of alphabetic writing was borrowed and adopted with modification by the great Dravidian family of Agglutinative Languages of Southern India, by the great Tibeto-Burman Agglutinative group, such as the Tibetan, Lepcha, and others of the Himaláya and the great plateau of High Asia, and the Burma, Mon, Siam, Shan, and Kambódia of the Indo-Chinese Peninsula. Nor was its influence limited by the Indian Ocean; for with Commerce and civilization, the rudiments of the same great Alphabet were conveyed to the islands of the Indian Archipelago, to Sumátra, Java, Celebes, and the Philippines.

It will not be disputed, that these truly wonderful and varying forms of alphabetic writing, exceeding all the other varieties in the whole world, were derived from the Alphabet of Asóka; it will be perceived, therefore, how important it is to arrive at some definite conclusion as to the origin of that Alphabet. To this I now draw attention.

Out of the forty Inscriptions, ten only are of importance: of these ten, one only represents the Northern Asóka Alphabet; the other nine represent the Southern Asóka. It is a remarkable feature of the case, that the same Sovereign should have employed two different Characters to publish within his dominions what are essentially the same edicts in Dialects of the same Language. Although both these Characters are alphabetic, yet they differ from each other in many particulars, and it cannot be asserted, that one is derived from the other, though they bear evidence of both coming from the same parent-stock.

Many distinguished Scholars have turned their attention to the illustration of these celebrated Inscriptions. Foremost among from are James Prinsep, who discovered the secret of their interpretation; Senart, of Paris, who has lately submitted the Text to a careful revision; Bühler, who in late numbers of the German Oriental Society, has returned to a subject, which is familiar to him both in the field and in his study; and the distinguished Vice-

President of this Congress, Professor Henry Kern, who has made the subject peculiarly his own. Of him it may be said with truth, that nothing in Nearer or Farther India, or the Indian Archipelago, has escaped his notice, and he may be justly addressed as

“Docte sermones utriusque linguæ.”

The palæographical side of the subject has been studied by Edward Thomas, Cunningham, Dowson, and Burnell. If this last Scholar had lived longer, the world would have known more. Cut off at the early age of forty-two, he has left lasting monuments of his industry, knowledge, and acute penetration, and his “Elements of South Indian Palæography,” published in 1878, mark a distinct epoch in the Science. During the present year a valuable contribution has been made to the whole subject of the origin and development of the Alphabet by Isaac Taylor, and his chapter on the Indian Alphabet supplies much to admire, and leaves little to desire, as it recapitulates clearly the whole controversy, and conducts the reader convincingly to what seems the only solution of the problem on the existing evidence.

The solitary specimen of the North Asóka Character is found in the Rock-Inscription, commonly called that of Kapúrdagarhi, situated in the area of Shahbázgarhi, a village in the District of Pesháwar, west of the Indus, within the civil Province of the Panjáb and its dependencies. The population of this District was once Hindu and Buddhist. Since the irruption of the Afghans it is exclusively Mahometan, using a Language belonging to the Iranian branch of the Arian family. The Inscription is written from right to left, after the manner of all Semitic Alphabets in Asia: the Alphabet is cursive of the Iranian type, and has been conclusively identified with an Aramaic original. Its use at one time extended East of the River Indus into India, but it died out at an early period, and it had no influence on the later Indian Alphabets. It may with safety be left out of the discussion of the origin of the Indian Alphabet, although used occasionally by Indian Sovereigns in their coins and monuments.

The South Asóka Character is written from left to right, after the manner of all Indian Alphabets, and of the Himyaritic and its admitted descendant the Ethiopic. It has never been found in a cursive form. An inspection of the Alphabet will satisfy anyone, that the Character, from which it was derived, did not comprise a sufficient number of letters, and that new signs had to be made by differentiating some of the old ones. This is in itself a proof, that the South Asóka was adapted from an alien and uncongenial original, and was not an indigenous invention worked out by the genius of the people from original material. The cerebral series of consonants is a peculiar feature of Indian sounds, and had to be

added to the North Asóka confessedly Semitic Alphabet. We remark the same necessity and similar expedients under our eyes in the artificial differentiation of the cerebrals in the Arabic and Roman Alphabets, when applied to represent the sounds of an Indian Language. Yet these cerebrals were co-existent with the origin of the Language, and could not have been omitted in any scheme of expressing sounds by Ideographs or a Syllabary. Then, again, we remark in both the Asóka Alphabets the peculiar method of indicating vowels in the body of a word by additions to the preceding consonant, bearing a close analogy to the vowel-points of the Semitic Alphabet. Such a method would never have been resorted to, had an original Alphabet been worked out to represent the vowel sounds of an Arian and Dravidian Language, and have a marked relation to a Semitic Language, where the vowels are subsidiary to the consonant.

Burnell arrives at a conviction, shared by many others, that :

I. The Art of writing was, comparatively speaking, little known in India up to a date, compared to which the Moabite Stone would seem ancient, and that for many generations the Súra of Sanskrit works were orally handed down. With the introduction of prose commentaries came the necessity for a written vehicle of speech, or rather, the introduction of a written vehicle of speech rendered possible prose-composition.

II. There is not the least trace of the development in India of an original and independent system, founded upon Syllabaries and Ideographs; the very rocks cry out against such a baseless theory, having conserved in safety for more than twenty centuries the alphabetic Inscriptions confided to them. The Art must have been introduced, therefore, from foreign countries.

III. It is notorious, that no Arian or Dravidian Nation ever invented from its own resources an Alphabet: the Semitic propclivities of both the Asóka Alphabets, and the derivation of the Northern Asóka from a Semitic original, are admitted. Western Asia is, therefore, the only possible cradle of the alien invention, and there alone in all the world at that period Alphabets are found in existence and in general use.

Three possible sources suggested themselves. The first theory, that the Alphabet was imported by Phenician traders, may at once be rejected, as Phenician communication with India had ceased many centuries before the earliest possible date, that can be assumed for the existence of writing in India. Had it been introduced into India many centuries before the date of the Asóka tablets, how are we to account for the same Character being used in such widely separated localities as Kathiawár, Katak, and the slope of the Himaláya? The Alphabets in that long period must have come into common use, and the tendency of all Alphabets in common use is to diverge from each other; and we know as a fact how con-

siderable are the divergences of the modern Indian Alphabets, even when applied to kindred Arian Languages. Another consideration leads to the conclusion, that an alphabetic system was introduced into India in the sixth century before Christ, but not previously. A careful examination of Sanskrit literature shows, that certain Sutra, to which a date of the sixth century is ascribed, imply a knowledge of the art of writing, to which allusion is also made in the "Institutes of Manu," the great heroic poem of the Maha Bhárata, and the Grammar of Pánini. The theory of a Phenician origin cannot be seriously entertained.

Burnell looks with favour upon the second alternative, that the Alphabet was introduced into India, by way of the Persian Gulf, from an Aramaic type used in Persia. It is certain, that a cursive Aramaic Character was long used, and, as stated above, one offshoot of this group of Semitic Alphabets had found its way by land to the North-West corner of India, and is known as the Northern Asóka, but differing very materially from the Southern Asóka. It seems difficult to admit the hypothesis, that another offshoot from the same stock should have found its way to Southern India by Sea, and developed itself so differently. We must at least have more certain proof of the existence of such an Aramaic Alphabet and its characteristics before we build such a theory as to make it the lineal ancestor of the score of magnificent Alphabets of India on the mainland and in the Archipelago.

Burnell, in the year 1882, a few months before his lamented death, published in an English scientific Journal an additional fact supporting, in his opinion, his own view of the Aramaic origin of the South Asóka Alphabet. All that Burnell wrote is precious. It appears that Professor Sayce had found on a Babylonian bilingual contract-tablet in the British Museum traces of a Written Character, previously unknown, and in a Language which, according to Burnell, was neither Arian nor Dravidian. Burnell considers this Character, to which the Cuneiform version attributed the date of Artaxerxes II., to be the (by him) long-wished-for original of the Southern Asóka, and he identifies several letters. He goes on to state, that other tablets had subsequently been found with a similar Character, of which the date could safely be attributed to 600 B.C. Until these Inscriptions are published, as promised, in *facsimile*, we must reserve our judgment. The production of fresh evidence will materially alter the issue.

There remains the third hypothesis, that the South Asóka Alphabet was imported from Arabia, and was derived, by the Red Sea, from the Himyaritic development of the Phenician Alphabet. The latest writer on the general subject of Alphabets, Isaac Taylor, gathering up all that has been written, and setting out all possible arguments, facts, and inductions, urges strongly

the reasonable probability of this theory, which was started by Weber more than a quarter of a century ago, and is formularized by Lenormant in his Essay on the Phenician Alphabet, for he distinctly defines an Indo-Arabian stem, with certain characteristics. Unquestionably the continuous existence of a Commerce between Yemen and South India can be asserted from a very remote period, quite sufficient to meet all requirements. This channel of conveying the knowledge of the Alphabet was possible. It is shown further that the Himyaritic Alphabet branched off from the Phenician not later than the sixth century before Christ, and it is about this date that the origin of the Indian Alphabet is assigned, as the result of a careful chain of reasoning. It is suggestive, that there exists in the extreme South of the Peninsula of India a third Alphabet, confessedly independent of the Southern Asóka, the Vatteluttu, which, though nearly entirely superseded by later Alphabets, has left marked traces of its peculiarities in the Tamil Character. Now this Alphabet, though differing from the Southern Asóka, and only adapted to the sound of a Dravidian Language, shares with the Asóka certain Semitic resemblances, and must have been a foreign importation; and in this case, there can be no question, that it must have been imported by the Sea from countries, which already possessed Alphabets, for there exists no possible presumption of invention at home, or importation by land from abroad.

Passing from general considerations to a particular comparison of the original letters of the Southern Asóka with the Himyaritic, the style of both is strikingly monumental; the direction of the writing of the Southern Asóka is from left to right, and we find that Himyaritic is written in the boustrophédon manner either way, and as a fact its admitted descendant, the Ethiopic, adopted the same direction as the Asóka. It is noteworthy, that to the same Alphabet of Arabia the honour is thus ascribed of giving a vehicle of speech to India and Ethiopia. The mode of noting the vowels in the Ethiopic and the Asóka have a special resemblance, and although the Ethiopic came into existence at a much later date, yet its possession of these peculiarities, and its undoubted parentage, add to the probability of the Asóka, which possesses the same features, having come, though at an earlier date, from the same stock.

The objections are, that in India culture, Religion, and the Arts of civilization, have always proceeded from the North to the South. As a general rule this may be the case, but the casual introduction of a special Art from a foreign country must be an exception. In modern times the Art of printing has spread from the South to the North, being an import from the West, just as it is urged, that more than 2000 years earlier the Art of writing found its way.

A more serious objection is, that up to this time no Himyaritic

Inscription of a date sufficiently early has been found. Late in time, compared to the Inscriptions of Western Asia and North Africa, as the Asóka-Inscriptions confessedly are, the oldest of the Himyaritic is considerably later. If such an archæological survey of South Arabia, as has now taken place in India, were practicable, it is possible, that earlier Inscriptions would be found, as the Himyaritic Alphabet is elaborate and refined, and the culture of Yemen is of remote antiquity. As it is, the inter-comparison of existing specimens is that of sister-Alphabets, alleged to be derived from a common, though as yet unknown, prototype.

After all, I only propose a hypothesis, for there neither exists, nor is likely ever to exist, any direct or material proof. History is silent; tradition is non-existent; no hints or inductions can be drawn from ancient literature. The dry climate of Egypt has conserved papyri coeval with the Call of Abraham; the moist climate of India has not permitted a manuscript to survive of a date anterior to the Norman Conquest of England. In Egypt and Mesopotamia, the naked rock, carved stone, engraved metal, and baked clay, have been faithful witnesses and consignees, of the genius of nations. In India, nothing material exists so early as the conquest of Alexander the Great, and the poets and philosophers were so occupied in spinning idle fables, and still idler introspections of the cause and nature and object of Human Existence, that they had no time to notice the origin or the importation of the very instrument of imparting Ideas, of which they made such an unlimited, and unparalleled, and unprofitable, use.

Proceedings of Sixth Oriental Congress, Leyden, Sept., 1883.

V.

THE LANGUAGE OF MONKEYS.

MR. R. L. GARNER has published a book, which may or may not, be a first utterance on a great subject. It is not well to laugh down any patient scientific investigation of the secrets of Nature. We have learnt one lesson in this century, viz., to suspend our judgment. As to the origin of speech of Human beings, we are feeling our way: speech is clearly too composite and historic a power to be born in any one of us. If it be asked in what Language Adam addressed Eve, we can only suppose that it was by the squeeze of a hand, a gentle poke in the rib, a twinkling of the eye, or signs and gestures, which in a few days formed themselves into a code, supplemented by sounds, as the vocal organs formed their powers. Infants' movements are now watched, that a conception may be formed how Ideas are conveyed, and the sound of "Mamma" suggested as indicating an important visitor. In the world of birds, we find that sounds have an intelligible meaning. The hen has her well-known cry of alarm, of assembly, or home-call to her little ones. Rising up to vertebrate animals, we need hardly do more than to allude to the friendly, the hostile, and the frightened notes of the dog, cat, and horse; and it is nothing surprising, that, as the monkey is nearer to the "genus homo," in outward conformation of body, so its power of expressing itself may be assumed to be the most highly developed among animals. Among savage tribes, the naked native white-haired old man and old woman, crouching on their hips, grinning and chattering in their own unintelligible way, differ very little in outward appearance, and, as far as we can tell, in intellectual and spiritual capacity, from the anthropoid ape.

Incidentally it may be remarked, that Language is not the only vehicle of communication used by the "genus homo." In the Canary Islands a whistle-Language is used by the natives. On the opposite shore of the Kamerún in West Africa there is a drum-Language. Any conversation can be carried out by means of whistling, and be understood a mile off; each syllable has its peculiar tone, the fingers are placed on the lips while whistling. The necessity has arisen from the existence of rugged and unbridged ravines, which divide villages from each other. Gesture-Language is on a higher level. The deaf mutes in Europe string together their Ideas, and convey them to their fellows wholly independent of vocal speech, *e.g.* :

"Mat black brings,"

"Hungry me bread brings."

Similar phenomena have been remarked among the North American Indians, in Africa, and in Australia.

It is not, therefore, as an idle experiment, that Mr. Garner turned his attention to the study of the modes of utterance of the most gifted of the "genus animal." He does not pretend, that Monkeys carry on conversation. Their speech is limited to a single sound or remark. Even among taciturn men and women a single sound, No! Yes! Humph! Don't! Fie! goes a great way. There was a great Statesman, lately dead, who had learnt the art of "being silent in six Languages," or in other words his monosyllabic utterances in all the Languages of Europe settled grave affairs only confused by the voluble utterances of empty heads. He disliked idle arguments. He made up his mind, and grunted "Yes" or "No," and his colleagues knew where to meet him.

Mr. Garner finds, that the study of the vocal sounds of the Monkey in an European menagerie is not sufficient. He has gone to the forests of Africa to make his observations of Monkeys in their natural state. His plan is to be conveyed in an iron cage of sufficient size and strength to resist the violence of large animals, and be left alone suspended from an arm of a tall tree in the forest. On the ground below him are spread pipes prepared as phonographic machines; the Monkeys are expected to approach them, take them into their clutches, and unconsciously all their sounds will be recorded in the phonograph, while the inquirer himself is watching their movements from his silent and unapproachable cage. He thus explains his policy:

"Monkeys talk with each other on a limited number of subjects, but in very few words, which they repeat, if necessary. Their Language is one of sounds, and while the *sounds* are accompanied by *signs*, they are quite as able to get along with sounds alone, as with signs alone. The rules, by which we interpret the sounds of 'Simian' speech are the same as those, by which we interpret the Human speech. A sailor, cast away on an island inhabited by a strange Race of people, whose speech was so unlike his own, that he could not understand a word, watches the actions of the people, and sees what they do in connection with each sound uttered, thus gradually learning to associate a certain sound with a certain act, until at last the sound conveys a meaning without seeing the act at all."

We see thus that his methods are truly practical, and we await the result of his scientific labours.

March 20th, 1893.

VI.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVING THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

My experience of the Society extends over fifteen years, and I have been connected with the Executive, and have attended nearly all the Meetings, and helped to make up the Journal, all that time.

My opinion is, that we must make a new departure as to our Meetings and our Journal, so as to keep pace with the age. I desire to follow the example of the Royal Geographical Society, and anticipate the same success.

With the volume for 1886-87 the second series of our Journal will be completed: let the publication of a Journal then cease, and a complete Subject-Index of both Series be published.

From 1887-88 let us substitute "Proceedings," to appear every quarter from Nov. 1st of each year: In these Proceedings will be:

- I. The Papers read at the meetings, or sent in to the Society, and deemed worthy of publication, but not suitable for reading at the meetings.
- II. The discussions, which ensued after the reading of each paper.
- III. Letters addressed to the Society containing information, making inquiries, or refuting errors.
- IV. Reviews of books (*not* polemical) on subjects connected with Science and Art, and Human knowledge in Asia, Africa, and Oceania.
- V. Abstract of Proceedings of Sister-Societies at Paris, Leipzig, Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, etc.
- VI. Brief notice of titles of books published in all Languages on subjects coming within the scope of the Society.
- VII. Detailed archæological, linguistic, or scientific notices, original, or copied from other periodicals.

Such "Proceedings" published every third month would greatly reduce the bulk of the Annual Report. They should appear without fail on the days fixed, and be illustrated by maps and plates, where required. The members of the Society, and the general

public (on payment) would thus be supplied with an interesting and instructive periodical, analogous to the Proceedings of the Geographical Society, but relating to a different branch of Human knowledge, neither overlapping each other.

The meetings should be limited to six in the year, with a power to summon extra meetings, should any topic of peculiar interest and novelty arise. Meetings of the Council could be oftener, if required. There should be annually evening-meetings to listen to selected Lectures on interesting topics by persons of distinction.

Great care should be taken to select interesting subjects for discussion at the six meetings: the Author of the paper should be required to supply an abstract, setting forth the nature of his communication, and the salient features: this should be printed, and circulated *before* the meeting among the members of the Council, and such members of the Society as desire to be so supplied: copies should be sent to any individuals, who are *not* members of the Society, but who are likely to take an interest in the discussion; such persons should be invited to attend and take a share in the debate.

A shorthand-writer should attend the meeting, to take down all remarks made in the discussions, which should be published in the Proceedings, the proof having been submitted to the persons, who took part in the discussion for their approval.

At present the meetings of the Society are very dull, and the discussions are very languid, and purposeless; in fact, many members of the Council slip away without attending the meetings. The Journal is good, but heavy, and does not supply what is required, viz., *accurate information of what is going on in the different centres of Oriental research.*

The Asiatic Society should draw closer relations with the Universities, the British Museum, and all other Societies, which occupy conterminous fields. Seats on the Council should be reserved for all Scholars from India, English or Native, or other Oriental Countries, who are in England for brief times. It should be understood, that no one should be elected to the Council, who does not intend to contribute in some degree to the extension of Oriental knowledge. Members of the Society, residing at the Universities or elsewhere out of London or England, should be eligible to the Council, as their advice can be taken by letter, and will be specially valuable as representing a distinct centre of research: the Oriental Professors of Oxford, Cambridge, Edinburgh, and Dublin should, when they are Members, be on the Council, and invited to take an interest in our welfare.

The Society should not restrict itself to linguistic subjects, but should admit discussions and contributions on Oriental Numismatics, Archæology, literature, Mythology, and Folk-lore. It should

distinctly include Africa and Oceania, within the regions of its inquiries. This will attract a wide circle of adherents, and supply a larger field for contributions. Whatever civilization Africa and Oceania possess, they owe to Asia, and there are many interesting subjects opening out every year, on which there is at present no vehicle for discussion, and seeking information.

The Society should in addition to its ordinary Members, Resident and Non-Resident, and its thirty Honorary Members, who are selected as men of high distinction, have a staff of "Corresponding Members" in every part of the three Continents above-named. There will be no difficulty whatever in selecting good men, who would be gratified by the honour, and who would receive a copy of the Proceedings post-free as their reward. I have myself correspondents in nearly every part of this vast Region. To them would be referred inquiries, which may have been started, and which require local elucidation, and their name is Legion. They should be appointed for a term of five years, and be re-eligible. Closer relations should be maintained with the Mother-Society in Bengal, and the Sister-Societies in Bombay, Madras, Ceylon, Singapore, and China: encouragement, and complimentary notice, of their work should be given in our Proceedings. All Societies, such as the Pali-Text, the Sanskrit-Text, Palestine-Exploration-Fund, the Egyptian-Exploration-Fund, etc., should be associated with the Royal Asiatic Society, their revenue and management being kept separate. The Proceedings of all Government officials, such as the Indian Archæological Surveyors, the Manuscript-Commissioners, the Collectors of Inscriptions, the Librarian of the India Office, the Oriental Manuscript and Book Departments of the British Museum, should be noticed. The results of the Oriental Tripos, and Oriental Schools, at Universities, should be chronicled, and by constant references to the subject Oriental Study should be stimulated.

Medals and Diplomas, should be offered annually, of the character of the Volney Prize, to superior Oriental Works. The completion of great works, such as Dictionaries, and the Chronicles of Tâbari, should be noticed with due honour. Of course all this will require an efficient paid Secretary, and the assistance of able and willing Members of Council, who should be selected so as *especially to represent every branch of Oriental Study*, and take an active share in the work to be done. The number of old Indians on the Council, with no special branch of Study, should be reduced, so as to admit younger and fresher minds, with special qualifications, and care should be taken not to let the hackneyed subjects of Sanskrit, Arabic, and Hebrew, usurp a place, which they deserve neither for their novelty, nor their importance, in the great Republic of Oriental knowledge.

The Royal Asiatic Society should determine to be the centre, the chronicler, and the authority, on every scientific Oriental subject

in its widest sense, having through its kindred Societies, and its ubiquitous correspondents the touch of the whole Eastern world : its influence will then act and react on the Progress of Research, and the correctness of Record of Discoveries. The Société Asiatique restricts itself exclusively to French Authors and French Publications: the German Oriental Society has a very limited influence beyond Germany: no other European Oriental Society is of any importance whatsoever: let the Royal Asiatic Society take the standpoint occupied by the English Nation, and bring to a focus whatever is doing in any part of the Eastern world, by whomsoever the work is being done. If it remains as it is now, it will soon be left high and dry by the retreat of the tide, and its membership will cease to be desired, because no tangible object is derived from an association, which has ceased to be honourable, or useful.

The subscription should be reduced to the level of the subscription of the Royal Geographical Society, but payment should be efficiently enforced. The Chair of the President should be occupied *for one year only*, so as to secure the services in rotation of Scholars of distinction residing in London, and the Universities, and elsewhere. The position will then be coveted as one of dignity. The executive authority should be vested, as heretofore, in the Director, as regards the Proceedings, the Treasurer as regards the Funds, the Honorary Secretary as regards the general control, and under their orders only the paid Secretary should act. The Honorary officials, though elected annually, should continue in office, so as to secure departmental knowledge. With the Council, presided over by the President, will of course rest the supreme control, and the power of making organic changes.

May 22, 1886.

VII.

SUGGESTIONS FOR CONFERRING HONOURS ON LINGUISTIC SCHOLARS.

MY LORD, I am one of the oldest students of the Languages of British India, and venture to address your Lordship on the subject of the necessity of extending some additional encouragement to the Study of these Languages, and of Indian Archæology.

The abolition of the Indian Army, and of a covenanted Civil Service trained in a special college, has cut away the sources of the former supply of Oriental Scholars. No civilian of the past generation would have had any scientific knowledge of Languages, if he had not been trained at the East India College of Haileybury.

The Civil and Military Services do not now produce Scholars; no doubt for special duties they are equally, or even more, efficient, but the steady flow of Oriental Scholars has ceased. The Educational Department does not supply the void, as Language is but a small fraction of that Department. Nor does the native community, with some rare and splendid exceptions, supply Scholars, who can hold their own in European circles.

This failure is becoming yearly more manifest at the triennial Congresses of Oriental Scholars held at the different Capital cities of Europe, nearly all of which I have attended.

If any post falls vacant, requiring Scholarship, in Great Britain, or the Colonies, or even in British India, a Continental Scholar has to be sent for, which wounds the *amour propre* of the subjects of Her Majesty.

It occurs to the undersigned, who, at the close of a long career dedicated to the best interests of British India, has no personal object to serve, to suggest, that your Lordship might, with advantage extend to young Scholars in Oriental Languages and Indian Archæology, the same encouragement of Imperial favour, as is properly extended to the great Engineer, or Soldier, or Judge, or Administrator; some members of the very distinguished Civil and Military Services might then be induced to strive to maintain the glories of the epoch, which produced Sir W. Jones, Mr. Colebrook, and Dr. H. H. Wilson, and others of a later date. At present this branch of Study is nearly entirely neglected.

The undersigned takes the liberty of illustrating his argument by two instances: Mr. Brian Hodgson, still living at the age of ninety, and the late Sir Henry Yule; the names of both these Scholars is mentioned with respect and admiration in Continental circles. In their own country their services to literature have, in the first case, been entirely unacknowledged, and in the latter, so tardily, that death soon accompanied the honour. It is true, that they, and others of the older generation, have laboured *for the work's sake*, and not for the chance of honour, and in that they have their full, *and to them sufficient*, reward; but the object of the State should be to encourage others, and it seems as if the younger generation is compelled now to enquire, what will pay best in the long run, and, as certainly Oriental Study does not in that sense pay, it suffers, and the high repute of the British name suffers with it. It is an object of desire to secure to the British name an all-round reputation in Arts and Arms, and in every branch of Human Science, especially in a branch so closely connected with the Religion, customs, and culture, and welfare, of the great Indian Nation confided to our charge.

It is, therefore, with the profoundest respect, that I suggest to your Lordship, that year by year a certain number of honorary decorations be reserved to those, who have distinguished themselves in the advance of Indian Languages, literature, Archæology, and culture, whether Europeans or Natives of Asia. Some men return to their home, illustrious as Soldiers, or Statesmen, or Judges, or Engineers; let it be possible that to some it should be permitted to be honoured as Scholars, and possibly the fruit of their labours will survive into the next generation, when the achievements of the other illustrious public servants will be forgotten. It may perhaps be argued, that in this respect, viz. in the enduring of their reputation to future ages, they have their reward, and that the Father of Buddhist research and the Author of the "Life of Marco Paolo" would gain no additional lustre from anything, that the Secretary of State for India had it in his power to give, but perhaps the Secretary of State himself might derive honour from the fact, that he honoured those who were deserving of honour; at any rate, younger Scholars would be encouraged. There are some, who have not attained such honours, though worthy of them; there are others, who would not care for them, if offered for their acceptance; but there are others, who in youth or middle life, with still unexhausted powers, might be encouraged to labour on the prospect of the fruits of their labour being recognised, and in behalf of the young Scholars now in India I venture to intrude on your Lordship's patience. I am, your Lordship's obedient servant.

*To the Right Honourable, The Secretary of State for India,
India Office, May, 1892.*

COPY OF REPLY.

SIR, I am directed by Lord Cross to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, and to thank you for the suggestions contained in it as to the encouragement of Oriental Scholarship.

His Lordship desires me to say, that your remarks will be borne in mind, and that a copy of your letter will be sent to the Viceroy for his information. I am, Sir, yours faithfully,

A. W. WILLIAM WYNN.

India Office, June 10th 1892.

The following letter closed the correspondence :

*India Office, Whitehall,
5th August, 1892.*

DEAR SIR, Mr. Wynn's letter of the 10th June will have informed you that a copy of your letter of the 27th May last would be referred to the Viceroy.

A reply to this reference has now been received, and I am desired by Lord Cross to communicate to you the views of His Excellency as expressed therein.

In regard to natives of India, who may have distinguished themselves by proficiency in Oriental Languages, it will be remembered, that the honorary titles of Mahámahopádyáya, and Shamsh-ul-Ulama, have been conferred since 1887; whilst the Order of the Indian Empire contains the names of a number of gentlemen, who were appointed to it in recognition of their distinction in the same field, the policy of the State being to encourage Oriental Scholars in their labours by the grant of honorary distinctions. I am, dear Sir, yours faithfully,

THEOPH. HASTINGS.

*Robert Cust, Esq.,
Hon. Sec. Royal Asiatic Society.*

VIII.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

M. ERNEST RENAN.

WE have lost one of the most illustrious of our Honorary Members, illustrious in many ways. In this *Journal* he must chiefly be regarded from the point of view of an Oriental Scholar. But it is right to remark, that no Frenchman of this generation surpassed him in the gracious elegance of his style; never was French prose so musical, flowing, pliant, and expressive, as under his touch.

Born at Treguier, in Brittany, in the year 1823, he was intended to be a priest, but his intellect was of too fine a clay to be fashioned in that mould, and he left the Seminary before he was admitted to the priesthood. Thenceforward his life was devoted to literature and philosophy: in 1848 he obtained the Volney-prize for an Essay on Semitic Languages; in 1862 he was appointed to the Chair of Hebrew in the College de France, but, owing to a serious disturbance at his first lecture, the appointment was cancelled by Government; in 1870, after the fall of the Empire, he was reinstated; in 1878 he was elected Member of the Academy; in 1885 he was Vice-Rector of the College de France, in the precincts of which he died on the 2nd of October, 1892. His place can never be filled; the mould, in which such intellects are cast, is broken.

Subjoined is a list of M. Renan's works: "Vie de Jésus," "Les Apôtres," "St. Paul," "Antichrist," "Les Evangiles et la Seconde Generation Chrétienne," "Marc Aurèle et la fin du Monde Antique," "Le Livre de Job," "Le Cantique des Cantiques," "L'Ecclesiaste," "Histoire Générale des Langues Sémitiques," "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel," "Études d'Histoire Religieuse," "Nouvelles Études d'Histoire Religieuse," "Averroes et l'Averroïsme," "Essais de Morale et de Critique," "Mélanges d'Histoire et de Voyages," "Questions Contemporaines," "La Réforme Intellectuelle et Morale de l'Origine du Language," "Dialogues

Philosophiques," "Caliban," "L'Eau de Jouvence," "Le Prêtre de Nemi," "L'Abbesse de Jouarre," "Souvenirs d'Enfance et de Jeunesse," "Discours et Conférences," "L'Avenir de la Science," "Mission de Phénice," "Conférences d'Angleterre." The two remaining volumes of his "Histoire du Peuple d'Israel" are ready for publication, and it is understood, that he has also left some further reminiscences, which are not to be published for five years.

As a Theologian and a Scholar he leaves, perhaps, something, which we might desire to amend, but his mode of expression is delightful and not to be surpassed; his sunny pages illuminate any subject which he touches. His scholarly work, "Comparative History of Semitic Languages," will not soon, if ever, be superseded. His annual reports of the Proceedings of the Société Asiatique are intellectual treats; if others helped him, still the conception of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* was his. Those, who heard in London the kindly fat old man deliver his Hibbert-Lectures, will not easily forget the effect. I had the honour of escorting him to the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, and exhibiting our manuscripts. He had that courteous gentleness, and intelligent sympathy, which is a French speciality. He was affable to the humblest; he scarcely ever contradicted for fear of offending. When he met a fallacy, he put himself forward to refute it, commencing, "Vous avez mille fois raison, mais," and then in lucid terms he would so express himself as to correct errors without wounding self-love: there was gentle play of wit in many of his expressions. "The Histoire d'Israel" and "Histoire des origines du Christianism" were his most important works. His life of Marcus Aurelius resuscitated into new life the forgotten virtues of the Roman Emperor. The "Vie de Jesus" will always raise a difference of opinion; perhaps it is not deserving either of the very high praise, or the severe condemnation, which have been attached to it.

It seems a privilege to have known him, and listened to the old man's eloquence; he has written some pages, which will live as long as the French Language lives. The readers, who understand the beauties of the French Language, will not regret the time spent in reading his sentences. Some of his Ideas are legacies to a never-ending future. A public funeral in Montemartre was decreed to him; funeral addresses were delivered over his remains in the presence of the greatest men of the period in Paris. He desired that the Inscription on his tomb should be "*Veritatem dilexi.*" Some day his remains will be transferred to the Pantheon.

October 16th, 1892.

RAJA RAJENDRA LALA MITRA.

This distinguished Scholar was descended from an ancient stock, the Kúlin Kayastha, who rank in Bengal next after the Brahmans. For upwards of forty years he had contributed to the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society papers of much interest: in all 114. The following may be mentioned: "On Some Græco-Bactrian Relics from Ráwal Pindi" (1862); "On Greek Art in India," and "On Leprosy in Ancient India" (1875); "On the representation of Foreigners in the Ajanta frescoes" (1878); and various papers on Human Sacrifices, the use of spirituous drinks, the consumption of beef, and other customs among the ancient people of India. Another branch of antiquarian research, to which Dr. Mitra devoted much attention, was the elucidation of Inscriptions, whether on stone or copper, and of ancient coins, and his numerous Notes and Treatises on these possess great historical value. His more important works were: "Buddha Gaya, the Hermitage of Sakya Muni," a handsome Monograph on that great temple; "The Antiquities of Orissa," in two volumes, a work which was the outcome of an Archæological mission to Bhuvanésvara, whither Dr. Mitra was despatched by Government in 1868-69; "The Indo-Arians," produced in 1881; and "The Sanskrit Buddhist literature of Nipál," in 1882. Dr. Mitra was often consulted by the Government in regard to antiquarian and literary matters, and he was created a Companion of the Indian Empire in 1878. He was also a Fellow of the Calcutta University, and he was an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. He rendered an essential service to Indian learning by striking out new paths and new methods of research, based upon the examination of ancient local remains. The wisdom of the orthodox Brahmans was in a large measure a wisdom of words. Dr. Mitra practically proved to his countrymen, that Scholarship deals also with things. His erudition in Sanskrit literature and philosophy would have sufficed to win for him a high place as a pandit of the old order, and it secured for him, in spite of his new departures, the respect of that order. But his main work was the investigation of the actual and material relics of the past, rather than of its Science and metaphysics. Educated half a century ago in one of the then few private seminaries in Calcutta, conducted by a Hindu on Western lines, yet independent of Missionary influences, Rajendra Lala Mitra entered life as a young Hindu of the clever worldly type, with an abundant stock of knowledge, and quite willing to push his fortunes by means of it. Having distinguished himself in the Medical College, he was selected as one of the four students who were to be sent to Europe. But his family, from caste-reasons, objected, and he was

diverted from the medical profession. He then began a Scholar's career, and was appointed Assistant-Secretary and Librarian of the Bengal Asiatic Society. Before he had reached middle life he had mastered, in addition to English and the Vernaculars of India, Sanskrit, Persian, and Latin, with a working facility in French, German, and Greek.

When the Bengal Government determined to provide more seriously for the education of State-Wards, or orphan landholders and nobles placed by law under its care, Rajendra Lala Mitra was appointed Director of the Court of Wards College in Calcutta. In this congenial position he passed many years, branching out into various forms of public activity, as a municipal commissioner of Calcutta, critical in temper and caustic of speech, as an active member of the governing body of the University, and as a wise and honoured leader of the Native Landholders Association in Bengal.

The labours by which he will be remembered, however, were of a different class. In the maturity of his knowledge he formed the design of bringing the mass of writings about ancient and mediæval India to the touchstone of the existing material remains. He explored step by step the sacred sites of the Hindu in Bengal and Orissa, gaining admission as a pandit to their innermost recesses, and producing, with the aid of the skilled draughtsmen and photography of the Surveyor-General's Office in Calcutta, a useful record of their now fading inscriptions and crumbling temples and gods. His "History of the Antiquities of Orissa" would alone have raised him to a very high rank among native Scholars, second only to those who, like Bhagvan Lal Indrajī, had acquired the methods of historical criticism. But that work forms only one of fifty-five separate publications, which issued from his unwearied pen in English, Sanskrit, or Bengali. As will be seen from the printed list of those of his works in our Library, he edited an important Buddhist Text, the "Lalita Vistara," and translated a few pages of it, and began to edit the "Prajñā Pāramitā," another of the standard-books of the Nipāli Buddhists. These works, though by no means perfect, were the fruit of much labour; they have made the general contents of these books accessible to Scholars, and will have prepared the way for the future editor of critical editions. Scarcely less important was the search for ancient Sanskrit manuscripts, which he conducted under the auspices of the Government throughout Bengal, from the Himalāyas to the Sea, a task undertaken just in time to rescue many invaluable documents, and to secure a vast treasure-trove from antiquity.

November 16th, 1891.

BRIAN HOUGHTON HODGSON, F.R.S.,

Corresponding Member of French Institute, Chevalier of the Legion of Honour,
and late Resident at the Court of Nipál, British India.

He was born at Lower Beech, near Macclesfield, Feb 1st, 1800, the eldest son of Brian Hodgson, Banker, of that city, by Katharine, daughter of William Houghton, of Manchester and Newton Park, Lancashire. Educated at the Grammar School of Macclesfield, and the school of Dr. Delafosse at Richmond, and at the East India College, Haileybury, he entered the India Civil Service in 1818; he became Assistant to the Commission of Kumaon, North-West Provinces, in 1819, and Secretary to the Resident of Nipál in 1820, which post he occupied until 1829; he was Officiating Resident for two years, and in 1833 was confirmed in that post, which he held until December, 1843, when he was superseded, and returned to England in 1844, eventually taking his pension and resigning the Service. Thus he had completed his service, and residence, of twenty-five years, and twenty-three of those years in the independent Kingdom of Nipál, into which no European, save the Staff of the Residency, was allowed to penetrate. He did not marry until after he had left the Service.

Thrown thus very much on his own resources he devoted himself to the Study of the Religion, Language, literature, Ethnology, and Zoology of the Kingdom of Nipál, and the then totally unknown Region of Tibet, which forms part of the Empire of China. In 1845, after an absence of a year-and-a-half in England, he returned, as a private individual, to India to continue his scientific researches, and settled at Darjiling in the Himaláya, within the limits of British India, but on the frontier. With the exception of an interval of one year in England he resided there until 1858, when he finally left India after a residence of thirty-seven years. These facts have been stated in detail, that a right appreciation of Mr. Hodgson's experience may be formed: he published a series of more than 170 Monographs in the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society, and other periodicals, between 1824 and 1857, the result of personal inquiry, and based on original material. Of the rest of India he knew nothing, except from hearsay, or the study of books.

It is outside the sphere of this Society to touch upon his official life as Resident of Nipál, and the same remark applies to his contributions to Zoology. I restrict myself to his contributions to linguistic, ethnic, and Religious, knowledge, which rank among the highest. He was indeed a labourer in a virgin-soil, and he had the advantages of a high official position during his first period, and of learned leisure in his second. His life in full detail is now being written by one of the most accomplished

Biographers of the time, Sir William Hunter. There is only space in our pages for a mere concise indication, rather than description, of the result of his labours. To secure accuracy I quote the words of one, who had the best opportunity of being informed: "Burnouf well described Brian Hodgson as the 'founder of the true study of Buddhism.' To him the world still owes the materials for a knowledge of the great proselytizing Faith, which was the one civilizing influence in Central Asia. As early as 1824 the ardent young student announced the discovery of the ancient Buddhist Writings in Nipál. At his own expense he had over 400 manuscripts copied in his Himaláyan retreat, and distributed to the learned Societies of Europe. In 1835 the Grand Lama of Tibet, stirred by Hodgson's splendid example, presented to him complete copies of the two great cyclopædias of the Northern Buddhist literature and Religion, the Kahgyur and Stangyur, printed in 1731 on fine Tibetan paper. Each set comprised 334 volumes, and Hodgson, with his usual munificence, gave one to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and the other to the East India Company. They are unique in Europe. The Russian Government lately paid £2000 for a copy of one-half the series. At the same time he was amassing a complete collection of Himaláyan animals. To the British Museum alone he presented more than 10,000 zoological specimens (which have attained the honour of separate catalogues), and there is scarcely a national museum, in Europe which has not some token of his splendid munificence."

"A bare enumeration of his writings during the seventy years of labour, since his discoveries in 1824, would occupy a column of *The Times*. Philology and Buddhism formed the staple work of his life; but he published 123 articles on zoological subjects alone. Every mark of distinction, which the learned Societies of Europe could give, was showered upon him. The last thirty years of his life he spent in a delightful home in Gloucestershire. In spite of bad accidents, he hunted with two packs of hounds till between sixty and seventy. He was a man of noble presence, and of singular refinement of features. The marble busts of him in the Royal Asiatic Society, and in the Asiatic Society of Bengal, are among the handsomest in their possession. Five years ago, when Oxford conferred on him the too tardy degree of D.C.L., at the age of eighty-nine, the whole Sheldonian rang with welcome to the beautiful white-haired Scholar, who had come forth from a bygone world."

Another subject, which he made his own, was the duty of educating the people of India in their own Vernacular. When I entered the Service, in 1842, there were three parties: the Oriental party, which insisted on the cultivation of the dead learned Languages of India; the English party, which insisted on making the English Language the vehicle of instruction. Repre-

senting the third party, in 1837 Mr. Hodgson argued with power for the pre-eminence of the Vernacular of each Province, and this policy was with some hesitation adopted; and half a century's experience has confirmed the wisdom of the new departure thus made. Mr. Hodgson's letters were published in a collective form in 1837.

In 1841 appeared his "Literature and Religion of the Buddhists of the North," and "The Aborigines of India" in 1847.

I again quote a competent authority: "How these writings were, and are, appreciated by the most competent judges, may best be shown by a reference, to what has been said of them "by Dr. Hooker in the Preface to his *Himalayan Journals*; "by Eugene Burnouf in his *Introduction to his 'History of Buddhism,'* dedicated to Mr. Hodgson; by St. Hilaire in his "Life of Buddha"; by Adrian Regnier in the "Revue des deux Mondes," February, March, 1860; by Max Müller in his "Turanian Chapter of Bunsen's 'Egypt'; and by Csomo de Coros "in the *Bengal Asiatic Society's Journal*."

Some of his writings have been brought together in a collective form for convenience of reference.

- (1) Selections from the Records of the Government of India. No. xxvii. in 1857.
- (2) Essays on the Languages, Literature, and Religion of Nipál and Tibet. Trübner: London. 1874.
- (3) Miscellaneous Essays relating to Indian Subjects. Two vols. Trübner's Oriental Series. 1880.

It may safely be stated, that no one would presume to write on the subjects, covered by these volumes, without consulting them. They could not be described as light literature, to be casually read, but they supply the solid bricks, on which the foundation of our linguistic, ethnic, and ethical knowledge of these Regions are based. I am, myself, most deeply indebted to them. It has been asserted by some, that Mr. Hodgson was not an "original discoverer": if he were not, it would be difficult to define what is the meaning of those two words, for no one can get behind the communications made from the field by Mr. Hodgson; the information supplied to us was gathered from the lips of men, previously inaccessible to the Scholar, and during Mr. Hodgson's long residence in their midst. His sympathetic manner, and kind and cordial treatment of barbarous tribes, enabled him to tap sources of linguistic knowledge absolutely sealed to the European Scholar on his hasty tour through India, and ignorant of the Vernaculars. Learned leisure is unknown to the hard-worked Indian official. I can truly say, that in all my experience of linguistic pioneers I never knew any parallel.

Some may have desired to do the same work in different parts of the world, but were cut off early in their career by disease or death; others, equally desirous, may not have had the opportunity or leisure; no doubt Mr. Hodgson's official position greatly helped him.

On the 6th Feb., 1844, there was a special meeting of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, to welcome their correspondent from Nipál, known to most of those present by name only; it was desired to express the sentiments of the Society to their valued and talented associate, who was to embark that evening for England. The word "old" was applied to him in the Official Report of that period; he lived more than half a century after that meeting. I had the privilege in my youth of being present, and then saw my honoured friend for the first time. I find an entry in my journal to that effect: by unanimous vote of the Society it was determined to have a bust in their room, and a copy of that bust was, forty years later, entrusted to me by Mrs. Hodgson to place in the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

England is chary of the honours conferred on Englishmen for peaceful and scientific services. I enumerate such honours as he received:

- (1) He was in 1832 (sixty-two years ago) elected Corresponding Member of the Zoological Society of London, and received their silver medal in 1859.
- (2) He was in the same year made Corresponding Member of the Royal Asiatic Society, and later on was one of the Vice-presidents.
- (3) He was elected Corresponding Member of the Academy of Science, Turin, in 1834.
- (4) He received the gold medal from the Société Asiatique of Paris, and was made Chevalier of the Legion of Honour in 1838.
- (5) He was elected in 1845 Honorary Member of the Natural History Society of Manchester and Frankfort.
- (6) He was made Honorary Fellow of the Ethnological Society, London, in 1846.
- (7) He was elected Corresponding Member of the Institute of France in the Department of Natural Science, and in the Department des Belles Lettres in 1850.
- (8) He was elected Honorary Member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1855.
- (9) He was elected Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society, New York, in 1858.
- (10) He was elected Honorary Member of the German Oriental Society, Leipzig, in 1862.

- (11) He was elected Fellow of the Royal Society in 1877.
- (12) He was elected D.C.L. of the University of Oxford in 1889.

On the occasion of a great triumph in the streets of Rome in the time of the Emperor Tiberius, the busts of all the great Romans of the preceding forty years were carried in procession, but the thoughts of the people are described by a contemporary historian as going back to the memory of Brutus, "*because he was not there.*" So, in looking down the list of Indian decorations, worn so worthily by those, who have contributed to our knowledge of Indian wisdom and the great Indian Nation, such as Sir Walter Elliot, Sir Henry Yule, Sir George Campbell, Sir Richard Temple, Sir Alfred Lyall, and Sir William Hunter, a feeling of wonder comes over those, who know what he did, to think that the name of Brian Hodgson is absent; honoured by the French Nation, ignored by his own Government! It is a comfort to reflect on the wise remark of Metternich at the Congress of Vienna, 1814, who, when he saw the Ambassador of England, Lord Castlereagh, standing undecorated in the midst of the representatives of Continental Powers, covered with decorations, remarked, "*le moins décorée, le plus distinguée.*" At any rate, the Royal Asiatic Society did its duty, for ten years ago, under the presidency of Sir Bartle Frere, on my motion, the Council memorialized Lord Ripon, then Viceroy, to confer upon Brian Hodgson the same honour so worthily conferred on Walter Elliot; but nothing came of it. Perhaps to have been publicly called the "founder of the true study of Buddhism" by such a Scholar as Eugene Burnouf, is a greater honour than any, which the India Office could have conferred.

After his final return to England he lived a quiet and happy life of thirty-six years: having had the misfortune of losing his wife, the daughter of General Alexander Scott, in 1868, he remarried in 1869, the daughter of C. C. Townsend, Esq., of Derry, County Cork. The society of this sweet and charming lady added to the attractions of his domestic circle, and his genial hospitality, and her care and devotion accompanied him to his last hour. By me personally, the society of these two valued friends was fully appreciated, and it so happened, that when I called on the 20th of May, 1894 (Sunday), to welcome them back to England, according to my custom of many years, I found that Mr. Hodgson was slightly indisposed, and his medical adviser was opposed to visits being paid. On the Wednesday following he passed quietly away, and within a few hours after the event I stood by his bedside, and gazed, with sorrow and admiration, on his noble features.

Sympathetic notices of this great Scholar have appeared in foreign periodicals. At the next meeting of the Academy of

Inscriptions and Belles Lettres at Paris, the usual eulogium was passed on receiving the news of the death of their oldest corresponding Member. We shall never see his like again.

August 5th, 1894.

SIR RICHARD BURTON.

It is with sorrow that we record the disappearance from the list of our Members of a name well-known to all. The Society has lost a remarkable personality, and many of us a good friend. Sir Richard Burton was but a few days younger than the friend, whose sad task it is to pen his obituary notice. He was born March 19, 1821, at Barham House, Herts, the son of a British officer of a Westmoreland family, who had for two generations migrated to Ireland. He spent many of his boyish years on the Continent, and thus developed his linguistic gifts. In 1840 he was entered at Trinity College, Oxford, and kept some terms, but the collegiate atmosphere did not suit his temperament, and in 1842 he sailed for India as a Military Cadet, was posted in October of the same year as an ensign of the 18th Regiment Bombay Native Infantry, and joined it at Banda. He soon mastered the Hindustāni Language, and published Grammatical Notes rather than Grammars in Pastu and Balūchi, and in his *History of Sindh* (1851) he supplies a Vocabulary spoken by the Sidi, African labourers, who resort to India to find employment on the steamers: in those days nothing was known of the mysterious country of East Africa, which Burton himself was destined to reveal to the world.

Until in 1872 he settled down (as far as Burton could settle down anywhere) as British Consul at Trieste, the thirty years that elapsed after his landing in India was one uninterrupted series of exploring expeditions, and charming descriptive volumes. At a public meeting some years ago, I quoted a famous line of Virgil to him, as descriptive of him:

Quæ regio in terris vestri non plena laboris?

In 1851 he published his volume on *Sindh*, and in the same year a volume on "*Goa and the Blue Mountains*." In 1852 he made his way to Mekka and Medina in Arabia in the disguise of a Mahometan; in 1854, in disguise, he penetrated into Somāli-land, on the Eastern floor of Africa, and worked his way to Harar. The volume of "*Footsteps in East Africa*" was published in 1856. In June, 1857, under the auspices of the Royal Geographical Society, with his companion Speke, he left Zanzibar on his

memorable expedition, which eventuated in the discovery of Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Nyanza. This was one of the most notable expeditions into Africa: it took place before Livingstone had appeared on the field, and long before the name of Henry Stanley had been heard of. He received, in 1859, the Gold Medal of the Royal Geographical Society, and established a reputation, which can never be forgotten.

In 1860 he visited the Salt Lake City, in North America, and wrote his "City of the Saints." In 1861 he married, and took his bride to the Island of Fernando Po, on the West Coast of Africa, where he had been appointed Consul. During his three years' stay, he explored the coast Region of the Bay of Biafra, and went on a Mission to the King of Dahomey, recording his proceedings in two separate volumes. In 1865 he went as British Consul to Sao Paulo in the Brazils in South America, and according to his wont he explored that Empire, crossed the Continent to Chili and Peru, returned by the Straits of Magellan, and published a volume, "The Highlands of Brazil," 1869.

He was transferred from the Brazils to Damascus in that year, and made an exploration of Syria. In 1871 he visited the Island of Iceland, and published an elaborate work in 1872, after which he subsided into the Consulate at Trieste. Something, however, of the old spirit clung to him after he had completed his half-century, for in 1876 and 1877 he explored the gold mines in Midian, publishing two volumes, and in 1882 he made an expedition into the interior of the Gold coast in Western Africa to prospect mines, and to publish the account for the benefit of others, for he seems never personally to have reaped any advantage from his labours, labours which at last broke down his hardy constitution.

The old globe-trotter's perambulations had come to an end: many of his friends imagined that he was entitled to some solatium in his old age, some way made for the veteran explorer to spend his last years at home in the midst of his friends. He was made a K.C.M.G. in 1886, and yet his nose was kept to the grinding-stone at Trieste. He had no friends at Court, and had got hopelessly out of the groove of Service-Pensions. No tales of blood disfigure the narratives of his explorations: on his death-bed he could have recalled to his recollection no lives of poor Africans or Asiatics taken away by his order, no villages in any part of the world plundered: we have since 1870 entered into a new Epoch of African exploration, and the tract of the Explorer is now marked by blood, cruelty, and discredit to the English name: of such things Burton, and his contemporaries Speke and Grant, were incapable, and there are some of the younger Travellers also, who have brought home clean hands, and unsullied reputations. Some have not.

Idleness with Burton meant unhappiness, and when not engaged in exploration, his facile pen, and his fertile brain, were engaged in translation: he has left two monumental works, a translation of the Poem of the Portuguese Poet, Camoens, with important Notes, and a literal translation of a complete copy of the "Arabian Nights' Entertainment," from an Arabic uncastigated manuscript. Some may perhaps be of opinion, that many pages restored by the conscientious hand of Burton, might well have remained in their obscurity, to which the early translators had consigned them; for many of the most pleasant stories, and some of the most amiable characters, are disfigured by disgusting details, which totally destroy the charm of those most charming romances. Many other memoirs and papers came from his busy and accomplished pen: if quaint, still learned; if untenable in the eyes of more cautious critics, still ingenious and scholarly, indicating an amount of wide observation attained by few others, and a store of acquired knowledge, which must be envied by all.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1890.

WILLIAM SANDYS VAUX.

The annual Report was passing through the Press, and the sheets were in the different stages of first-proof slips, and second-proof pages, some Sections in manuscript had to be inserted, and one Section had not apparently received the final touches, when on Sunday evening, June 21st, the kind-hearted and accomplished compiler of the Report was suddenly called away to his last rest.

"e sulle pagine
"Cadde la stanca man!"

A special meeting was held of the Council on the 26th instant, and the following minute was recorded:

"The Council has received with the greatest regret the news of
"the death of Mr. William Sandys Wright Vaux, their valued
"Secretary. He has held office for nearly ten years: he found
"the affairs of the Society in a depressed state, and by his energy
"and devotion he has increased the number of members, doubled
"the size of the Journal, and raised the financial state of the
"Society to great prosperity. His Annual Reports have obtained
"a very great reputation. The Council deplores the loss of a
"faithful servant, and many Members of the Council have lost in
"Mr. Vaux a valued and honoured friend, as his cheerful manners,
"his conciliating character, and his wide stock of knowledge, were

“such as could not fail to attract to him all, with whom he came “into contact.”

The Council further directed that a copy of this minute should be attached to this Annual Report, the last of the nine Reports prepared by their lamented friend.

On me the sad task has devolved of gathering together the fragments left in his desk, and carrying them through the Press. I feel that some further additions or emendations might have suggested themselves to the compiler on a second perusal, but I have not ventured to make them: I discharge my sad duty to the best of my ability, and with the deepest regret.

“Debitâ spargens lacrymâ favillam vatis amici.”

London, June 26th, 1885.

BISHOP CALDWELL.

The name of Bishop Caldwell, of Tinnevely, in South India, has been removed by death from the list of our Honorary Members. He was 78 years of age. He went out to India as the member of a Nonconformist body, but he passed into the Church of England, and was for many years Bishop of the Mission of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He died at Edyengûdi, the headquarters of his District. He was highly esteemed and beloved by his flock, and some influential Mahometans laid flowers on his coffin as a tribute of respect. He was well-known in England, and the compiler of this notice had the pleasure of his friendship.

It is, however, as the investigator of the South Indian family of Languages, that Bishop Caldwell was most widely-known. His “Comparative Grammar” of the Dravidian family, originally published in 1856, was a revelation to Western Philologists; and it remains, in the form of a second edition (1875), the standard-authority on the subject, without a rival or a successor. Dr. Caldwell’s intimate personal acquaintance with the people and their Dialects, his patient study of their past, as proved by his “History of Tinnevely” and “The Tinnevely Shanars,” and the strong Religious convictions, which made pursuits, that to another man would have been the relaxations of a busy life, with him a serious and unremitted duty, enabled him to accumulate a mass of carefully verified and original materials, such as no other European Scholar has ever amassed in India. There are points, for example, with reference to the proportion of aboriginal words in the modern Indian Vernaculars, in regard to which his conclusions have been modified by subsequent research. But his “Comparative Grammar

of the Dravidian, or South Indian, family of Languages" will ever stand forth as one of the monumental works of the age. Scarcely less interesting, although on a different scale, were his contributions during many years to the *Indian Antiquary*, and the series of Sanskrit manuscripts, which he brought to light in Southern India, and rendered available to Western Scholarship. But in this, as in every other branch of his untiring labours, he was inspired with the belief, that he was doing true Missionary service. The literary work, to which he himself looked back with greatest satisfaction, was the part which he took during eleven years in the revision of the Tamil Bible, and, when that long labour was ended, in the revision of the Tamil Book of Common Prayer.

COLONEL JAMES OUSELEY,

One of the oldest officers of the Bengal Army, and a tried and sound Oriental Scholar, died in his ninetieth year in the month of November. He was born at Limerick June 21st, 1800, and went to India in 1819. In 1822 a Degree of Honour for extraordinary proficiency in the Arabic Language, and high proficiency in the Persian and Urdu Languages, was conferred upon him by the College of Fort William. In 1824 he became Assistant Professor of the Sanskrit, Maráthi, and Bangáli, Languages: in 1825 he became Professor: for a short time he was Superintendent of the Mysore Princes, who were then domiciled at Calcutta, as well as Secretary to the College of Fort William, and in that last capacity all the Members of the Bengal Civil Service, on their arrival, studied the Languages under his direction, and received from him certificates of competency, or diplomas of honour: the compiler of this notice deems it one of the greatest honours, that befel him in his career, that in 1844 he received from the hands of Colonel Ouseley a Degree of Honour in Persian. In that year he left India, and was appointed to the post of Professor of Arabic and Persian at the East India College at Haileybury, and held that post until the College was finally closed in 1858; since which period he enjoyed a well-deserved pension. In 1862 he was appointed one of the Examiners in Oriental Languages to the Civil Service Commission, and held that post till 1883, having been thus engaged since 1824, for the period of sixty years, in the teaching of, and examining in, Oriental Languages.

It does not appear, that he has left any published works behind him, nor was he a scientific linguist in the sense now attached to that word: he knew the Languages, which he had acquired practically to read, write, and speak, and long experience had

made him a first-rate examiner: his genial manners and noble appearance, helped to endear him to all, with whom he came into contact.

On one occasion he was employed by the Foreign Office on a special duty outside his ordinary avocations. In 1857, when the Treaty of Peace with the Shah of Persia was arranged at Paris, and the British Plenipotentiary had occasion for a trusted interpreter, the choice naturally fell on Colonel Ouseley: he had many interviews with the Persian Plenipotentiary, and matters were brought to a satisfactory conclusion: he received the thanks of Lord Palmerston, and an honorarium of one hundred guineas.

November 29th, 1889.

MR. STEPHEN AUSTIN, OF HERTFORD.

The death, at the age of 87, occurred at Hertford on Saturday, the 21st of May, of one, who in years was perhaps the oldest member of the Royal Asiatic Society. Mr. Austin was printer to the East India College at Haileybury until it was finally closed in 1858. Supported by the authorities of that institution, he started the printing and publishing of works in Oriental Languages, and for many years he was one of the very few Oriental printers in England. As an Oriental printer he acquired a worldwide reputation, and many of the finest specimens of Oriental typography have borne his name. In 1834 he started the Newspaper, since known as the *Hertfordshire Mercury*, and for upwards of fifty years he actively superintended its publication. After the extinction of the East India Company the College-buildings at Haileybury were purchased by the British Land Company as a speculation; and it was largely owing to the unwearied exertions and persevering energy of Mr. Stephen Austin that the old College was preserved as a place of Education, and the present successful Public School founded on its site. For the last 25 years the Journal of the Society has been printed at Hertford, and a great variety of Oriental types have been introduced into its pages in beautiful style and with great accuracy: books were produced from his Press in the following Languages, Sanskrit, Bangali, Arabic, Persian, Pastu, Hindustani, Hindi, and Hebrew, all these with different or varying Alphabets: there were also considerable issues in the more familiar Languages and Alphabets of Europe, Greek, Latin, French, and English.

Mr. Austin received gold medals from her Majesty the Queen, and the Empress Eugenie of France, in acknowledgment of the taste and skill displayed in his productions, and medals of the first

class at the International Exhibitions of Paris and London ; and in 1883 the Congress International des Orientalistes presented him with a diploma for services rendered to Oriental literature.

Full of enterprise in early life, and of sympathetic intelligence in his declining years, he secured to himself firm and lasting friendships; he was highly appreciated for his services by his fellow-citizens, and his death has left a gap, which will not easily be filled.

June 8th, 1892.

SIR JAMES REDHOUSE.

It is our painful duty to record the death of Sir James Redhouse, K.C.M.G. He joined this Society in 1854. He succeeded Mr. Norris as Secretary in 1861, and resigned that post in 1864, being succeeded by Dr. Reinhold Rost. He was elected Honorary Member in 1886. He contributed to our Journal no less than twelve interesting papers, a complete list of which will be found in the Index to the Society's publications published in our Journal for the year 1888.

Sir James Redhouse was born in 1811; was educated at Christ's Hospital, and went to Constantinople in 1826, where he was employed by the Ottoman Government in the preparation of various military, naval, and literary works. In 1830 he visited Russia. Having begun soon afterwards the preparation of a Turkish, English, and French Dictionary, he returned to London in 1834 to take steps for its publication, which was rendered useless, however, by the appearance of Bianchi's Turkish-French work. In 1838 he was appointed a member of the Translation-Office of the Porte, and in 1840 was transferred to the Turkish Admiralty; from 1839 until 1853 he acted as confidential medium of communication between the Porte and the British Ambassador. In 1840 he went on a mission to the coast of Syria, then blockaded by the allied squadrons of England, Turkey, and Austria, where he was engaged in communications between the Admirals and the Turkish Commander-in-Chief on shore. After other services he assisted in concluding in 1847 a Treaty of Peace between Persia and Turkey; and in 1854 he was appointed Oriental Translator to the Foreign Office. In 1857 Mr. Redhouse was sent to Paris to assist in the wording of the Text of the Treaty of Peace with Persia, which set the British troops free to aid in the suppression of the Indian Mutiny. Sir James Redhouse, who was knighted in 1888, was a member of several Turkish, Persian, and other Orders. In 1884 Cambridge granted him the honorary degree of LL.D. Among his Works may be mentioned an English-Turkish and

Turkish-English Dictionary, a manual of colloquial Turkish for use in the Crimean War, a *grammaire de la langue Ottomane* published in Paris, and an incomplete manuscript Dictionary of Arabic, Persian, Ottoman Turkish, Eastern Turkish, and English in ten large folio volumes.

He was in many respects the leading authority on the Osmánli-Túrki Language: to the other members of the great Túrki linguistic family he had not paid much attention. He very naturally regarded the world from the Constantinople-point of view, and did not hesitate to claim for the Tartar Sovereigns of that country the Kaliphat of Islam, a claim which the great Mahometan Emperors of India, whose ancestor, Tamerlane, had carried about Bájazet, the ancestor of the Sultans of Turkey, in an iron cage, laughed to scorn, and in no Mosque of India was prayer ever offered for him as the Kaliph of the Faithful.

It was a pleasure to visit year by year Sir James in his retreat at Kilburn, and converse with the great Scholar. The sight of the great volumes of the Great Dictionary of the Osmánli-Túrki on the desks round his writing-table impressed one more with the grandeur than the prudence of the undertaking. Every word of the Arabic, Persian, and pure Túrki, Languages had been incorporated Alphabetically, but, when it came to publication, at the request of the American Board of Foreign Missions, who have extensive Educational Agencies in Turkey, a selection had to be made of a much more moderate size. The National Library of the British Museum has secured these folios, which will ever remain as monuments of his industry and knowledge.

Jan. 7th, 1892.

MR. OSMOND DE BEAUVOIR PRIAULX.

It is with regret that we record the death of one of our members, who died at his house in Cavendish Square, on the 15th January. He was a man of literary mark, and well-known for his social geniality, and noble presence, though in late years he has been rarely seen in the rooms of our Society. He was born in 1805, in Guernsey, and took his degree at St. Katherine's Hall, Cambridge: he was elected a member of this Society in 1852: he contributed to our Journal a singularly interesting Memoir on the travels of Apollonius of Tyana, and another on the Indian Embassies to Rome: they are a most interesting contribution to our knowledge of that period.

PROFESSOR KREMER.

In Baron Alfred Kremer, who died suddenly on Friday, Dec. 27, 1889, at Doebling, near Vienna, at the age of 62, Austria has lost a distinguished Oriental Scholar and an eminent Statesman. The deceased began his career in the Diplomatic Service, and for many years filled important posts in Egypt. In 1879 he was appointed Consul-General at Beirút. In 1880 he entered the Taaffe Cabinet as Minister of Commerce, but gave in his resignation after six months, as he was asked to surrender on a point in which conscience was involved. He remained firm to his political convictions, although a personal appeal was made to him by the Emperor, and he left office without a single honour being conferred on him. He afterwards described this struggle as the greatest which had fallen to his lot during his public life. His death was quite unexpected. He had just recovered from an attack of influenza, and, considering himself quite well, took a warm bath, and went out for a walk. He was immediately seized with inflammation of the lungs, and died within twenty-four hours. He was President of the Seventh International Oriental Congress, and was present at the eighth Congress at Stockholm in 1889. He had just sold his valuable collection of Arabic Books, and MSS., to the British Museum.

1890.

IX.

MEMORIAL TO THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD FOR A SEMITIC CHAIR IN THE WIDE SENSE OF THE WORD.

(1) THE Council of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland take the liberty of memorializing the Convocation of the University of Oxford on the subject of making a more sufficient provision for the teaching, and encouragement, of the Study of the Languages, included in the Semitic family, in its most extended sense, but generally represented by the Sister-Languages of Hebrew, Syriac, and Arabic.

(2) The Council are aware, that there is already a Regius Professor of Hebrew, and two Professors of Arabic; but they submit that, first, there is no provision whatever for Syriac; second, that the Hebrew Chair, from the nature of its emolument, a stall in the Cathedral of Oxford, is a Chair of Theology, and Exegesis of the Holy Scriptures, rather than of linguistic Science, and does not extend to the whole range of Hebrew literature, modern as well as ancient, Jewish as well as Christian; and third, that the provision for Arabic, in its classical purity, and its modern dialectic varieties, is wholly inadequate.

(3) The Council submit, that the Mahometan subjects of Her Majesty exceed in number those of any other Potentate, Christian, Mahometan, or Pagan, and that throughout the wide extent of Her Majesty's Dominions the Jew is under the recognised protection of British Authorities, and Consuls; yet there are fewer Semitic Scholars, and a more limited publication of Semitic Texts, Translations, and Treatises in the British Dominions, than in France, and Germany, countries, whose relations, and opportunities of intercourse, with Semitic People are much more restricted, or non-existing.

(4) It is no answer, the Council submit, to this proposal, that there is at present no demand for Instruction in Semitic Languages among the Graduates and Undergraduates of the University, for

the establishment of efficient Chairs, and the appointment of Professors of European repute, would attract Students; and under any circumstance it is the unquestionable duty of the great Universities of England to be *armed at all points of Science*; and this view of the subject was urged with success in March of last year in Convocation, when it was attempted to arrest the grant to the new Observatory by the argument, that there *was but a single Student of Astronomy*.

(5) The Council further remark, that in all the second-rate (as regards antiquity and importance) Universities of Germany there are effective Chairs of Semitic Languages; that Paris has become the very Metropolis and Centre of Semitic Study, and thither flock all the young men, who will be the Oriental Scholars of the next generation: and the result even now is that, when any work requiring knowledge of Oriental subjects has to be undertaken, no Englishman is forthcoming, and that the Chairs in Oriental Languages, the posts of Librarians and Secretaries to learned Societies, and the Cataloguers of manuscripts (such as those in the Bodleian), are passing into the hands of French and Germans; and yet England in times past produced Jones, and Wilson, and Colebrook. The Council further remark, that under the new constitution of the Indian Civil Service, and the extinction of the Indian Army, no more Oriental Scholars can be expected from India, save at very rare intervals.

(6) The Council respectfully suggest, that on the occasion of the next vacancy of the Hebrew Chair, the linguistic teaching of Hebrew be provided for separately from the Provision for Theology and Biblical Exegesis; and that a separate, and purely linguistic Chair, to be held by Clerics, or laymen, of any Nation or creed, be established for all the branches of the Semitic family, and that a certain number of Studentships be either set apart, or provision be made on the constitution of the Chair for their subsequently coming into existence.

(7) It may be, that at the present moment the emoluments at the disposal of the University by the consolidation of existing Chairs will prove to be insufficient; but there is reason to hope, that private liberality may do for Semitic, what it has already done for Arian linguistic Science, and that, if the subject were properly handled, the British or Indian Governments might be induced to supplement the endowment by special State-Grants in return for the opportunities of instruction afforded to the Public Servants of the State, employed in the East in Diplomatic or Administrative Posts. One thing, however, is clear, that the University must make the first move, for in the present state of affairs, when there are no inducements to attract Students, there is no possibility of applying for State-Patronage, nor reason to expect Private Munificence.

(8) The Council would remind the Convocation that the establishment of a Semitic Chair at Oxford would have two incidental consequences:

First, that the example would be set to the Sister-Universities of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

Second, that the unrivalled stores of Books and Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library would be utilized by a Scholar, who, while his teaching duties were light, would have leisure and ability to develop their hidden or insufficiently developed treasures; and, when the time came, that his classes were frequented, a crop of indigenous Scholars would be produced, among whom, as is proudly said of Sylvester de Sacy, the Semitic world would be divided.

(9) The Council finally trust, that they may be pardoned for their intrusion upon the Convocation of the University of Oxford: in their justification they submit that their Society is established by Royal Charter for "the advancement of Oriental Literary Knowledge, and of Knowledge in relation to Asia," and that they have been for half a century the unworthy, and insufficiently supported, representatives of the connection of England with Oriental literature.

February 9th, 1874.

X.

CIRCULAR ON THE LEPSIUS STANDARD FORM OF THE ROMAN ALPHABET FOR THE TRANSLITERATION OF AFRICAN LAN- GUAGES.

DEAR SIR, You are aware, that nearly all the Languages of Africa are illiterate, that is to say, have no peculiar form of Written Character, the existence of which, in a great variety, is so remarkable a feature of the Languages of Asia. Setting aside the wholly impracticable idea of devising an entirely new Alphabet, it has been generally and for a long period accepted, that some form, or other, of the Roman Alphabet should be adopted by the Missionaries in their Schools and for their translations. But it soon became evident, that the letters of the ordinary Roman Alphabet were quite insufficient to represent distinctly all the sounds, which had developed themselves in each Language.

This difficulty soon became urgent, was discussed, and remedies were suggested. In 1856 Professor C. R. Lepsius, a Scholar of the highest repute, after mastering the subject, not only as regards the Languages of Africa, but the whole of the world, published his Standard-Alphabet, reducing all unwritten Languages to a uniform Orthography in European letters; and the following Missionary-Societies formally proclaimed either their adhesion to, or their approval of, his conclusions :

- I. The Church Missionary Society (London).
- II. The Wesleyan Missionary Society, London.
- III. La Société des Missions Évangélique, Paris.
- IV. The London Missionary Society, London.
- V. The Moravian Mission, Herrnhutten.
- VI. Der Rheinischen Missionsgesellschaft, Barmen.
- VII. Der Mission Gesellschaft zu Basel.
- VIII. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, Boston, U.S.A.

A second Edition of the Standard-Alphabet was published in 1863 at London and Berlin, with the words "recommended for adoption by the Church Missionary Society" on the Title Page. It is worthy of remark, that the great Scholars, who have been employed in the field of African Philology, and have mastered the subject of Comparative Philology, such as Schön, Hoelle, Zimmerman, Schlegel, Christaller, and others, have uniformly adhered to this Standard, but of late it has fallen out of sight, or has been actually forgotten; it has never been known to some, and has been deliberately departed from by others. The consequence is, that a lamentable diversity of practice prevails, and one Author remarks, that on the West coast of Africa, there are no less than six varieties of the adapted Roman Alphabet. It will occur to all, that the position of affairs in Asia is more tolerable than this. A great variety of totally distinct Symbols represents the sounds of the different Languages of Asia, but in Africa the strange inconvenience will arise of the same or similar Symbols being used with a different value attached to them in different Languages, possibly spoken in the same town or Mission, requiring an explanatory chapter to precede every treatise, or rather every publication, and adding considerably to the trouble of acquiring and using a new Language. The necessity of different Founts of Types is at once an expense and a scandal.

Already an inconvenience is felt. In the Survey, which I have lately made of all the Languages of Africa, it has forced itself on my notice. That the French translators should adopt the same system as the English and German was not to be hoped for. The Portuguese works are so few that their divergence does not signify, and they will be superseded, but a great point would be gained, if the English and Germans would agree to adopt the same mode of transliteration, yield their own private opinions, and accept the Lepsius Standard, with such slight variations, as are obviously required by each Language.

The same trouble arises in East and West and South Africa. The mischief will be very serious, as whole tribes are taught the different methods, and will cling to them with tenacity. Moreover, the same Language is sometimes exposed to the torture of two systems. Swahili on the East coast, and Ashanti on the West, are being exposed to a perilous rivalry of Alphabets. Moreover, changes from time to time seem to be made, and the elder Missionaries, who at home are employed to correct proofs, find themselves at war with their juniors in the field, and the Committees have embarrassing questions of technical details submitted to them, which could all have been avoided, if the Lepsius Standard were adhered to, as one of the standing orders of the Parent-Society.

Some inconvenience may be experienced in effecting a change to

the Uniform Standard, but it will obviate much greater inconvenience hereafter; at any rate, it is worth making the attempt in the case of old Missions, where a different system has been adopted. But as regards new Missions, it is earnestly hoped, that the Labourers in the Field, to whom the subject is a new one, be without delay supplied with copies of the Lepsius Standard, and directed to adopt it without fail.

The Church Missionary Society, having placed some copies of the second Edition of the Lepsius Standard at my disposal, I venture to forward one for your acceptance. A very large Edition of 1500 copies was published at Berlin in 1863, and it is not likely that it has been exhausted. Every Mission should be supplied with two or three copies, and allusion made to the subject in the Missionary periodicals.

Sept. 1882.

XI.

LA SOCIETÀ ASIATICA ITALIANA.

WE welcome the appearance of the first volume of the Journal of the Italian Asiatic Society, published at Florence. Its President, Count Angelo di Gubernatis, had lately visited India, and on his return conceived the idea of an Italian Asiatic Society and an Indian Museum. The King of Italy accepted the office of Patron, and in His Majesty's presence both Institutions were opened, and the President delivered his first address. Some of the most distinguished Scholars of Europe and America have accepted the office of Honorary Members. The Society held its first Annual Meeting in May of this year. The Journal consists of 195 pages, of which 88 are devoted to nine original communications on a great variety of Asiatic subjects, and 68 to Notices of 13 Works in different Languages of Europe. The account of the "res gestæ" of the Society occupy 39 pages in addition to the above. The whole is in the Italian Language, and there are no illustrations. The Universities of Italy are numerous, some might say too numerous, and the Professors are numerous, and the chief support of the Society must come from that quarter, as Italy has as yet no intimate relations with, or a single colony, or dependency in, Asia: the names of some Italian Scholars have a wide repute, as Amári, Ascoli, Gorresio, Teza, and Di Gubernatis, all of whom have published noteworthy Works. It might have been wiser to have established the Society at Rome, as the rivalry of illustrious Cities is one of the causes of weakness of Italy.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1884.

XII.

INTERNATIONAL REPORT OF ORIENTAL WORKS.

SIR, The multiplication of books on the numerous branches of Oriental Study renders it very difficult for the Student of the particular subject, or the large class of amateur Scholars, who take an interest *all down the line*, to keep themselves informed of the outcome of each year in the British dominions, in France, Germany, Italy, and the smaller European States, and in the United States of America.

Something is done by the advertisement sheets of publishers, by such periodicals as the *Literarisches Centralblatt*, the *Revue Bibliographique*, and others. A more systematic attempt is made annually in the Reports of the Oriental Societies of London, Paris, and Leipzig. Everyone knows the value of the Annual Reports, and none can fail to admire the industry and learning of the *Jahresbericht*.

But none of the publications alluded to answer the requirements of the learned public, which will not be satisfied without speed, comprehensiveness, and that amount of accuracy, which leisure, and a knowledge of the subject, alone can supply. Asiatic Societies omit whole fields of inquiry, such as Egypt; publishers naturally restrict their remarks to the Works, in which they have an interest, or at any rate exercise a power of selection and preference. Now it is of the essence of a good Report of the Work of the whole year, that there should be no selection, no preference, no nationality, no omission of the bad, no limitation of the field, and no time lost in bringing up the Report to date.

Of course the real cure would be to start an International Report under a competent editor; but for this we might wait till the Greek Kalends; so let us consider how we can best utilize the existing materials.

It may be presumed that now-a-days most Scholars read English, French, and German, and very many also Italian. It matters not, therefore, in which of these Languages the Reports are prepared, and it is not necessary, that the Report should be in any one of them.

It is a fact, that each of these Languages is represented by a great Oriental Society, the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, the Société Asiatique of Paris, the Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft of Leipzig, and the Società Orientale Italiana of Florence. The first three undertake each to make an annual Report of the work of the year, but upon no one principle. They appear to borrow from each other, go over the same ground, omit portions of the field, and include unnecessary subjects. It is proposed to suggest to the four Societies the following scheme of operation :

(1) The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland to report exclusively the Works published in the British Dominions, America, and Asia, other than in the Russian and Turkish Dominions.

(2) The Société Asiatique of Paris to report exclusively the Works published in France and in Africa, other than in the British colonies, and in Belgium, Holland, and Turkey.

(3) The Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft of Leipzig to report exclusively Works published in Germany, Austria, Russia, Sweden, Norway, and Denmark.

(4) The Società Orientale Italiana of Florence to report exclusively Works published in Italy, Greece, Spain, and Portugal.

(5) The subject-matter to be narrowed by excluding all books on Travel, Botany, or Zoology, which usually encumber Dr. Gosche's Jahresbericht; and the field to be enlarged so as to include the whole of Asia and Africa North of the Equator.

(6) Each Society would prepare its Report of Works published for incorporation with its annual Report of the affairs of the Society, and would supply the Sister-Societies with as many hundred copies as would enable them to annex a copy to their own Report.

The result would be, that each Society would annually present to its members a Report of the whole Work of the Oriental world, but prepared from the exigency of the circumstances in four Languages, and bearing the stamp of separate authorship, though following the same order of subjects. Each Society could from this material prepare a comprehensive index for the year; and thus every reasonable wish would be satisfied.

1876.

XIII.

LETTER TO SIR W. W. HUNTER, PRESIDENT OF THE EDUCATION-COMMISSION OF BRITISH INDIA, 1882, ON THE SUBJECT OF THE VERNACULAR LANGUAGES OF INDIA.

SIR, The Committee, over which you preside, being appointed to inquire into the best mode of extending Education to the Masses, I earnestly solicit your attention to the question of the Vernacular Language, in which that Education is to be conveyed, so as to reach the various tribes, which compose the motley population of British India. The returns of the Census will place incontrovertible facts at your disposal.

I have less hesitation in bringing the subject before you, as to your volume on the Non-Arian Languages of India and High Asia, published in 1868, I am indebted for the impulse, which has led me to devote my time to a Survey of the Languages of Asia and of Africa. I feel sure, that the gravity of the subject will be appreciated by you.

I think that the subject is overlooked, or misunderstood. Certain Vernaculars obtain a preponderant favour with the European and Native officials, and it is often presumed, without sufficient reflection, that the people understand the Vernaculars, used by the governing or influential classes of the towns. Now it is a terrible oppression, when justice is administered, or rather a mock form of justice is administered, in a Language not intelligible to the people. Very many of the political troubles in European States have arisen from the insane Idea of forcing a dominant Language upon an unwilling population. It is a charge constantly made by the Slavonic subjects of the German and Austrian Empires. It is positive danger to the Peace of the Country, and the stability of the British Empire in India, that the officials should be ignorant of the Languages of the different tribes. My own conviction is, that many of the troubles, that have lately arisen in the management of Non-Arian Races, may be traced back to the fact, that

none of the higher officials, English or Native, were able to assemble the notables, and hold a palaver with them without the intervention of untrustworthy interpreters.

If it were a question of introducing the English Language, there might be a shred of an argument in its favour, inasmuch as the English would be the vehicle of extended knowledge, and new Ideas; but such is not the case. The indigenous Vernaculars are generally crowded out, or stamped under, by the invasion of a powerful Vernacular, just as it happens that the official colonization of the District takes place from the North, the South, the East, and the West. The absurdity of a Grammar of the Khond Language written in the Uriya Language and Character is but an exaggerated instance of the tendency.

I ventured this time last year to draw the attention of Her Majesty's Secretary of State for India to the fact, that the Gonds in the Central Provinces exceeded one Million in number, and yet that in the Educational Returns of the Province there appears to have been no provision for instructing the officers of the State in that Language, or of conveying instruction to the Gonds through the means of their own Vernacular. I beg to call your attention to the reply of the Viceroy of India in Council (No. 14 of 1881, Government of India, Home Department, Education), and should feel obliged to you if you would apply for a copy of that despatch and its inclosures. It must be remembered, that this is but one instance out of many; the Sontál, Kole, Gond, Khond, tribes are large, important, and increasing factors in the constituent elements of the Empire; it is of moment to the maintenance of our rule, that they should not be absorbed into their Hindu neighbours, but maintain an existence, as a counterpoise to the Brahminical and Mahometan elements, and this can best be done by arresting, as far as an equitable system of Government permits, the decay of their Language, the extinction of their lawful customs, and the destruction of their national existence. "Divide et Impera" was the great maxim of our Roman predecessors, and masters, in the Art of ruling Subject Nations.

The Central Provinces were chiefly supplied with officers selected from the Provinces, the inhabitants of which speak one or other of the great Arian Vernaculars, or their leading Dialects. The Chief Commissioner, therefore, in his letter of Sept. 14, 1881, records his opinion that "the Gonds converse perfectly well with the officers of Government in Hindi, Maráthi, or Chatesgarhi, a Dialect of Hindi." Had the supply of officers been from the Madras Presidency, the Gonds would no doubt, and with more reason, have been expected to understand their Rulers in the kindred Languages of Tamil and Télugu.

But the Chief Commissioner goes further, and condemns the Gond Language "because it has never been reduced to writing,

and has not *even* an Alphabet of its own." The Inspector-General of Education cannot imagine a greater misfortune for the Gonds of the Central Provinces than that the numerous Dialects of their Language should be reduced to writing. The consequence is, that it is proposed to efface it from the list of the Languages of India, and the world. This may be an undertaking beyond the strength of an Inspector-General and a Chief Commissioner, as it is one, in which the Empires of Russia, Austria, and Germany have notably failed. The Language of the Fins, the Magyars, and the other Agglutinative Languages of Europe and Western Asia have held their own, in spite of threatened absorption by Arian neighbours; and instances have not been wanting, in which blood has been shed in defence of a National Vernacular. If the Gond Language has indeed not been reduced to writing in any form of the great Indian alphabetic system, so much the better for it, as it will more easily adopt a modified form of the Roman Alphabet: out of the Languages of the world it is but a small minority, that have been reduced, previous to this century, to alphabetic expression: of the Millions in Africa, Australia, and America, who are now taught by Englishmen to make use of their own Vernaculars, and are now developing an extensive indigenous literature, not one has had the advantage of, as the Chief Commissioner expresses it, "having *even* an Alphabet of its own." I beg to remark with deference, that my attentive study of the Languages of India saved me from the risk of assuming "that Gond was a written Language, with a literature of its own"; but I did assume, and not without reason, that the Gond Language was the vehicle of thought, and means of intercommunication (and in many cases the *only* means), of a Million of Her Majesty's subjects, who were under an unsympathizing, or an uninquiring, system of administration, to be left uneducated, or to be compelled to adopt the Language of an alien Race, and not in its purest form. If there are several Dialects of the Gond, it will be a matter of judgment to select, as has happened in England, France, Italy, and Germany, that Dialect, which exceeds its sisters in purity and popular predominance.

In the unanimity of the officials of the Central Provinces there appears to me to be danger, as the case has not been argued. The Commissioner of the Nagpúr Division seems to doubt, whether the Gonds, as regards their Arian neighbours, are an isolated Race of Dravidian origin, and "whether giving them the privilege of Education in their own Language is not forcing civilization upon them." This is a strange argument for the nineteenth century. The Inspector of Schools anticipates that "the establishment of Government Schools in parts of Districts, where Schools were not wanted by the people, would be likely to produce risings and revolts." Forty years ago, when Mr. James Thomason, the Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, set the example of organized Public

Education of the Masses, the same consequences were with as little reason anticipated.

The Commissioner of the Nagpúr Division states, that almost all the Gonds of the Central Provinces speak Hindi. If that be the case, *cadit questio*, let the Gond Language be expunged from the list of the Vernaculars of India. But let us see what the Returns of the Census say, not only with regard to the Northern Gonds, but also the residents of Bustar. Can it again, apart from the Religious question, but upon the grounds of political expediency, be desirable that the Pagan Gonds, by our neglect of their interests, "should become year by year more imbued with Hinduism"? Surely this is a tendency, which should be checked by lawful measures, rather than encouraged by official supineness.

The Commissioner of Nagpúr is possibly not aware, that in the United Kingdom Welsh is taught in Welsh Schools, and Gaelic in Gaelic schools: Cornish has, indeed, died out before the Education of the Masses was dreamt of, and Manx is on the edge of the grave, as I ascertained from a personal inquiry in the Island. That the Irish, while they reject the political domination of England, should, in spite of themselves, have adopted the Language of their bitterest enemies is one of the anomalies, which are not without parallel in History. At any rate, the Gonds cannot be said in truth to have adopted the Hindi Language as yet, and the remarks of the Commissioner of Jubbulpore, as quoted by the Chief Commissioner, appear to be founded on a considerable misconception of facts.

And why should the Commissioner of Nagpúr, with apparently limited linguistic experience, call the Language of the Gonds a "barbarous Language"? It comes of the same stock, from which have sprung the magnificent Tamil, and the euphonious Têlugu, Languages which will last as long as the World lasts. Bishop Caldwell, the highest authority on the subject of Dravidian Languages, speaks in admiration of the peculiarities of the Gond. "While the more cultivated Dravidian idioms are so simple in structure, the speech of the Gond boasts of a system of verbal modification and Inflection almost as elaborate as that of the Túrki." No higher praise can be given by a linguist than this. The officials of the Central Provinces would, no doubt, condemn the Sontál Language, as a *barbarous unwritten* form of speech, without an *Alphabet*, but you, Sir, are able to form an opinion as to the position, which that marvellous Language holds, which has developed without a literature an organization of unrivalled wealth of form, and unsurpassed elaborateness of combinations, only equalled by the Greek or Sanskrit.

To establish separate Schools would, in the opinion of the Commissioners of Nagpúr, be "the height of absurdity. Masters would not be obtainable, an Alphabet would have to be formed, and books would have to be written. In fact, an artificial Language

“ would have to be created, and all this to arrest a movement, “ whereby these wilder Races are abandoning their own *barbarous* “ and *defective Language* for the richer and more expressive Hindi “ Dialects.” The Austrian Military Ruler of a Slavonic Province could not have expressed himself more decidedly, or have more entirely ignored the great work, which is now being done by the English Nation in every part of the world in teaching and instructing inferior Races in their own proper Vernaculars. Gentlemen with the views of the Commissioner of Nagpúr would have suppressed the wonderful Languages of the Zúlu, Kafir, and Chúana, and established Dutch Schools and Dutch Courts of Justice in the South African Provinces, speaking Cape-Dutch.

The Census>Returns will place before you the exact distribution of the tribes, Religions, and Languages, of the People of British India. If the Education of the Masses is to be a reality, it must proceed upon sound principles. It is not pretended, that the Language of the few hundreds of a broken tribe in the lowest state of Nomadic absence of culture, like the Juang, is to be preserved, but, where there is a population, counting by hundreds of thousands, given to agriculture, settled in villages, living decent, domestic, honest lives, it is impossible to deny to them Schools in their own vulgar tongue, if you give them Schools at all. It cannot be seriously urged, that the dialectal Hindi of the Chatesgarhi District is a better vehicle of thought *per se* than the Gond, as described by Bishop Caldwell. In the struggle for life let the strongest Vernacular conquer here as elsewhere, but let it be a fair fight. The process must be gradual; Masters must be trained; elementary books written, but, if such details are possible in Africa and elsewhere, they may at least be thought out in the Central Provinces of India.

XIV.

NOTICES OF GRAMMARS AND VOCABULARIES.

(a) ASIA.

GRAMMAR OF THE GUJARÁTI LANGUAGE. By Rev. WM. ST. CLAIR TISDALL, Missionary of C.M.S. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. London, 1892.)

This is one of the important series of Trübner's Collection of Simplified Grammars of the principal Asiatic and European Languages, and the twenty-second of that series. The Author is a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and his knowledge has been obtained on the spot from intercourse with people who speak the Language. The Language is one of the important Arian Languages of Northern India, which make up what may be called the Neo-Sanskritic family, as they occupy to the Sanskrit the same relation that the Neo-Latin Languages of Europe occupy to Latin. The population which speaks this Language exceeds seven Millions.

Our Author is by no means the first, or the only, Grammarian in the field. The literature of this Language in the strict sense is poor, but there is great activity in the Native Presses, and a great many Newspapers are published in Gujaráti: there is one distinct and well-defined Dialect, the Parsi, and the whole Bible is translated into the Language. There is a form of Written Character peculiar to the Language.

The Author tells us in his Preface that, when he arrived in Bombay, not a single copy of the earlier Grammars could be obtained: he alluded to two Vernacular Grammars of later date, one by the Rev. J. Taylor, and the other by Sir T. C. Hope, Educational Inspector. He mentions also a Handbook of Gujaráti Grammar by P. M. Bhatt.

The Grammar is accompanied by a set of Reading Lessons and a Vocabulary, and is very creditably turned out, and no doubt will be very useful.

March 25th, 1892.

GRAMMAR OF THE TÊLUGU LANGUAGE. By HENRY MORRIS, late of H. M. Indian Civil Service. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. 1890.)

The Telinga or Têlugu Language is one of the four great Dravidian forms of speech of South India, which have been enriched and strengthened by an infusion of Arian words. It is spoken by a population of nearly twelve Millions, according to the Census of 1881, in a ring fence, and occupying the Northern portion of the Province of Madras. It has a Written Character of its own; the symbols differ in form from the Nâgari Alphabet of North India, but the group of the symbols in both Alphabets is homogeneous, indicating a common origin.

It is a Language with a considerable literature, and well supplied with Grammars and Dictionaries, and the whole Bible has been translated into it; it is a vigorous and important Vernacular. Mr. Morris's Grammar is carefully prepared, beautifully printed, and will be of great use to future students. A short Text is given, with a careful analysis.

March 25th, 1892.

SHORT VOCABULARY OF THE SOWÁRA TRIBE.

It was prepared in 1880 by Mr. H. Prendergast, Assistant Superintendent of Police in Vizagapatam of the Mudiari Province, and forwarded to the Rev. J. Cain, Missionary, who transmitted it to me.

The Sowára Language belongs to the Kolarian group, and very little is known of it: no literature of any kind exists: a portion of the tribe have adopted an Arian Language. They are described at page 85 of my "Modern Languages of the East Indies."

VERSUCH EINES WÖRTERBUCHES DER TURK-DIALECTE, von. Dr. W. RADLOFF, of the Russian Academy: 1st and 2nd parts. (St. Petersburg, 1889.)

In the Preface, in parallel Russian and German columns, the Author tells us of the circumstances, which led to, the object of, and his particular qualification for, the compiling of this important and unique Work. He resided many years at Vernoe in the employ of the State, and then moved to Kasán on the Volga, where he resided many years: he resides at present at St. Petersburg,

within the walls of the Academy: he had thus ample opportunities of informing himself of the different forms of Language of the *Túrki* branch of the Ural-Altaic family, and he has been labouring at the work since 1859, or thirty years, and, as the materials grew, he has made three distinct compilations: he has incorporated all the words contained in any of the Works of previous Authors. Even now he modestly describes his Work, not as having any pretence of completeness, but as a "versuch" or attempt, and yet it will consist of twenty to twenty-five Parts, each part containing twenty sheets, or a total of many thousand quarto pages. It must be remembered, that it is a Comparative Dictionary, giving under each word the various forms, which are presented in each Language, and every word has a distinct and independent entry. Each part cost one Rouble, and twenty Kopeks.

The importance of this work cannot be over-estimated, and its appearance is most timely. Each sheet, as it passes through the Press, is submitted for the observations of Professor Ilminsky of Kasán, Kasas in Sympheropol, Amirkhanians, the well-known Bible-translator, in Orenburg, Professor Budenz in Buda-Pest, Kunes in Constantinople, Professor Baron von Rosen in St. Petersburg, and Professor Salemann, Librarian of the University of St. Petersburg. Professor Vambéry of Buda-Pest, and Professor Pavet de Courteille of Paris, have also lent a helping hand.

Professor Radloff was good enough to present me with a copy of the two first fascicules at St. Petersburg, when I visited the Academy last September: it was peculiarly acceptable, as I had read a paper the previous week at the International Oriental Congress at Stockholm on the "Distribution of the *Túrki* Branch of the Ural-Altaic Family of Languages," an effort to define accurately the Language-fields of Central Asia; and this Comparative Dictionary, with its accurate and carefully arranged word-store, will greatly assist the inquiry.

The *Osmánli-Túrki*, generally called Turkish, is but one, and the least interesting from a linguistic point of view, of a branch, consisting of eight or nine Languages, the features of which, by the compilation of linguistic books, and of translations of portions of the Bible, are becoming gradually known to us: much still remains to be done, both as regards Dictionaries and Grammars, and Texts, and, as the whole of the *Túrki*-speaking populations are slowly but certainly gravitating towards the Russian Empire, it is to Russian Scholars, that we must look for the illustration of the phenomena of each Language.

November 29th, 1889.

DICTIONAIRE STIENG. Recueil de 2500 Mots. Fait a Brolaue en 1865, par H. AZÉMAR, Missionnaire. (Saigon, 1887.)

In the valley of the River Mekong in Kambodia are a great many wild tribes, of whose Language little is known. Among them are the Stieng, and a French Roman Catholic Mission has been established in their midst for more than a quarter of a century. Their existence is noticed in the travels of Garnier and Bastian. M. Azémar was one of those Missionaries who settled at Brolaue in 1861, and left it in 1866. He dwelt quite alone among the people, and picked up their Language, and compiled this Vocabulary in the French Language, which, accompanied by a full description of the tribe, has been published by the French Colonial Government of Cochin China, and a copy has found its way to the Library of the Royal Geographical Society. It is a very creditable performance.

MANUAL OF THE SIYIN DIALECT SPOKEN IN THE NORTHERN CHIN HILLS, by Captain F. M. RUNDALL, D.S.O., Gurkha Rifles. (Rangoon, Government Press, 1891.)

This is a most praiseworthy contribution to our knowledge in an entirely unknown Region in the Province of Burma, and the author deserves our hearty thanks. We are glad to find that a manual of the Baungshé Dialect spoken in the Southern Chin Hills has been published by Lieut. Macnabb (it is, in fact, a different Language). It appears that the Siyin is one Dialect of a form of speech, which has no leading Dialect, but consists of several, of equal importance, (1) Siyun, (2) Nwengal, and (3) Kanhaw. Two other forms of speech are mentioned, (1) Haka, and (2) Tashen, and are pronounced to differ so materially as to be quite different Languages. Here then we have revealed to us a group of four Languages previously totally unknown, but in which communication is held by British officers with Subject Races.

The Geographical position of these tribes is as follows :

A line drawn from Mandalay to Chittagong passes almost through the Chin Hills. In the North they are bounded by the Manipur Valley, on the East by the Kubo Kalé, Myillha, and Yan valleys, on the South by the Arakan Hill tracts, on the West by the Lushai Hills. The District occupied by the Siyin is roughly between N. Lat. $23^{\circ}.10$ and $23^{\circ}.25$, and E. Long. $93^{\circ}.45$ and $94^{\circ}.5$. The highest elevation is about 8800 feet above sea-level, but the average height of the Range is about 5000 feet.

The Language is monosyllabic. Genders are distinguished by the addition of the word "pa" and "nu" to indicate male and female, and one or two other suffixes in the case of animals. The plural is expressed by the suffix "te," but it is frequently omitted.

March 24th, 1892.

OUTLINE GRAMMAR OF THE SINGHPO LANGUAGE, AS SPOKEN BY SINGHPO, DOWANNIYA, AND OTHERS RESIDING IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF SADIYA, ASSAM. By J. F. NEEDHAM, Assistant Political Officer, Sadiya. (Assam Secretariat Press, Shillong, 1889.)

This is a Grammar, Phrase-book, and Vocabulary, of about 110 pages, prepared by an officer of Government, and printed in the official Press of the Administrative Division. It is a very creditable performance, and an entirely fresh contribution to knowledge. Sadiya is on the River Brahmaputra, at the head of the Assam valley, which is flanked on both sides by high mountains, and these mountains are occupied by barbarous tribes, speaking hitherto imperfectly known Languages. They dwell entirely within British territory.

The Singhpo are classed in Cust's "Modern Languages of the East Indies" in the Tibeto-Burman family. They have the Patkoi Range on their rear, but they are but the advance-guard of a much greater horde lying beyond the Patkoi Range, within British Burma, known as the Kakyen or Kaki. They are to a certain extent civilized, but Pagan, *i.e.* neither Hindu, nor Mahometan, nor Buddhist. Singhpo, or Chingpau, means merely "a man." Vocabularies, and Grammatical Notes, have previously existed, but this Outline Grammar relates to a particular portion of a large tribe localized near Sadiya, and has been compiled by the Author, in whose civil charge they have been placed.

The Author has already published a Grammar of the Miri Language, spoken by another barbarous tribe, and he has a third of the Khampti Language, belonging to a totally different family, the Tai, or Siamese, in preparation. This is very creditable to his industry and ability. It is much to be regretted, that other officials with similar opportunities do not work the virgin-soil of their neighbourhood in the same spirited manner.

Journal of R.A.S., 1890.

(b) AFRICA.

MANUEL DE LA LANGUE FOULE (Anglicé Fulah), parlé dans la Senegambie et le Soudan, par T. G. de GUIRAUDON. Grammaire, Textes, Vocabulaires. (London, Luzac & Co., 1894.)

The learned Author sent some months back an Essay on this Language for the pages of our Journal. After careful consideration it was decided by the Council that, though it was undoubtedly an

important Work, it was hardly of sufficient interest to the general public to publish it in the French Language in our Journal, our space being limited. The MSS. was accordingly posted in a cover addressed to the Author, but it disappeared en route, and though the official of the General Post-office, at my request, sent a special agent to make inquiries, it has never been found. The indefatigable Author at once set to work to re-write his work in an enlarged form as an independent volume, and it has appeared.

In my "Modern Languages of Africa," 1881, p. 157, following Fredk. Müller, of Vienna, *Algemeine Ethnographie*, I class the Fulah Language in the Nuba-Fulah group, between the Hamitic and the Negro groups: no doubt this is provisional. There are several Dialects of this Language, and a certain amount of literature. The name has appeared in several forms in French and English, being even called Pul, or Poule, as the present Author has entitled it. It is a Language of importance and with a future.

The present volume of 144 pages comprises a Grammar of 77 pages, Texts of 11 pages, and a Vocabulary of French and Fulah of 54 pages. It seems to leave nothing to be desired, and is a most important contribution to our knowledge.

July, 1894.

LUNDA, FIOTE.

Major Henrique Augusto Dias de Carvalho, of the Infantry Staff of the Portuguese Army, has published this year (1889) at the National Press at Lisbon a Grammar of the Lunda Language, spoken in the Central Region of South Africa, North of the Gambeir, lying betwixt the colonies of Portugal on the East and West coast: it is called "*Methodo Practico para fallar a lingua da Lunda*," and is in the Portuguese Language. The Author was the Chief of the Portuguese Exploring Expedition to the Kingdom of Lunda, and its mysterious Sovereign, the Muátiãnvua, or, as commonly called, the "Muáta Janvo." Only a portion has reached this country, but it is a meritorious work, and a clear addition to the stock of Human knowledge, as nothing was known previously. It is only to be hoped, that compiling a Grammar does not become the first step to Political Annexation.

The Roman Catholic Congregation of St. Esprit at Loango, on the West coast of Africa South of the Equator, published last year a short Grammar of the Language spoken in the Basin of the Kongo betwixt Stanley Port and the Sea: it is called the "Fiote" Language, and describes itself as the Dialect of Loango: the compiler is a Roman Catholic Missionary named Ussel; and it is in

the French Language, and is printed at the Mission Press at Loango. He was assisted by a brother Missionary named Schmidt, who died in 1882, and by his Bishop. Mr. Carre, and the children educated in the Mission School, greatly helped him. It is a very meritorious little work, and is carefully compiled and nicely printed. The Author makes no allusion to the Grammatical Works, which preceded his, notably Mr. Holman Bentley's Dictionary and Grammatical Preface of the Kongo Language, with a copy of which the Author supplied Bishop Corr  three years ago. No doubt this Work is conscientiously prepared from original sources by a capable man. It belongs to the Bantu family.

Tr bner's Record, 1889.

Z LU.

A REVISED EDITION OF A GRAMMAR OF THE Z LU LANGUAGE. By Rev. LEWIS GROUT, late Missionary. (J. F. Shaw & Co., 48, Paternoster Row, E.C.)

The Grammar, of which the Work before us is a "Revised Edition," was the fruit of much study of the Z lu Language, as heard and learned by the Author, during many years of labour and converse with some of the best representatives of the great Z lu Race in South Africa.

Reaching the field, to which he was sent as an American Missionary in 1846, and finding no book, indeed not a sentence of genuine Z lu Vernacular in printed form, our Author got his knowledge of the Language, as best he could, by catching it from the lips of the best speakers, and testing the correctness of his efforts by repeatedly referring his Work to the people among whom he was labouring as translator, teacher, and preacher. Meantime, as he further tells us in his Preface, in order to make himself familiar with all the various forms, idioms, and principles of the Language, he made large collections of Folk Lore stories, songs, History, Biography, and other narratives from the lips of the more intelligent representative men among the different Z lu tribes which Chaka had, in former days, subdued and unified, or welded, into the now one great Nation.

In the Appendix of the first edition, we find some fifty-five pages of these narratives and songs in the original Z lu, together with a translation into English. All this, however, has been omitted from the second edition, and in place of it we find, in this new edition, some twenty-four interesting and instructive pages, given, in part, to some of the theoretical views of able Philologists as to

the origin and import of one of the leading characteristics, the preformative, or prefix, of the Zúlu and other Bántu Languages; in part, to Grammatical samples of eleven of the more important members of the great Bántu family from widely remote parts of the field, for Comparative purposes; and, in part, to tables of prefixes, pronouns, numerals, etc., in eleven members of this great family, also for comparative purposes.

Some twenty-four pages, having respect to Lepsius' Standard-Alphabet in the first edition, are omitted in the second, being displaced by a brief, well-considered, yet lucid and interesting statement of the general principles and affinities of the great family, to which the Zúlu belongs, together with a somewhat extended notice of the extent, habitat, relationship, and character, of the Isizúlu.

The other Sections of the Introduction are devoted to an inquiry as to the origin and early migrations of the Bántu Race, and to Historical Notes concerning the Ama-Zúlu.

Looking at the more strictly Grammatical part of the Work, or the body of the Revised Grammar, we are impressed with what seems to be a thorough, complete analysis of the Language; the natural, lucid order, in which the parts are set; the perspicuous style in which the principles, rules, notes, and remarks are expressed, together with the fulness and pertinence of the examples given in illustration of each principle, note, and remark. Indeed, this was the plan and purpose of the Author, as he tells us in his Preface, where he says: "What is wanted and expected of a Grammar is, that it give a clear statement and correct illustration of the forms and principles, the genius and idioms, of the Language of which it treats." This exactness, fulness, clearness in stating and illustrating principles and rules, was all the more needed because of the remarkably unique yet philosophical character of the Language, so different from every other great family, and yet so perfectly adapted to the ends of Language as a means of giving expression to the thoughts and sentiments of the minds and hearts of men.

And yet, with all this difference, as seen especially in its Inflectional system, there are some interesting points of resemblance between the Zúlu and some other Languages. The Zúlu, for instance, resembles the Hebrew and Greek in the conjugations or species of the verb. Thus, from the Zúlu root *tanda* 'love,' the Author gets *tandisa* 'cause to love,' *tandela* 'love for,' *tandana* 'love one another,' *tandeka* 'lovable,' *zitanda* 'love self.'

Some points of peculiar construction in Zúlu, as are presented in the Work before us, are happily illustrated by examples from Languages of the Arian family, as from the French, German, and Latin. The great power of the Language evidently centres in the verb. Its compass and facility for expressing the minutest shades of meaning in respect to the manner, state, and time of the acting,

being, or suffering, denoted by the essential verb are remarkable. The great love, which the Zúlu has for euphony, and the rigid regard it pays to the physiological laws of phonology in the changes it makes for euphony's sake, are among the interesting characteristics of this Language. The book of which we speak is rich in material for Comparative purposes.

In many of the examples given in illustration of Grammatical rules, as in the syntax of the book, we find good clues to the Zúlu's mental character, modes of thought, quick wit, together with samples of his taste, his saws, proverbs, folk-lore, Religious notions, objects of worship, and eschatology, such as :

"Each man has some peculiarity in his mind as well as in his face. If we don't know, let us stop and be silent. Working does not help us if we waste what we obtain. Diligence is the Mother of gain. Don't be afraid of perspiration. At the house of the industrious famine casts a wistful look, and goes on to that of the sluggard. The women do the digging. The believers have begun to buy wagons. A person who believes walks like a man walking in a thorny place, for a man walking among thorns looks carefully where he puts his feet. I was restored to health by a shade (ghost, divinity). Let the paternal shades eat (of our sacrifice), and grant us great wealth, so that our children may be saved with us (or that we and our children may escape death)."

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1894; adapted from Notes supplied.

GIRIÁMA.

I have been requested to write a Preface to this first attempt at a Vocabulary of an East Equatorial African Language. It belongs to the great Bantu family, and is the Vernacular of a tribe, whose habitat is just to the North of Mombása, about 39° East Longitude, and 3° South Latitude, and entirely within the sphere of British influence. The Rev. W. E. Taylor, B.A., already favourably known for linguistic researches, of the Church Missionary Society, has itinerated in the midst, and made use of his opportunities to make this contribution to Science. It consists of a Vocabulary, preceded by remarks on the Language, and with an Appendix of genuine Language-specimens, accompanied by translations. The articles attached to some words are very full, and many local Folk Lore and tribal subjects of interest are touched upon. On the whole it is a very creditable performance, and will, no doubt, lead on to translation of portions of the Holy Scriptures, and of Religious and Educational works.

S.P.C.K., 1891.

TUGÚLU.

ARAB TALES IN THE TUGÚLU DIALECT OF THE MAKÚA LANGUAGE, MOZAMBIK, EAST AFRICA. By DANIEL RANKIN, Acting British-Consul, Mozambik.

These are very interesting and original specimens of this previously totally unknown Dialect of the Makúá Language; they were collected by the very intelligent Acting British-Consul, and forwarded to Dr. Cust, hon. secretary, with a letter explaining their nature. The tales have been published by the S.P.C.K., and some Comparative Vocabularies.

S.P.C.K., 1887.

KAMBA.

The Kamba Language is one of the great Bántu family of East Africa, South of the Equator. The tribe are settled in two separate enclaves. Krapf found a population of seventy thousand to ninety thousand Souls, surrounded by aliens of the Hamite and Nuba-Fulah groups, and he published a Vocabulary at Tubingen, in 1850. Last, a Missionary of the Church Missionary Society, the Author of this Grammatical Treatise, found a large number of the same tribe in U-Sagára, near his place of residence, Mamboia, who had migrated Southwards. This book is a valuable addition to our knowledge. The Language is noticed in p. 359 of my "Modern Languages of Africa."

S.P.C.K., 1885.

HADENDÓA AND BENI AMÍR.

Major Watson, of the Royal Engineers (Watson Pasha), while at Suákim, collected a Vocabulary of the two above-mentioned Dialects, and entered them in the Model Vocabulary Forms, which I had sent out to him. They are now being published by the S.P.C.K. The Hadendóá is a Dialect of the Bishári Language, of the Hamite group (see p. 126 of Cust's "Modern Languages of Africa," 1883). The Beni Amír are wrongly entered as a Dialect of the same Language, but the Vocabulary shows that the Language is Abyssinian, and akin to the Tigré of Abyssinia.

S.P.C.K., 1887.

(c) OCEANIA.

THE LANGUAGES OF NEW GUINEA.

The Church of Australia having announced its desire and intention of undertaking the great work of evangelizing some of the tribes of New Guinea within the British Dominions, it is desirable that Vocabularies of some of the tribes should be published with a view of assisting the early Missionaries. These Vocabularies were compiled by two illustrious Pioneers: Part I. comprises those Languages spoken by tribes dwelling between Yule Island and the Aird River, and was compiled by Mr. Chalmers, so well-known, and who is still in the Field. Part II. comprises Vocabularies of eight Languages spoken by tribes in the Eastern and Western portions of British New Guinea, compiled by Mr. Macfarlane.

Translations of portions of the Holy Scriptures in several Languages of this Region are also in progress.

S.P.C.K.

GRAMMAR AND VOCABULARY OF MOTU, NEW GUINEA.

This is one of the first fruits of the noble attempt to evangelize the British portion of New Guinea by the London Missionary Society. The names of Murray and Macfarlane, of Lawes and Chalmers, are known to all. From the Fly River to the extreme point of the Island there are upwards of twenty-five Languages, or Dialects of Languages, spoken by the numerous tribes, or sections of tribes, which have pressed down from the unknown interior to the coast; they are all savage Pagans, but not unfriendly. Their Languages belong to the Melanesian group with certain Polynesian affinities; totally without literature or Written Character. Mr. Lawes had seven years residence among the people to teach him the Language of this important tribe, which lives near to Port Moresby, and he has translated a portion of the New Testament, which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

It is of such importance, that the officials appointed to carry out the Protectorate, should understand this leading Language, which no doubt will become the lingua franca of the South coast, that Mr. Lawes deserves the thanks of the Government. He promises, on his return to the scene of his benevolent labour, a Comparative Grammar, and Collective Vocabulary, of all the forms of speech spoken in the Districts influenced by his Mission Stations.

Attached to this Grammar is an English-Motu and Motu-English Vocabulary, of a considerable length.

It is an excellent book, and reflects credit on the Australian publisher.

London, June, 1887.

BOGÓTU, MELANESIA.

One of the Languages spoken in the Isabel Island of the Solomon group is the Bogótu. The English Melanesian Mission have prepared a translation of the Gospel of Mark in this Language; it is published by the S.P.C.K., and is interesting, as a genuine specimen of this Language.

THE LANGUAGES OF MELANESIA.

The writer of this communication is the son of H. C. Von der Gabelentz, one of the greatest linguistic Scholars of his time, and is himself a no less distinguished Scholar than his father. He treats of a subject, which is of the greatest importance, and which has this year been brought prominently to the notice of Scholars by the Comparative Grammar of the Melanesian Languages, compiled by the Rev. R. H. Codrington, D.D., of the Melanesian Mission, and published by the Clarendon Press. The Archipelago of Islands, known by the name of Melanesia, from the dark colour of their Negrito inhabitants, as distinguished from the fair Polynesians further to the East, extends in a chain of Islands from the Southern point of New Guinea to Fiji, and includes in addition to those Islands the groups known as Solomon, Santa Cruz, Banks, New Hebrides, Loyalty, and New Caledonia. They have been the scene of outrages on the part of the white traders, and vengeful murders on the part of the natives: they are a bone of contention betwixt Great Britain and France: their population is wasting away by kidnappings to supply the wants of Planters in Queensland and the Fiji Islands, and by infectious diseases, and spirituous liquors, introduced by Europeans. The Bible has been translated into several of the Languages, and each of the larger Islands has its own Language; but it is calculated that in a few years the population will, like that of Tasmania, have totally disappeared, and the Languages remain as literary survivals.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1886.

XV.

NOTES ON LINGUISTIC WORKS.

1888.

General Philology.—Dr. Fredk. Müller of Vienna has published an Appendix to his “Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft,” containing materials, which have come to hand betwixt the years 1877 and 1887 after his copy was made up for the Press. It comprises Grammatical Notes on twelve African Languages, ten American Languages, and five on Languages in Asia and Oceania.

India.—The Rev. Mr. Wade has published at the S.P.C.K. a Grammar of the Kashmíri Language, the result of his own studies during a long residence in the valley in daily contact with the people. He has also published Texts: nothing of the kind has previously existed.

Africa.—Antonio Cecchi, an Italian Traveller, has published at Rome, at the expense of the Italian Geographical Society, Grammatical Notes and Vocabularies of six Languages spoken in the Region South of Abyssinia, and collected by him in his Journey of Exploration from Zeila on the Indian Ocean to Kaffa in the nearly unknown Regions of the Interior: their names are Galla, Kaffa, Shangalla, Janger, Adiya, Gurague, and Afar or Danákil. This book is a valuable addition to existing knowledge.

“Review of African Philology.” Dr. Büttner, the Director of the newly-established German Missions in East Africa, and well-known as a Scholar of South African Languages, has published the first part of his new Review, which will appear quarterly in the German Language at Berlin: it promises exceedingly well, and contains contributions on the Swahili, Súto, and Ashánti, Languages of importance, and a notice of all books published on the subject within the period.

Niger Languages.—Two Printing-Presses are in full work in this Region, one at Bonny on the Lower Niger, a second at Lokója on the Upper Niger: they advertise to dispose of every kind of secular work, advertisements, printed catalogues, and visiting-cards, but

their serious work is to turn off Educational Works in the Languages of the Region. We have before us four little Works in the Brass Dialect of the Idzo Language; and four in that of the Ibo, in excellent style, written and printed by Negroes. Both Languages belong to the Negro group.

Bantu family of African Languages.—The S.P.C.K. continues to put forth volumes of an Educational character for use of African Schools, and we have on our table two volumes in the Xosa or Káfir, Language in South Africa, one volume in Swahili in East Equatorial Africa, and one in the Ganda Language of Victoria Nyanza, printed in London; but there is a Press in full work at Rubága, the capital of King Mwanga.

Oceania.—Melanesia.—The S.P.C.K. has published a careful translation of the Acts of the Apostles in the Language of Florida Island in the Solomon group, prepared on the spot.

1889.

Asia.—The British and Foreign Bible Society has published a Gospel in the Language of the Pangasína, spoken by one Million in the Island of Luzon, in the Philippine Islands. The translator is Señor Alonzo of Seville, an old resident in the Islands.

Africa.—Professor Reinisch, of Vienna, has published in the German Language two volumes on the Language of the Afar or Danákil. The first volume contains Texts, collected by the Author on the spot, the second a Dictionary. Both are of the greatest importance, and prepared in the best style. It belongs to the Hamitic group of Languages.

Professor René Basset, of Algiers, has published a Manual of the Kabáil Language in the Zouave Dialect spoken by the indigenous inhabitants of Algeria. It is a Hamitic Language, and totally distinct from Arabic. The Manual consists of a Grammar, Texts, Bibliography, and Vocabulary. It is a most satisfactory Work, and is in the French Language.

The Christian Knowledge Society has just published in the English Language a Dictionary of the Nika Language, spoken near Mombása in East Africa. It belongs to the Bantu family. This work was compiled by the late Rev. J. Rebmann, of the Church Missionary Society, during his long residence in that country.

Dr. Sims, of the Livingstone Mission on the Kongo, has just published in the English Language a Vocabulary of the Yaluléma Language, spoken in the Aruwini, Lolámi, and Mawembe Districts of the Upper Kongo. It belongs to the Bantu family. The book is accompanied by a small Map of the Kongo, indicating the precise locality where this Language is spoken. Dr. Cust has presented a

copy to the Library of the R.A.S. (East London Institute for Home and Foreign Missions, Publishers).

The Hon. Secretary has also published at his own charges at the Christian Knowledge Society a Vocabulary of the Language, spoken by the savage Fan tribe who occupy the Region North of the River Gabun and the French Protectorate in South Africa, West coast. The renderings of the words are in the Spanish Language. It is presumed to be of the Bántu family. The compiler is a Spaniard, Don Osorio, who had resided some time in the country, and who called upon the writer of these Notes to help him to publish his Vocabulary. As it seemed of value, was certainly genuine, and filled up a great gap in our existing knowledge, Dr. Cust consented to do so, at his own expense, as his contribution to the extension of our knowledge of Africa.

Among this year's books on African Languages, mention should be made of three published at Vienna: the *Manuel de la Langue Tigráí*, by M. Schreiber; the *Lingua Afar nel Nord-Est del' Africa*, by Giovanni Colizza; and *Die Bilin Sprache*, by Leo Reinisch. The Tigráí is spoken in Central and Northern Abyssinia; it is Semitic, and a Sister-Language of the Tigré, both sprung from the old Ethiopian, or Gíz. Along the shores of the Red Sea, and in the islands between the Bay of Adúlis and Gulf of Tájirah, is the tribe known to outsiders as Danákil, to the members themselves, Afar. Mention has already been made of Professor Leo Reinisch's volumes on this tribe. In the general scramble for Africa, Italy laid hands on Assab, a port of the Red Sea, and its Government was induced to send young Italians to acquire the Language of the neighbouring tribes with a view to annexation. Hence Signor Colizza's work, a most complete one, and a valuable addition to Science. The Vocabulary of the Bilin, a Language spoken by the Bogos tribe on the Northern frontier of Abyssinia, is a masterly production, written in German.

1890.

Africa.—Don Antonio da Silva Leitao e Castro has published in the Portuguese Language at the National Press of Loanda, 1866, the Grammar of the Kongo Language and Vocabulary, compiled by Brusciottus, a Capuchin Monk, in the Latin Language 200 years ago. Our readers will recollect, that this book is no longer rare, as a new edition was published some years back in London, and it has been translated and published in English by Mr. Grattan Guinness, of Harley House, Bow. It is a Bántu Language.

Joaquín Almeida Da Cúnha has published at the National Press

of Loanda, 1886, a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Maiza Language, spoken in the District of Cape Delgado, in the Province of Mozambik in East Africa. It is a Bantu Language.

The same Author has published at the National Press of Mozambik, 1885, a Study on the Manners and Customs of the Banian, Báthia, Parsi, Moor, Gentile, and Native inhabitants of the Province. It would be an interesting Study to examine this volume, as so many of the Races alluded to are natives of India, Hindu and Mahometan, who have settled on the East coast of Africa, South of the Equator; in fact, all the coast-trade is in the hands of Indians.

Susu, West Africa.—The Rev. P. H. Donglin, Missionary to the Rio Pongas, has published through the S.P.C.K. a Reading Book in the Susu Language, a most important form of speech in West Africa. This belongs to the Negro group.

Kabáil, North Africa.—Emeritus Professor F. W. Newman has published (Trübner) a new and enlarged edition of his Numidian, or Kabáil, Vocabulary. It includes all the words contained in a Vocabulary prepared by Father Olivier, which Dr. Cust, the Hon. Secretary, picked up during his tour in Algeria, as it was previously unknown in England.

Oceania.—Mr. Sydney H. Ray has contributed to the Journal of the Anthropological Institute a Grammatical Notice of the Nguna Language, spoken in one of the islands of the New Hebrides.

Grammatica Oromána.—A Grammar of the Language spoken in Abyssinia, and by the Galla tribe. By Lucie Scobart. Published at Naples, 1885, in the Italian Language. In the Preface we learn, that the Roman Catholic Bishop Massaia gave the first impetus to the Study of this Language as far back as 1854, by opening a School, in which the Native children were taught the Language and the use of the Roman Character. The Author followed this lead, and has compiled a very creditable Grammar. The Author appears to be a young Italian Professor.

African Philology.—A Grammar and Vocabulary of the Fan Language was published at New York, 1881, by the Rev. R. H. Nassau, M.D., of the American Presbyterian Board of Missions in the Gabun, the West coast South of the Equator. It was the work of the Rev. H. M. Adams, of the same Mission, who died as far back as 1856. It is of great importance. The Language is of the Bantu family.

1891.

“Comparative Grammar of the Bantu Language,” by the Rev. Father Torrend, S.J., of the Jesuit Mission on the Zambési. This is a large and important volume, compiled on the model of the great

Comparative Grammar of the Arian Languages, but comprising a very much larger number of Languages, the knowledge of which has been revealed to us during the last twenty years by the Grammars, Dictionaries, and Texts prepared by Missionaries in South Africa. No doubt there are many points which will require consideration, as our knowledge extends, but under any circumstances this is an Epoch-making Book. (Kegan Paul, Trench.)

"Grammar of the Nyanja Language of Lake Nyasa," by the Rev. George Henry, Medical-Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most satisfactory book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

Hymns, by the same Author in the same Language.

"Angola Proverbs in the Mbunda or Banda Language of the West coast of Africa within the Portuguese colony." The translations are in the Portuguese Language, and the book is interesting as compiled by an educated Native. (Lisbon.)

"Notes on the Tambúka Language spoken on the West coast of Lake Nyasa," by Dr. Elmslie, Medical-Missionary of the Free Church of Scotland. This is a most useful book. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

"Table of concords, and paradigm of Verb," in the same Language, by the same Author.

"Notes on the Tambúka Language and table of concords and paradigm of Verb in the Ngoni form of speech," a Dialect of the Zulu Language spoken on the West coast of Lake Nyasa: for this also we are indebted to Dr. Elmslie. (Frazer, Aberdeen.)

"Afrikanische Petrefakten," a Study of the Grammatical features, and mutual relation, of African Languages in the German Language, by Professor A. W. Schleicher (Berlin). We particularly welcome this book, as indicating, that the attention of German linguistic Scholars is beginning to be turned to the wonderful new materials, brought to light by honest, though untrained, British labourers in a virgin-field.

"A Gospel in the Shitswa Language," spoken in the Portuguese colony in East Africa near Lorenzo Marquez. We publish annually in this Journal a list of the translations, made by the British Bible Society, but we are indebted for this translation to the American Bible Society. It may readily be understood, how exceedingly important are genuine Texts made by capable men in the field to be brought into immediate use, and severe criticism by the tribe, which speaks that Language, when used in the Schools and Chapels.

"An English-Télugu Dictionary," by P. Sankára-naráyana, M.A., Tutor to their Highnesses the Princes of Cochin, South India, Madras. K. R. Press, 1891. This is a very satisfactory Work: the field has been well occupied by previous Scholars, but previous Dictionaries were not within the reach of the ever-increasing number of Télugu Students, and the want being felt,

this Native Scholar has supplied a fresh, and cheap, and handy Dictionary. with a careful Preface.

"A Pocket Tamil Guide," by A. M. Fergusen, Jun., Member of the R.A.S. Third Edition, completely revised. Colombo, Island of Ceylon, 1892. It is well-known, that the Northern portion of the Island of Ceylon is occupied exclusively by Tamil immigrants from South India, and this useful Pocket-Guide is published for convenience of the European Planter, who has to do with the management of land-estates.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

1892.

"Ng'anja Language." Dictionary by the Rev. David Clement Scott, Mission of Church of Scotland, Blantyre on the River Shiré, South Africa. Edinburgh, 1892. This Language belongs to the Bantu family, and the tribe, which speaks it, dwells on the shores of Lake Nyasa, which word, as well as Ng'anja, means Lake, River, or water. The Language is more akin to the Zulu and Xosa (commonly called Kafir) than to the Languages on the East coast, Swahili and Yao. The Dictionary is preceded by a Grammatical Note. It is a praiseworthy production.

"Translation of Mark's Gospel into Ng'anja." This is a carefully prepared Text in the same Language.

"An elementary sketch of Suto Grammar," by M. E. Jacottet, French Missionary in Ba-Suto-land. Mission Press, 1892. Thaba Bosiu. A new and enlarged edition of a Suto-English Vocabulary being required, it was thought advisable to prefix to it this Grammatical sketch in the English Language: this represents a great advance on our knowledge, and it is a trustworthy guide.

"Notes on the Grammatical Construction of the Luba Language," as spoken in Garenganje, Central Africa, with brief Vocabularies in Luba-English and English-Luba, and six chapters in Luba from the Gospel of John. Office of Echoes of Science, Bath. This is an exceedingly valuable contribution to knowledge by a young Missionary, named Charles Albert Swan. The country, where this Language is spoken, is included in the Kongo Free State. Garenganje was the capital of a chief named Msidi, who was shot by a late English Explorer. The Region is better known as Katanga. Mr. Frederick Arnot penetrated, as an independent Missionary, into this terra incognita in 1886: his health failed and he had to return to England, being relieved in 1888 by Mr. Swan. He resided three years at Garenganje, and added to the small stock of Luba words collected by Mr. Arnot.

It is noteworthy, that both the Missionary Explorers went to their station *viâ* the Portuguese colony on the West coast of Africa and Bihé, but Mr. Swan returned by way of the River Kongo. After a few months sojourn in England he has started on his return.

We feel deeply obliged to the compilers. The Language belongs to the Bantu family of South Africa, and is a new variety of that multiform stock. I have applied for copies to send to African Scholars in the different Capitals of Europe.

The preceding Works are by labourers in the field, who, without linguistic training, contribute careful and honest record of linguistic facts. The book, which I now notice, is from the pen of a linguistic Scholar, A. W. Schleicher, in the German Language, published at Berlin, 1892, and entitled "*Die Somáli-Sprache.*" It is apparently only the first part of a larger Work, and it contains a Text, Sound-Lore, Word-Lore, and Sentence-Lore. The compiler had visited Somáli-land. It is not the first Grammar, as Captain Hunter occupied the field some time back, but much material has been accumulated since. It is compiled on scientific principles for scientific purposes.

Professor Leo Reinisch, of Vienna, has published in the German Language at Vienna, three parts of a most valuable book, 204 pages, *Die Bedáwie-Sprache in Nord-Ost Africa.*

In 1881, Professor Hermann Almqvist published at Upsála, in Sweden, his well-known volume, *Die Bishári-Sprache To-Bedáwie.*

This new volume of Prof. Reinisch, is a valuable addition to our knowledge, consisting of Texts and Grammatical Notes, and including Dialects. The Language belongs to the Hamitic family, and is spoken in the Regions betwixt the Upper Nile Basin and the Red Sea.

Tigré is the chief Language spoken in the Italian colony Eritrea on the African bank of the Red Sea. It is, with the exception of Arabic, the most extensively spoken Language of Semitic origin. Its field is between the 16 and 18 degrees of N. Latitude. It has no written literature, and it is only in recent years, that it has been made the subject of Philological research, while its Southern Sister-Language Tigríña, was brought more than twenty years ago within the pale of linguistic analysis. Captain M. Camperio's "*Manuale Tigrè-Italiano,*" comprising an outline Grammar, Dialogues, and two Vocabularies, is intended to serve practical purposes only by facilitating intercourse between his countrymen and the Abyssinians. The production of the Lazarist father, J. Schreiber, "*Manuel de la langue Tigráï,*" the second part of which has recently been published at Vienna, six years after the first, is a Work of more ambitious aims. It deals, like the Work of Professor Praetorius, with the Tigríña Dialect, but differs from that Work by deriving its materials from the living Laaguage

exclusively, both as it is spoken and used in correspondence. The Character used is the Amháric, which has also been employed in the present Work. The second part contains Tigríña letters with a French translation, Notes, and a Vocabulary. The typographical execution, done at the celebrated printing-office of Ad. Holzhausen, at Vienna, leaves nothing to be desired.

In East Africa the S.P.C.K. has published a great many small books in the different Languages for the use of Missionary-Societies. The point of view, from which I regard them on this occasion, is purely Philological, and they do certainly represent an advanced, and advancing, knowledge of Vernaculars, of which the names even were unknown a quarter of a century ago: there is no use in setting out the names of these Works, as the Student will find them in the Catalogues of the Society under their respective Languages: there are of the Bántu family the Megi, the Yao, the Nganga, the Swahili, the Gogo, and the Ganda; this Region includes Victoria Nyanza, and Lake Nyasa, and the country between: the books are real, prepared by men in the field, not by Scholars in their European Studies.

To Mr. M. E. Weale, late "D" Troup B.S.A. Company's Police, we are indebted for a small Vocabulary, published at Cape-Town, of the Tabéle and Kaláka Languages, spoken in Ma-Shóna-land, and Ma-Tabéle-land. The book consists of thirty-two pages, and is intended for the use of Prospectors and Farmers in Ma-Shóna-land. There are manifest Zúlu-affinities in these Languages: it is a first effort, and no doubt will be followed by more serious productions.

The Rev. A. M. Hartman has published outlines of a Grammar of another Dialect spoken in Ma-Shóna-land. This is but another drop of a coming shower.

In the Quarterly Bulletin of the American Geographical Society, it is proposed to publish a series of Notes of Bántu Languages from the pen of the accomplished Scholar, M. Helé Chatelain: his experience lies in the Portuguese colony of Angóla, on the West coast South of the Equator. No. III. of the Series reached me a few days ago: "The Ma-Yaka and their Language." This is the first appearance of a new Language: the Geographical position of the tribe who speak it is indicated, and a Vocabulary and brief Grammatical Notes are appended.

The late Colonel Ellis, of the First Battalion of the West India Regiment, stationed in West Africa, North of the Equator, in the British colonies, has contributed an important volume on the "Yáriba-speaking Peoples of the Slave-Coast of West Africa." The chapters on Language, Proverbs, and Folk-Lore-tales are most valuable: it is published by Chapman and Hall, London, and should find a place in all Libraries.

The various useful publications, by the East London Institute

for Home and Foreign Missions, on the Kongo group of the Bantu family of Languages, have recently received a valuable accession in a "Guide to the Lu-Nkundu Language," by J. and F. T. McKittrick. This Language is spoken along with the Ki-Lolo by the Ba-Nkundu in the Ba-Lolo country, in the great bend of the Kongo where it crosses the Equator Northwards. The two differ dialectically only. The Manual comprises, in addition to a short Grammar, with Texts, conversations, reading-lessons, and two Vocabularies, and is intended to be a companion volume to J. B. Eddie's Ki-Lolo Vocabulary.

"Die Töne der Neger-Sprachen, und ihre Bezeichnung": erortert von J. G. Christaller: Basle, Switzerland. This is a short Pamphlet of nineteen pages on an important and intricate subject, by a singularly well-qualified Scholar, whose experience is in the field.

General Subject.—The same Scholar has contributed to the general subject of the Languages of Africa an interesting and valuable pamphlet of fifty-nine pages, under the title "Die Sprachen Afrikas," von J. G. Christaller, Stuttgart. It is, in fact, a separate copy of a contribution to the Annual Report of the Württemberg Society of Commercial Geography.

The Rev. Lewis Grout contributed a valuable Essay on African Languages to the Chicago-Congress of 1893.

I venture briefly to allude to my own contribution to the Chicago-Congress. In 1881, I published, with the help of friends in every part of Europe, North America, and Africa, my two volumes of the "Modern Languages of Africa"; with carefully prepared Appendices of Languages, Dialects, and authorities: they were favourably received, and have been quoted by numerous writers. Twelve years have passed away, and a great number of additional books have been published, and the Authors invariably honoured me with a copy: it was too soon for a second edition of my book before the lapse of a quarter of a century, so it occurred to me to publish in the English and French Languages an Essay on the "Progress of African Philology from 1881 to 1893," forty-eight pages, with Appendices naming all the additional books published in that interval of time; it has been appreciated, and will greatly help the persons, to whom it falls in the next century to publish a revised edition of the Work.

1894.

The following Note is interesting on the grounds of General Philology.

NOTE on a Paper by the Rev. F. W. Kolbe, Missionary in Damara-land, South Africa, "On the Bearing of the Study of the Bantu Languages of South Africa on the Arian Family of Languages."

The author of this Paper has been nearly forty years as a Missionary in South Africa, chiefly among the Hereró, which in my sketch of the "Modern Languages of Africa" I have classed in the Western Sub-branch of the Southern branch of the Great Bantu family of Languages in South Africa, South of the Equator. Under the patronage of our late President, Sir Bartle Frere, Dr. Kolbe last year published a Dictionary of the Hereró, and in 1868 a Pamphlet on the Law of the Vowels in that Language. In the Preface to his Dictionary he sets forth the principles, upon which the genius and laws of that Language are based, the result of thirty years' reflection. He addressed me on the subject, and stated his conviction, that these laws apply as well to the origin of Arian Languages, and indeed of Universal Language, and that, when that fact was acknowledged, Hereró would obtain its proper place in Philology. Not a single group of root-words in the Arian family could, according to him, be properly understood without a knowledge of Bántu, especially of Hereró.

He then expressed his desire to avail himself of his leisure (for he had retired from Mission-work, and settled down at Wynberg, near Cape-Town), to write a volume on the Origin, Laws, and Forms, of the Hereró Language, explaining and exemplifying the principles, if he could receive some pecuniary assistance from Government or a learned Society. I replied, that there was but slight hope of any favourable result to his application, but I encouraged him to prepare for the Journal of this Society an outline of his views on this important subject, which would at least bring them to the notice of the Scholars of Europe.

No doubt the Philological world has submitted to the tyranny of the Sanskritists too long, and a protest was required. Great as has been the service of that School in founding the Science of Comparative Philology on a sure and scientific basis, the time has come for a closer Study of the marvellous linguistic phenomena of other families of Languages, specially of so remarkable a one as the Bántu Languages of South Africa, and it is possible, that a thorough-going investigation of these and other non-Arian families of Speech will open the way to a depth, which the plummet-line of the Sanskritists has failed to reach. At any rate, until Philologists have done for these Languages what has been done for the Arian and Semitic families, it seems in my opinion premature to commence any discussion as to the origin of Language.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

PART II.
INDIA.

I.

THE INDIAN CAREER OF SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL.

THERE is a melancholy interest attached to these volumes, as the compiler was engaged upon them, when he was suddenly called away at Cairo, in Egypt. He was one of the most distinguished officials of the Government of British India, and after his retirement from the Service in 1874 he sat in Parliament for the borough of Kirkcaldy, N.B., but his memoirs relate only to his Indian career.

He arrived in India in the last week of 1842, and left it finally in 1874. This covers a period of thirty-one years, but at least six years were spent in England on furlough, so his actual residence covered only twenty-five years; and he filled every grade and every variety of appointment in the Province of the Panjáb, North-West Provinces, and Lower Bangál, from the highest to the lowest; and it may be truly said, that he was most worthy of every office which he held, and left each office improved and developed by his occupation. His period of service preceded, passed through, and continued on and after, the great military Mutinies of 1857, in the dangers of which he shared, though only as a civilian. There is scarcely a single reform or improvement of our revenue and judicial system during the period of his service, in which he had not taken a conspicuous part. Before the Mutinies the offices which he held were the ordinary ones of the Civil Department, though he was always several years in advance of his contemporaries; but after the Mutinies he held successively the post of Chief Judge in the Province of Oudh, member of the High Court of Justice of Bangál, Chief Commissioner of the Central Provinces, and Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. He left his mark everywhere.

But he found time during the intervals of business to compile and publish several remarkable books connected with the administration of British India, and at the time of the second Panjáb War

he published a series of remarkable letters in a local Indian paper, and during the Mutinies in *The Times* of London. Whatever he wrote made a considerable impression, and the lucidity of his style, the accuracy of his facts, and the ability of his arguments, were admitted even by those who did not agree with him in his policy. Much of that literature was necessarily ephemeral, and only those, who remember the publication of that literature, are able to appreciate its value, the awakening of sleepy officials at the sound of the trumpet of the young reformer. He had but one object, and that was to improve the administration of India, and these volumes amply testify to the statement. While in England, or in his lengthened tours, his thoughts insensibly turned to that one object. Now that India has been so Europeanized the necessity of the reforms, which he helped to introduce, is scarcely understood. It was but natural, that he was violently opposed by those who desired to let things be, and these pages perhaps betray that, as a controversialist, he was not quite fair. Many distinguished antagonists, or men who ventured to differ from him, both civil and military, are held up to scorn, and their counter-arguments, or views of a disputed case, are not set out; he would have urged, that he was writing *his own* memoirs, and not the memoirs of other men who had opposed him, but this view of the memoirs detracts from their value as bricks, from which History will hereafter be constructed. He had very strong views on all questions, which came within his cognizance practically, but he was unable to see the other side of the shield.

He had not the advantage of a classical Education, nor had he any acquaintance with Language beyond his own and the great Vernacular of North India. He never turned aside to literature, or the fine Arts, or "belles-lettres." He was an administrator "pur et simple," and a thoughtful, scientific, and conscientious administrator, standing up for the rights of the cultivator of the soil and all oppressed classes. Some officials went in for the friendship of rich landowners and princelings, and had the advantage of the loan of elephants and sporting facilities and banquets, and after the Mutinies a great wave of aristocratical toadyism swept over North India. To such tendencies George Campbell was steadily opposed; he fought the battle of the ryot, and was successful, and he was not alone in his contest.

The form, in which these memoirs appear, leaves much to be desired; the chief feature of a memoir is, that it should be short. These volumes are very bulky, and to many will be very heavy reading; many will not read them at all. To those who knew the man, and in memory can accompany him throughout all his career from 1843 to 1874, they have a peculiar fascination; but it is personal and antiquarian, and the pleasure is limited to those, who agree with the great reformer, and will certainly not be shared by

the friends or relatives of those, who fall under the lash of his castigation, or his severe censure. These lines are penned by one, who knew him in College, knew him, and was in constant correspondence or personal contact with him, during the whole of his career, and up to the time of his leaving for England for Egypt in 1891. No more amiable, lovable, personage ever existed; so sweet to argue with, so instructive to listen to. It so happened, that the orbits of our official duty were totally distinct, though just in contact sometimes, but producing no rivalry, and giving play for differences of detail in opinions on general subjects of administration, which were perfectly identical from the first to the last.

He was a child of fortune: luck was on his side; no domestic misfortune, no serious illness, came near him; no disappointment in the distribution of the objects of official desire; he had everything: many things which others may have desired, and perhaps deserved, but were not lucky enough to attain: the three prizes of the Service, a seat in the High Court of Justice, a Chief Commissionership of a Province, the Government of a Region containing sixty Millions; on his return to England a seat in the Council of India, a safe seat for several Parliaments in the House of Commons; the Order of Knight Commander of the Star of India, the honour of D.C.L. at Oxford, the praise and applause of friends, and the respect of those, who opposed the measures, but admired the man.

Did he deserve it? Was he worthy of his good fortune? Emphatically he was, for he was one of those, who could do things worth recording, and write books worth reading. This gift falls to few; and men of ancient days have recorded, that these two things united make up the greatest gift as regards things of this world, which can be desired by man or can be granted by God.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1893.

II.

JAMES THOMASON, A PEACEFUL RULER.

THIS is a most interesting book: to those who know India, and knew the man, it is of unparalleled interest, but no one, who has the Imperial instinct, which has taught the Briton to rule subject Races for their own welfare, can fail to be struck by the simple greatness of this character.

Born 1802, died 1853; the son of pious parents, he was a serious Christian, but not a fanatical hypocrite; his talents were good; his opportunities were wonderful. At an early age he was made Governor of a vast Province; he was the greatest administrator, that

India has yet seen, the founder of the Revenue system of North India; he stood betwixt the educators in Sanskrit of the old School and in English of the new School, and introduced that system of Vernacular Education, which has spread over the Peninsula, and is the only true method of primary Instruction. He was not a conqueror of outside enemies or of inside rebels, but of difficulties and prejudices; he was not, like Dalhousie and Wellesley, an annexer of Provinces, but one who taught how such Provinces can be wisely and kindly administered after annexation; he was not, one, who charmed with his oratory or convinced with his pen, but all his words were noble and his pages full of kindly sympathy, and that "*mitis sapientia*," which subdues hearts; he lived for the people's welfare, and the half-century, that has elapsed since in 1843 he entered upon his duties bears testimony, that he rightly estimated the just wants of the people, the survey of their land, the fixture of their boundaries, an equable assessment of their land-tax, a record of their legal rights, irrigation by canals and wells, good roads, sanitation, cheap justice, efficient police. The great Pax Britannica leaves little for the historian to record, and yet still much for the people to be grateful for. Disasters, warfare, invasions, set the Press going; long years of quiet and prosperity furnish no sensational matter for the reporter.

The British Government was strong, and put down all offences against person, property, or Human Nature; the Government was strong, and was no longer afraid of letting the Schoolmaster and Missionary go abroad; the Government was strong, and ordered Sunday to be observed by its own servants, civil or military; the Government was strong, and Human Sacrifices, Slavery, thuggee, dacoitee, *satî*, disappeared.

James Thomason gained his unequalled influence with the people by living in their midst; he was not a Presidency-Town Bigwig, but he dwelt among his people, loving them, and therefore beloved by them. He preferred the independence of the Districts, where he was a power, and not, like a Government secretary, merely the shadow of a greater power. He set the example to generations of men, one of whom wrote this book, and another reviews it in these imperfect lines, of the noble trade of ruling men by kindness and firmness, the iron hand in the velvet glove, the soft word and strong will, the ready joke and kindly warning; he called his District his field of victory. Many of his followers, and many who never saw him, must recognise in Sir R. Temple's eloquent words the incidents of his own happy life, for many years of their prime, moving about among a contented people, as a parent among his children, as a chieftain in the midst of his clan; no military troops within scores of miles, no guards at his door, but the "*concitato imperio*," the "*celere obbedir*," which a master mind and a white face and hand can, by love and sympathy, win as a

free-will offering from a docile, dusky population, if only there be undeviating justice and personal purity of morals. Thomason regarded each subject on the broadest principles, and yet went into minutiae of detail; kindness and consideration were the watchwords, and the "Euréka," of him and his School, men like John Lawrence, Montgomery, George Campbell, and Temple, who never forgot the example of their great master. Of him it may be said, that he was "dignus imperio, quia imperaverat." He died as he lived, plain James Thomason. No honours or titles came near him. But though "moins décorée" he was "plus distinguée"; he was the only Indian public servant, who at the age of thirty-nine was ever placed in charge of a great Province, allowed to rule it for a decade, invited to take another and greater Province, Madras, when the hand of death, after thirty-six hours of illness, beckoned him away. He was as great as he was good, and as good as he was great. He not only protected the poorer classes from their rural oppressors, but he put a stop to the low views of Morality of the officials of Government, by gentle repression, but by no violent policy: the native mistress, the half-blood family, are unknown phenomena now. He supported Secular Education with all the resources of the State, and allowed free scope to Missionary enterprise, based on private subscription. He was entirely free from personal ambition; he had all the characteristics of the Emperors Titus and Marcus Aurelius; from his lips would have passed the words "diem peridi," if he had not done something for the welfare of his people: hard work for twelve hours daily, an abstemious life, constant sojourn under canvas in his vast Kingdom, courtesy to all, kindness to the young official, who learnt from his words and example the high Idea of purity of life, singleness of purpose, and inexhaustible patience amidst official bustle.

And yet the very name of this saintly, beneficent, man is almost forgotten in the Regions, which he loved so well, and was never recognised or known in Great Britain; but many of his Ideas and schemes have had a wider development than he could have imagined. His followers, devoted to him, occupied the Panjáb on its annexation: all over India his Educational policy is adopted. "Peace has her victories, no less renowned than War." He was the greatest conqueror of the century, for by his policy Millions of acres of arable land were brought under cultivation, Millions settled down to quiet agricultural or commercial life; and the greatest conqueror is the man who has done the greatest good to his contemporaries.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1893.

III.

MARRIAGE-CUSTOMS.

WHEN the British nation annexed the Provinces of the country, called British India, with a population of 287,000,000 of Souls, a wise spirit of toleration guaranteed to the conquered Races their Religions, so far as they were not contrary to moral law, and their customs having the force of law regarding marriage and inheritance. Idolatry, polygamy, polyandry, divorce, adoption of children by childless persons, marriage at the age of puberty of both sexes, lifelong widowhood, the levirate law of a younger brother taking the widow of his deceased elder brother: all these incidents are phenomena of every-day occurrence in one or other Province of this vast Empire amidst one or other section of the extremely heterogeneous community, divided by caste, Religion, colour, Dialect, and ancestral customs, yet compelled to travel in the same railway-carriages, to send their children to the same secular Schools, attend at the same judicial courts, obey the same municipal law, and pay the same taxes.

Under the long Pax Britannica the population has increased enormously, the area of cultivated land has reached its maximum. Of the three great scourges, which keep down exorbitant population, war has ceased to exist; pestilence has been reduced to narrow limits and brief periods; famines occur periodically, but roads, railroads, and heavy disbursements from the State greatly mitigate the evil, and the thinning of the population in overcrowded Regions has a good side for the survivors.

"Let the people alone in their social, religious, and domestic affairs": this is one of the great tenets of Oriental Statecraft. Their ways are not our ways. Their gods are not our gods. Repress violent crime, keep the communications open, settle justly the disputes of litigants, stay the hand of the local oppressor: this is all that the people ask. In addition to this the British Government supplies Education, hospitals, agricultural model farms, free trade, free culture of the soil, free Press, free right of meetings, free locomotion from one end of the Empire to the other, out of it and into it, and, as far as possible, restraint on the sale of intoxicating liquors and drugs.

Busybodies in Great Britain, male and female, who get a partial view of the subject, would like to try benevolent experiments on the people of a subject Empire; they would, of course, resent any interference of Parliament with their own independent management of their own affairs, but they try to bring a pressure on the authorities in India to interfere for the correction of imaginary evils, and the two chief ones are the remarriage of widows, and the early age, at which young couples live together, and become parents of families. I have stated above, that it was distinctly promised to the conquered Races, that marriage and inheritance should be left to time-honoured customs, and there is nothing on which Oriental people are more jealous and suspicious than interference with their females. No people would resent more strongly than Englishmen any attempt by a foreign nation to force upon them a change in regard to their marriage-customs and marriage-laws, and yet some few irresponsible persons try to air their crude benevolence, and endanger the permanence of an Empire.

I quote the words of a very competent authority :

"The marriage system of the Hindus was slowly and carefully elaborated with a view to securing the *maximum* security to female life and female honour during the centuries of foreign invasion and internecine war which, with the exception of brief intervals, make up the History of India before the advent of British rule. After 150 years of comparative security under the Mogul emperors came the long and bloody anarchy, from which the British came forth the rulers of India. For more than a thousand years the supreme need of women was not independence, but safety. To meet this supreme need the marriage system was developed into a powerfully constructed organization of protection, a system which endeavoured to give the *maximum* security to women as a whole, and which deliberately acted on the principle, that their general safety must be insured, even at the cost of hardship to individuals among them. The Hindu marriage system assured two things to every female born within the pale of the respectable community. It assured to every such woman the protection of a lawful husband, together with the *status* of a lawful wife; it also assured her of that protection and of that *status* as soon as she entered on the age of physical maturity. It held that these assured benefits to women as a sex were cheaply purchased by prohibiting the remarriage of individual women, who had been so unfortunate as to lose their husbands.

"Such a system of protection, however urgent the historical need of it, would have rested upon a feeble foundation but for the aid of Religion. Hinduism, with its matchless union of rigid strength and plastic adaptiveness, elevated what was a human expediency into a spiritual necessity, by placing the marriage system on the basis of Divine law. So far as appears from the Vedic Texts, the marriage of a woman was optional in ancient India, and down even to the tenth century A.D. examples of women of adult years choosing their own husbands are recorded. During the long period represented by the post-Vedic Codes marriage became compulsory. Under the influence of mediæval and modern Hinduism, marriage was prescribed as the one indispensable Religious ceremony in a woman's life."

There is infinite variety in the details of the marriage-customs amidst the different respectable castes in the different Provinces of

India. In the North of India, from the Indus to the Ganges, the practice is something of this kind: When quite infants children are betrothed to each other of the same age: cases of betrothals of grown-up men to baby girls are quite the exception, and polygamy among the respectable classes is exceptional also. About the age of six or seven the Religious marriage takes place, but the bride remains in her parents' home. As soon as signs of maturity appear, the bridegroom is sent for, and carries off his bride with pomp and rejoicing to his own home. No registration of births or deaths takes place in British India. The fact of the birth of a female child does not transpire beyond the walls of the house. Maturity is supposed to arrive at an age much earlier than in colder climates, and girls aged twelve are often mothers without injury to themselves or offspring. These phenomena seem strange to Europeans. I have inflicted punishments on husbands for acts of cruelty to their wives, and listened to no assertion of marital rights. Such cases, however, are exceptional; in hundreds of thousands of cases no trouble arises.

The Legislature of British India has now passed a law, that consent is not a good defence given by a person under twelve years of age: formerly the age was only ten. There is no harm in this law, but it will probably be inoperative, as the seclusion of respectable women will render proof of the offence very difficult, and the absence of registration will render the question of the age extremely doubtful. With considerable experience as a magistrate and criminal judge, and a very large sympathy with the people, I do not see, how any penal provisions will work, except when the circumstances are of exceptional barbarity, and the sufferers and neighbours cry out; and such cases have occurred.

Public opinion has been roused in India, and there are many things, which the native community in their tribes and castes can do, and certainly, as Education spreads, will do, which it would be dangerous for an alien Government, based upon bayonets, to attempt to do. A rebellion or mutiny, such as had to be coped with in 1856, is not put down without frightful shedding of blood and suffering to the people, which it makes me, an eye-witness, shudder to think of. It is asserted that the Act of the Legislature passed a few years before the great mutiny, authorizing the remarriage of Hindu widows, was one of the causes, which led on to that catastrophe. The greasing of cartridges with the fat of animals was another cause. It is not what actually is done, but what an ignorant population fear is going to be done, that rouses suspicion and opposition. To this law about the age of consent there was violent opposition and most unreasonable, and it is possible, that we have not heard the end of it.

What we *can* do is not in any way to lend assistance or countenance to a custom contrary to equity. Thus, the very idea of

attempting, by interference of the law, to enable a husband to capture his wife, or the person whom he alleges to be his wife, by the purely English process of "restitution of conjugal rights," or "specific performance of contract," is monstrous, and in Northern India would be impossible, though in the Court of Bombay a notorious case has lately occurred. Of course, if an injury has been done, or a contract has not been fulfilled, there will be an action for damages, but nothing more. However, the benevolent enthusiasts want to go much farther. They would propose to raise the age of consent much higher, or get rid of the Hindu system of marriage altogether, substituting the European practice of courting and free selection, the *Syámvara* of the old Hindu legends. They would add to the present law, which authorizes the remarriage of widows, a clause allowing the widow to retain after second marriage all the property of her deceased husband which she under Hindu law inherited. As regards her chattels and personal ornaments, the principle is fair enough, but as regards her land it would be unjust and impossible. Some go farther, and would try in some way to protect the remarrying widow and her new husband from social ostracism and Religious excommunication. This would be entering into an arena of contest, which might lead to serious complications, and might endanger our Empire. A more reasonable but equally impracticable suggestion is that a system of registration of births, the ordinary practice of an European country, should be introduced. The people would not understand the objects; it would scarcely be possible in the rural districts to enforce it. The strangest rumours spread like wildfire among an ignorant population.

I read with astonishment one proposal, contained in the petition of an English lady-doctor and five of her fellow-practitioners to the Viceroy, urging him to pass a law not allowing the consummation of marriage before the wife has attained the age of fourteen years. How could such a police regulation be carried out? We have only to imagine a similar law passed for Great Britain, fixing the age of eighteen or nineteen as the period. We can by law arrest marriage, but we cannot arrest sin.

"Where is the wisdom," writes one Hindu, "of driving a patient people to exasperation?" Let the subject in every form be brought before the educated Hindu, discussed in newspapers and pamphlets, but all action left to the people themselves. Imagine Great Britain passing under a foreign jurisdiction, and Great Britain is a small affair compared to the Millions of British India; and imagine the foreign conqueror being struck by the fact, that there was such a vast proportion of unmarried females, and ordering that all should be married at the age of twenty. If in British India there are twenty-two Millions of widows, there is perhaps scarcely an old maid to be found.

To turn loose the informer, and to allow the native police to interfere in such cases, *proprio motu* would entail misery upon the people which it is painful to think of. The new law, therefore, forbids the subordinate Magistrate, or subordinate police-officer, to interfere, and it is probable, therefore, that it will be inoperative, or rather, that prosecutions will be very rare; but the fear of punishment, the fear of a domestic scandal, the awakened conscience of fathers of families on the subject, will have a salutary effect. It is a remarkable fact, that this alleged cruelty to women is not resisted by the women of the family; all agree in throwing the chief responsibility for the existence and perpetuation of the present evils upon the women. "Our Mothers, Mothers-in-law, and aunts," writes Babu Nobin Chunder Sen, a deputy-Magistrate, "do their utmost to force the child to premature motherhood. I know that in the case of my own brothers I had to set my foot firmly down on the evil. . . . I found, however, my old aunt was secretly nullifying my wishes."

I now give a singular illustration of the assertion, that similar circumstances produced similar problems. In a Missionary Report this year from Palestine, I read: "I think I may say, that the one real difficulty that I have had here is on the marriage-question. Three leading members of our Church endeavoured to promote a marriage between a blind man and a child of thirteen still connected with the Orphanage, and the matter still threatens to disturb the peace of the congregation. I trust the Conference will be able to fix upon an age (if this has not been already done), below which a girl may not be married in our Church. The Nazareth Native Church Committee recommends that no girl be allowed to marry until she is over sixteen." This is among Christians. I quote another Report from a Mission among pagans on the Kongo in Equatorial Africa, indicating the germ of the same difficulty: "Last Sunday the uncle of a boy of eight said, that he was anxious to send the boy's betrothed wife to the station to be brought up with him, so that they should be more on a par." From a Missionary Report of the S.P.G., 1890, comes the encouraging fact, that "in Christian Missions women are taught to be teachers, and that thus educated women have an independent career of their own, and are not obliged to marry at an early age: many of the best educated girls remain unmarried." Here we have a germ of healthy reform.

By a mere chance the Indian papers throw a light upon the possible difficulty of working the new Act to protect children in factories, which applies equally to the child-wife. "The limit of age for full-timers in factories is fixed at fourteen years, and, as a very few Native operatives know their children's ages, or even their own, the medical-officer has, in passing lads and girls for

“work, to judge the age as best he can; generally, as in the case of horses, by examining their teeth. If he concludes, that they are under fourteen, he reduces them to half-timers. In one Bombay mill recently a number of girls were thus sent back as under age, who were actually mothers, and several boys who were fathers were also reduced; and one of the latter was the father, it is said, of three children. The case of these lads is particularly hard, for, with a wife and child, or perhaps children, to support, life, on the pay of a half-timer, must be a terrible struggle.”

There are worse things even in England than the child-marriages of India. Why do the parents in our working-classes allow their daughters under sixteen, to marry lads of the same age? Because of those worse things.

How vast is the abyss of feelings, circumstances, and environment, which separates the Indian family from any strata of European Society, is evidenced by the fact noticed in the annual administrative Reports of British India, that the increase or decrease of the import of manufactured cotton-goods, and the consumption of alcoholic drink, depends whether a particular year was considered by astrologers in India an auspicious one for the consummation of marriages, or the contrary. Whatever may be thought in Europe in the completion of the marriage-contract in India two elements are entirely absent, love and lust. Moreover, the new law can possibly affect only a portion of the population: the Mahometans have no such custom, and the Millions of the lower castes, who live by daily labour, have little or no marriage-custom at all; as far as my experience goes, women in the lower classes were only temporary companions.

This social subject is naturally regarded from different points of view. I close my paper by recording two.

My eye fell upon lines describing the Indian child-wife of a man of good caste and easy circumstances as “a stranger to all the comforts of home, excluded from all that is cheery and interesting, cut off from the delights of social life as *we understand it in happy Christian England*.” Such were the sentiments of an evangelical gentlewoman of the upper middle classes, with a certain amount of culture, and an income sufficient to allow her to dress smartly, and go to tea-parties in some small social circle, but entirely untravelled, and imperfectly acquainted with the ethnology of the world. No doubt to many of such a class it is a matter of wonder what pleasure in life a woman in India, China, or Japan can have; and yet it is an equal subject of wonder to Oriental women what pleasure a European woman can have. The wife of a rich Hindu received in her apartments an English lady, and she was dressed in silks and jewels, and the lady asked her why she dressed so grandly, when no one could see her. Her reply was, that she dressed to

please the eye of her husband, and she asked what persons the English lady dressed so finely to please.

A learned Brahmin communicated to an English periodical his views on the policy of the law allowing widows to remarry. He remarked, that from the unavoidable waste of male life, there was always an excess of females over males. If, therefore, widows, who had had their chance, were allowed to enter the marriage-market a second time, there must be more and more old maids to "disturb the order and serenity of Society." His second point was that, even if husbands could be secured for all widows without unjustly compelling other females to remain spinsters, this would entail a calamity upon India, already overcrowded, by a great increase of the population, and cause famine and disease from the insufficient supply of food. He remarks, that we cannot satisfy the desire of the widow without being ungenerous to the unmarried girls and their legitimate aspirations, and we cannot meet the wishes of both without sacrificing the interests of the community. His third point is, that perpetual widowhood being from economic reasons the fate of the widow, the State should interfere, and forbid the remarriage of the widower. It appears that in the Rajpút Reform-Association, widowers above the age of fifty are bound down by their caste-rules not "to make fools of themselves by repairing a second time to the altar of Hymen." This, in his opinion, is an encouraging sign of the times. It certainly will increase the number of old maids, and be a check on the increase of the population.

The Churchman, 1892.

IV.

BAPTISING POLYGAMISTS.

I. LAHÓR CONFERENCE, 1862.

II. LONDON CONFERENCE, 1894.

A VERY important subject was started in the Conference, which requires a careful examination, before a man, troubled with a conscience, and general ideas of rectitude, can arrive at a just conclusion. Christianity finds itself face to face with ancient and recognised customs of the non-Christian, of which it cannot approve, but the results of which it cannot wholly ignore, without making a futile attempt to reconstruct society on a new basis. This is all very well for theorists, but practical men know, that under the conditions of the nineteenth century, it is impossible. An Arabian

Prophet could construct a new policy, when he introduced his new Religion, but in these days the elements, of which Society is composed, are no longer plastic, the social institutions of the world have cooled down, and hardened into shape, and the Christian teacher must accept many things, which he would sooner not have had to deal with.

Foremost stand "Polygamy" as a fact positive, and the "Right of Divorce" as a correlative remedy. Not a word can be said in favour of polygamy abstractedly; the laws of Nature, which have made the number of the sexes equal, the law of God, which speaks very clearly, that "they twain should be one flesh," the law of decent Society, and domestic comfort, all point the same way. No one but a fool, or a sensualist, could wish to have more than one wife. Still our Indian Civil law admits, and rightly admits, both the custom, and its consequences. It does not punish the bigamist criminally; it recognises the offspring of the second or third marriages as legitimate; and it secures maintenance down to the second or third wife. A man can change his Religion, but not his social status: Society must accept him as he is, with his plurality of wives, and his superabundance of children; and the law of the land will not allow him to put away any of these wives, except on the charge of adultery.

Any other cause would lead to gross inconsistencies. Setting aside the general absurdity of change of Religion cancelling all existing contracts, we have to grapple with particular absurdities in each case. One would like to get rid of all his old wives, and marry a new one. Another would get rid of old partners, and elect to live with a young one, for the first wife might perhaps have the preference on that score, while the second was Mother of his children, and the third agreed with him in Religion. Supposing he gave up all but one, and that one died, he of course must take up with the next on his list; and so on till death had cleared away all. In the meantime what are to become of the superfluous wives? He may have had more than one wife, but they only had one husband, and they must either live in enforced widowhood, or commit adultery by marrying another man. Supposing that being really fond of their first husband, they were to meet, and renew relations, what would be the nature of the offence committed in the eye of the law?

A Missionary would propose to make him put away all but the first wife? What! Ask Jacob to put away the loved Rachel? He would propose to give away the spare wives to men in the Mission, who wanted partners: this would lead to frightful immorality, and give colour to the assertions, that community of wives had taken the place of polygamy.

There is but one safe course, which is to let each man abide by the contracts, which are considered legal and moral by the laws of

his country. In practice the difficulty would be got over. Polygamists are quite the exception, and as few but sensualists practice polygamy, it is not probable that many will become Christian: the few that do so, would have more difficulty to get *one* wife to live with them, than to provide for the extra ones: the chances are, that they would all abandon him except in the very improbable case of the whole lot becoming Christians, in which case they must all be accepted, while he is rejected.

Lahor Missionary Conference, 1862.

(2) LONDON CONFERENCE, 1894.

THE only aspect of this subject in a Missionary Conference is "whether a Polygamist can be permitted to be baptised." I reply without hesitation: "under no possible circumstances, but all his "bonâ fide wives, married according to the laws of their tribe, and "not within the prohibited degrees of relationship, such as sister, "aunt, or niece, and their offspring, may be admitted."

I proceed to show why:

Among the Hebrews, the Seventh Commandment notwithstanding, Polygamy was allowed not only to powerful Sovereigns, but to humble Levites, such as the father of Samuel. In the matter of Bathsheba, Nathan, the Prophet, distinctly says to David, "The Lord God gave thee thy master's wives to thy bosom"; but after the return from the Captivity the bad custom had died out. No single instance is recorded of a Polygamist Hebrew in the Post-Exilic Books, or the New Testament. In the Annals of the Greeks and Romans the custom was unknown. In Homer we read of Priam and Hecuba, Hector and Andromache, etc.; and in the long catena of Greek and Latin literature no case occurs.

We are told in Genesis, that in Paradise "Male and female created He them"; God gave man a helpmate, but only one, and took only one rib from the side of man. Our Lord emphatically supports this view; St. Paul in the first chapter of the Romans makes no allusion to the prevalence of such a sinful and degrading custom.

There are two kinds of Polygamy: Polygyny and Polyandry. No one has been bold enough to suggest the Baptism of a Polyandrist female, and yet the civil status is a legal one. I have had to recognise it as fact in my Indian Court as regards legitimacy of the children.

If the reasons given above are not sufficient, there is a third, which is the dignity of the Female Sex. In Europe that has always been respected; in Asia, and Africa, Woman has been

treated as a slave and a chattel. The Church must recognise the equality of the two sexes in Moral dignity, and Religious privileges. Where Woman has been degraded, she must be now elevated, and no compromise tolerated, which would make her social position more intolerable than it was before.

What is the compromise proposed? Bishop Selwyn the elder, being asked by a Chief in Oceania to baptise him, lifted up two fingers of his hand, and then slowly lowered one, indicating, that the Chief must put away one of his wives. This policy might have been good fifty years ago, but it is impossible now, at least in a Realm of Law.

In British India Marriage is fenced round by Mahometan, or Hindu, law with Religious ceremonies and legal rights, and a man cannot fling away his extra wives: in addition to this it would be a moral offence to do so: his wives have entered his family as virgins, generally as children of immature age, and he is the only husband of each of them, and with the Hindu the tie is indissoluble and remarriage improbable: the married woman is protected by her friends and British law. By casting them off he might possibly drive the poor woman into adultery by cohabiting in a quasi-marriage with another man: he would have to support them in their enforced widowhood: the law and custom would still recognise them as his deserted wives. It is idle to argue, that a marriage solemnized by non-Christian rites is less a moral contract than the union of Christians, and may be set aside at pleasure. Consider the marriage of the Patriarchs, and the other holy men of Jewish History.

In Africa the union of the sexes is not fenced round with the same safeguards: still in most cases the *bonâ fide* wives come to their husbands in purity, or at least not in notorious impurity, and a contract takes place. Even in cases, where there may have been sin before matrimony, it does not lie in the mouth of the African man to urge that plea, having himself led a notoriously unclean life.

It would be a bad beginning of a new and higher life for a neo-Christian, who happened to be partial at that moment to one of the Mothers of his children, to cast off the others, and send them back to their parents to be provided with new husbands. If given to another, they would be guilty of adultery. Besides, it is an insult to the female sex to transfer them to another man, as if they were brute beasts. What will become of the poor children? The very idea is iniquitous, and moreover the Missionary in any Region, occupied by an European, or Mahometan, Power, would be unable to enforce his regulations; and under any circumstances he could never prevent his newly-baptised Christian visiting his abandoned wives, to whom he was drawn by affection.

My opinion, after long familiarity with the subject in Indian

Courts of Law, and a close Study of the subject in Africa, is that a man, who has placed himself in such a dilemma, must suffer the consequences of his own fault. He cannot be permitted to set himself right at the expense of his innocent wives: he must remain a Catechumen until all but one of his wives have died. Bishop Caldwell proposed to baptise him in articulo mortis. I cannot endorse that view of the rite of Baptism.

In the introduction of new Religious conceptions among a neo-Christian tribe, the great test of the quality of the Morality of the new Association is the mode, in which the relation of the sexes to each other is handled. Our duty is to safeguard the purity of the Church. In the Encyclical Letter of the Lambeth Conference of 1888 we read, "Our first care is to maintain and protect the conception of marriage. Any success purchased by the lowering of this tie would be dearly purchased." And the marriage-tie is only evidenced in a country, which is not in a Realm of Law, by cohabitation with consent of the woman's relations.

When a Missionary makes a condition precedent to Baptism, that the candidate should put away all but one of his wives, he is usurping a power, which does not belong to his office, and which is not sanctioned by the Bible or by the Church, and he is doing a great wrong to poor innocent women, Mothers of the children of the candidate, who can claim support from him. The women cannot be restored to their virgin purity. They cannot be freed from the tie, which unites them to their only husband. It is unjust to tell them, that they were only concubines, to be dismissed at pleasure. Would anyone dare to attach that expression to the Mother of Samuel or of Joseph? If in despair they enter into illicit connections, the responsibility rests with the Missionary, who drove them to that course by denying them the society, and benevolence, of their lawful husband. It makes matters worse to argue, that this sacrifice of wives is made to enable a notoriously libidinous man to be baptised.

A startling incident occurred two or three years ago at the Sierra Leone Diocesan Congress. Mr. Sawyer, a most respectable educated Christian Negro, claimed the right of Polygamy for Christian Communicants. I have a file of papers from Lagos on my table discussing in serious terms the question. They admit, that Monogamy is good for the cold climate of Europe, but not for the hot climate of Africa. They argue, that Polygamy is practised by eight-tenths of the Human Race; and that it is arrogant for the remaining two-tenths to assert, that the custom is immoral; at any rate, according to them, it is not immoral in Africa. British law can make it illegal, but the Divine law is the only Sanction of Morals, and it was allowed to the Hebrews in spite of the Seventh Commandment, and was not in so many words forbidden by the Lord.

It is clear, that we have arrived at the Parting of the Ways. If we wish to propagate a pure Christianity, we must not baptise Polygamists; for, if they attend Divine Service, and are seated alongside their numerous wives, or present at the Font the children born from different Mothers at the same time, it will not be surprising, if the same privilege be claimed by others, who were born Christians: they will state that, what is morally right for converted Heathens is equally right for born Christians, if all kneel at the Lord's Table side by side; and unless the Missionary makes the Polygamist present to the Congregation with the same form of service *all* his wives, who will be sure, that some of them are not concubines only, and changed from time to time?

Paper read at Missionary Conference, June, 1894.

N.B. In my separate volume, "Notes on Missionary Subjects" (Elliot Stock, 1889), Part II. page 1, I enter into this subject in great detail, and in my separate volume, "Missionary Methods" (Luzac, 1894), page 37, I again state the case very distinctly; and in the Report of the Missionary-Conference of the Church of England, May-June, 1894, will be found the arguments in great detail on the other side.

V.

THE INDO-CHINESE OPIUM QUESTION AS IT STANDS IN 1893.

My valued friend, Dr. Arthur Pierson, of the United States, in a kind farewell letter on his leaving Great Britain, dated March 30, 1892, amongst other remarks writes as follows:

"Your position on the Opium Question is the only attitude, which I cannot understand."

My object in these lines is to explain it.

It is not unknown, that for half a century I have made the subject of Christian Missions all over the world my special Study, and that the work of the Bible-Societies is my special delight. During the quarter of a century, 1843 to 1867, that I spent in British India, as an administrator both in the Revenue and Judicial Departments, I acquired a practical knowledge of the system in force for the Government of that country, and, dwelling among the people in close intimacy, I acquired also a great love for them, and any wrong inflicted upon them, I learned to look on as a personal wrong, and I care not from what quarter that wrong comes, for

I am ready to be their champion against the Government of the Country, the Manufacturers of Manchester, the injudicious Missionary, or the sensational association of good men and women in England, who lift up one corner of the great Governmental carpet, which is spread over British India, and fret, if the pattern and texture are not precisely according to their own preconceptions, their own narrow experiences, and their own hastily formed prejudices. I feel sure, that the amiable members of such associations do not wish to injure the people of India by their wild and hopeless Crusade against caste, the cultivation of the Poppy, the controlled sale of Intoxicating Liquors and Drugs, the Marriage of Infants, the difficulty experienced by a Hindu widow in finding a second husband, and other fond schemes of benevolence; but I submit, that their soundest policy would be, to work by the instrumentality of lectures, printed books, and the Indian public Press, so as to influence the opinion of the educated women and men of British India, and leave it to them to effect the desired reform in their social habits. My first position is, that irresponsible parties in Great Britain had better leave the domestic affairs of the people of India alone, and turn to the blots in their own country; the drunken habits of the most drunken Nation in Europe, the sexual profligacy of our great cities, and the sad sufferings of the poor, especially the female poor, in the Metropolis. Still more is it incumbent on the Missionary, who is sent out to preach the Gospel, and distribute translations of the Holy Scriptures, to keep to his own particular and holy duty, and leave such mundane subjects to the people of India themselves, or to those of their countrymen, who understand the difficulty of the problem, and who are much more qualified to handle them, lest haply, while good people are straining at their own particular scheme of reforms, the great Empire should suddenly dissolve, and fade away. Those, who have studied the problem with the greatest care, are better informed as to the extreme instability of the British Power in British India: the greatest field for the labour of the Evangelist would be closed in the confusion, which would follow the disruption of the great, benevolent, and well-intentioned, Government of British India. I have no personal motive in supporting the policy of that Government, as I left British India owing to domestic afflictions, with the term of my service uncompleted, without Pension, and without any honours, as the reward of service. My position is one of entire independence, and I am too old now to write with any personal ulterior object.

The people of France in their thousand vineyards, produce alcoholic liquors, which prove to be the ruin and disgrace of many Englishmen. Does the British Government expostulate with the Government of France, and point out to them the shame of sending poison for the sake of filthy lucre into the boundaries of a friendly

country? The Republic would reply, that the British Government was quite at liberty, and quite able, to exclude any imports from its ports, and might sarcastically draw attention to the vast amount of beer, whisky, gin, and rum, which come into existence within the limits of Great Britain and Ireland. Similarly, the Emperor of China is quite able, if he chose, to remonstrate with the British Government against the import of Opium into China, and the British Government could then suggest to the Emperor of China, to forbid the import by his own Revenue-Laws, and might sarcastically draw attention to the fact, that within the Empire of China is produced ten times the amount of Opium imported from India, that the Indian Opium is consumed by about two Millions, out of a population of about four hundred Millions. We know as a fact, that the Emperor of China neither does make that complaint, nor wishes to stop the import of Opium, which supplies the Imperial Treasury with an income of Two Millions of Pounds, annually levied at the Ports as Excise. So vast and increasing is the cultivation of the Poppy in China, that we may reasonably expect, that within this generation the import of Indian Opium will cease, under the same inexorable Law of Commerce, which destroyed the celebrated textile fabrics of Dakka in Bengal through the competition of British imports. One single Province of China produces more Opium than the whole of India.

I am not careful to discuss the question, whether the indulging in Opium is, as some say, a necessity, as others say, an innocent pleasure, or, as a third party say, a curse. I certainly admit, that if the Creation of the world, and its products, were an open question, I should have omitted the Poppy, the Vine, Hops, Barley, and any other of the numerous staples, from which intoxicating liquors are produced. I should also have omitted Saltpetre, Lead, and Tobacco. But they do exist, and to the Ruling Power in each country must be left the sole care of controlling the import, or culture, or manufactory. The good people of the Anti-Opium-Society, have no experience of the difficulty of ruling subject countries. Polygamy, where a man can legally have many wives, Polyandry, where a woman can legally have many husbands, Idolatry in all its hideous forms, Infant-Marriages, unlimited power of divorce, are not pleasant subjects to have to tolerate, or support by decree, in British Courts of Law, but, when Christians undertake the solemn duty of ruling non-Christian countries, they must accept the consequences, and the accompaniments. It is not clear, why these good people devote themselves with such enthusiasm to the Anti-Opium-problem in a Foreign Empire at such a distance from our shores, while under their very eyes the poor Negroes residing in our Colonies and Protectorates on the West coast of Africa, are inundated with alcoholic liquor, despatched for the sake of filthy lucre from British ports. *There we are in very*

deed our Brother's keeper: it is not very clear, what the British Nation has to do with the morals of the people of China: who made us their judges? To those, who have studied the habits of the people of China, Opium-smoking does not appear to be the heaviest, or most disgusting, of their frailties: it is not on account of their Opium-smoking, that they are excluded from the United States, but for something worse: the actual cessation of the cultivation of the Poppy in the Region of India, Nearer and Further, British and Independent, would not cause the Chinaman to be esteemed otherwise than as the Bug is esteemed among Insects. The habits of the Chinese colony in India were known years ago: no Chinese woman ever accompanied them.

In China the Protestant Missionaries do not appear to advantage: the fact, that they all agree in this particular misconception of their duty, craze, or prejudice, convinces the impartial observer, that the question has not been inquired into, or argued out: a little healthy opposition would be advantageous: the Protestant Missionaries are not popular in China as a class, and the Reports, which are printed of their proceedings, quite explain the unpopularity: China is a great, ancient, and civilized Empire, and the Chinese think as well of themselves, as Englishmen think of themselves. We have only to imagine associations of Buddhist Missionaries settling in England, and deporting themselves as the Protestant Missionary deports himself in China, and singling out the French wine-manufacturers, and the English licensed victuallers, as their ground of attack: they would not be popular. It is remarkable, that though Cardinal Manning put himself so forward in the Anti-Opium question, the French Missionaries of the Romish Church, whose Reports I read from week to week in the "*Missions Catholiques*" of Lyons, or quarterly in the "*Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*," rarely allude to Opium: they object to the heretical Missionaries of Protestant Europe, and the exposure of infant-children to die, and the other unpleasant habits of the people of China. Prince Kung remarked to the British Representative, "Take away your Opium, and your Missionaries": it appears, that the Protestant Missionaries side with Prince Kung as regards the Opium: the Church of Rome sides with him as regards the other branch of the request. With all the earnest and successful attempts of the Missionaries to open Opium-Hospitals, and cure the sots of their fatal and degraded habit, I heartily agree. Whether they are justified in excluding the Opium-smokers from Church-privileges, and the Sacraments, may be open to question, but that is a matter within their own discretion: good, yet mistaken, Religionists, have at all times of Church-History made themselves ridiculous: Tertullian mentions, that the Marcionists admitted no married person to Baptism, unless he consented to a divorce: in the time of Cyprian, the married ordained Minister had to separate

from his lawful wife *mensâ et toro*: this rule was passed from the purest and highest motive. Many Christians in England do worse things than Opium-smoking, and yet are not excluded. To the Sikh the smoking of tobacco is forbidden as a crime. The desire is, to get such sinners to Church, rather than to shut them out: however, the Missionaries may be presumed to know best: if they were to petition the Emperor, to issue an Edict to destroy all the Opium-dens, and denounce the Treaty admitting Indian Opium, much in the same way as the Emperor Honorius ordered the destruction of the temple of Serapis in Alexandria, we might reflect on their want of wisdom, but not wonder at it; but, when they seek to injure the people of India, and mislead a great portion of the British Nation, it is the duty of everyone, who loves the people of India, to wage war to the knife.

The Anti-Opium Association does not go in for historical accuracy, and allows a large license of legend as regards the events of 1842, or of 1857, both of which I personally recollect, as I was in India at the time: however, let the past pass; but, when the license is assumed to be inaccurate as to what happened in the House of Commons in 1891, I must take the liberty to correct them. The Honorary Secretary to the Anti-Opium-Urgency-Committee, in a letter to *The Times*, dated August, 1892, writes: "the Anglo-India-Opium-Trade, a traffic which the House of Commons has condemned as morally indefensible," and "that ought to be abolished." Surely he was under the influence of the drug, when he thus wrote: April 10, 1891, is not so long ago: Sir Joseph Pease did indeed propose, that certain words should be substituted in a motion, which comprised those sentences, and they were added by a majority of 30 in a House of 290. When the main question as amended was proposed, the late Sir Robert Fowler proposed another amendment: "That this House, feeling the pressure of taxation of the people of India, will take steps to reimburse the deficiency so caused to the Indian Government," and, when the question was put, that these words be then added, Mr. Healy spoke for ten minutes, when it being one of the clock, Mr. Speaker adjourned the House without the question put: the House was committed to nothing. The resolution carried as an amendment, was never put to the House as a substantive motion:

"Solvuntur risu tabulae."

It looks, as if the question will never arise in the Commons again in this form: Five Millions per annum represent so many pennies in the Pound for the Income-Tax: the question may be discussed, as an academic display of high morality, but there it will end. No Chancellor of the Exchequer will include such an item in his

Budget, but the fact, that Sir Robert Fowler, with the consent of his brother-in-law, Sir Joseph Pease, proposed this amendment, marks a new departure in the matter: the House of Commons seems on the eve of appreciating the fact, that the semi-independent constitutional Government of British India will never yield in this question, and that it is one of financial life or death to the people of India. In the course of time the Chinese market may die out, but the people of India will have no grievance against their Government, for the Mine of Silver will have been worked out; but to throw overboard the treasure, at the suggestion of a body of irresponsible enthusiasts at the other end of the world, would create and justify a Rebellion: Great Britain lost her North American Colonies for a far smaller blunder than this.

The people of India, who have received an English Education, must be amazed at what must seem to them the hypocrisy of the English people, or a portion of them: In the books read in the State and the Missionary College, History tells them, that the British Nation is the great slayer of mankind, the exterminator of weaker Races in Australia, South Africa, and North America, the dominator by force of arms of India, the systematic bully of China and Turkey, the exporter of saltpetre, arms of precision, and poisonous liquor, in past centuries the great Slave-dealer of the world, and yet suddenly it has become so squeamish, and thin-skinned, as to object to a trade legalized by the Empire of India, which exports the article, and the Empire of China, which imports it; who thus strain at a gnat in the way of Chinese Opium, and swallow a camel in the way of Liquor manufactured in Great Britain, either for the ruin of its own children, or the poisoning of the Natives of subject Provinces: if it be really a moral offence, *cadit questio*, but the principle must extend to the whole area of British Commerce, British Colonization, and British Domination of subject countries by brute force. Some ingenious platform-speakers compare the Opium-Trade to the Slave-Trade, and seem to be able to say a good word for the latter: it may be, that both Trades are, or can be, a curse to the country which exports, and the country which imports. I do not say that it is so, but the analogy is possible; but in the Slave-Trade there is a third ingredient, "the Slave," in whose favour the sympathy of the world was roused, a man of like passions to ourselves, for whom Christ died on the Cross: our good friends of the Anti-Opium Association can scarcely rouse such feelings in favour of the Opium-Bull.

The young Indian educated in our Colleges, or perhaps a visitor to Great Britain, hears with surprise, that one Cathedral at Dublin was magnificently restored by a manufacturer, and retailer, of Dublin-Stout, and that another Cathedral in the same city was restored, and a Church-House built, by a manufacturer and retailer of Irish Whisky. One of the famous odes of the Persian Poet

Hafiz commences with lines, familiar to all educated youths in India :

“ Yesterday my spiritual guide went from the Mosque to the Wine Shop.”

Here we have the reverse process, and the unhallowed proceeds, and accursed profits (to borrow the phraseology of the Anti-Opium-Trade Association), of the Beer Shop, and Whisky Bar, go to the place of Worship. Surely a Nation should not be allowed to go into Court, and charge others with Sin, if their own hands were not clean. I admit, that Brewers, and Distillers are full of good works, and occupy a prominent position on Religious platforms. Not long ago a benevolent person, retired from trade, in my presence presented to a Missionary Society a vast sum of money to be spent for the benefit of the Chinese. Someone suggested, that inquiry should be made, whether the money had been made in the Opium-Trade, but the question was not allowed to be put : the safest maxim is that of dear old Horace :

“ Si possis, recté; si non, quôcunque modo Rem.”

Every Shilling, or Rupee, or Dollar, accumulated in the home-trade of Alcohol, must have contributed more or less to the injury of Millions, who had not the grace to be temperate. As, in fact, every country has its particular stimulant, and every class of Society its peculiar indulgence, the real question is the *abuse* of such stimulant, not the moderate *use*. The people of Scotland are addicted to whisky : Reverend Ministers call without a blush for their dram at meals : a story is told of a Scotch Missionary, fresh from China, making an hour's address on the abomination of Opium in China, and then hurrying to the refreshment-bar for a glass of whisky to restore his exhausted powers ; and no one would wish to blame him.

It is a fair challenge : can anyone indicate the death of a single Chinaman, or Indian, caused by Opium ? Is the Chinese set as dangerous to the public and his family as the Scotchman, who has taken too much whisky ? Is the population of China or India shrinking like that of France, and Spain ? Is the procreation of children impeded by the use of Opium, smoked or eaten ? Is the progress of Education, and the Higher Civilization, obstructed ? The people of India have a very sensitive, and highly educated, conscience : the Hindu would die sooner than kill a cow, or eat beef ; the Mahometan would cut his throat, rather than eat pork. Among both Religions I know of hundreds, men of probity, honour, personal bravery, absolute integrity,

gentlemen of the highest stamp: has any single Indian raised his voice against the culture of the Poppy?

The Meeting at the Society of Arts on March 24, 1892, was a protest on the part of the friends of the people of India, and a warning to the good people of a private association, who have neither knowledge, nor responsibility, and the Members of Parliament, who ought to have the first to qualify them for the discharge of the second. The welfare, and the very existence, of the great Indian Empire, are at stake: only imagine a colony, such as Canada, South Africa, or Australia, with their scant population and limited Budget, being treated in such a way: they are indeed independent colonies, and would defy the Mother-country, if any attempt were made by the House of Commons to interfere with their Trade, and their Revenue. The Empire of British India has its constitution also: it is practically, as regards its internal economy and financial arrangements, independent; the House of Commons discusses annually the Indian Budget at the last hour of the Session, in the presence of half-a-dozen Members. In British India there are Provinces, and Provincial Councils, and wisely, by a late Act of Parliament, power has been given to add considerably to the number of Native Councillors: this will be a powerful corrective of any attempt of a benevolent association to interfere with its internal economy. For every British Soldier the Government of British India pays the Mother-country the full expenditure: it has a Budget of 100 Millions: a population of 287 Millions: it raises its own loans, constructs its own Railways, and over and above remits to Great Britain the enormous sum of 17 Millions annually, to pay the expenses contracted in that country. The people of India are annually growing poorer and poorer, and are annually increasing in numbers: War has ceased; Pestilence is controlled; Famines are prepared for, and their consequences mitigated. There are annual popular Congresses to discuss the wrongs and grievances of the people; there is a free Press in all the Languages of the country. Education has made wonderful strides; absolute toleration exists of all Religions and political opinions; the Native manufactures flourish, in spite of the tyranny of the Manchester-School, and the necessity of maintaining Free-Trade; the fall of the Rupee-in exchange-value threatens extraordinary complications: the Indian Empire always resembled Etna and Vesuvius, while in a state of quiescence, and may soon resemble them in an eruption. Great Britain holds India, as a man holds a wolf by its two ears. Is this the kind of country to be treated as a tennis-ball or a shuttlecock, by a small party of enthusiasts, male and female, who go about the country headed by pretty young ladies and imported Chinamen, giving addresses to illustrate lime-light horrors, where every kind of exaggeration, sensationalism, pious misstatements, and Gospel-

misquotations, pass current in the presence of foolish audiences, who condemn what they do not understand, and clap hands and stamp feet in answer to platitudes seasoned to suit their tastes. It really is unworthy of the good sense of the British Middle Classes, it is an injury to the blessed cause of Christian Missions, and causes the Evangelical Churches to become the laughing-stock, not only of the free-thinker and unbeliever, but of the thoughtful and earnest Christian. It is notorious, that it is from the funds supplied from this so-called *nefarious* traffic, that the Government of India has found itself in a position to make Educational grants to Missionary Societies, to pay the Clergy of the Episcopal and Presbyterian denominations, to support Hospitals, and meet the many requirements of an enlightened Government. During the last fifty years the one important question, which has exercised the brains of two generations of public officers, has been to find out in what way new taxation can be laid on, to meet new requirements for the benefit of the people, without causing political disturbance, or generating moral evil; and such are the circumstances of British India, and the state of culture of the people, that the inquiry has been made in vain, and yet the Secretary of the Anti-Opium Society, who had never been in India at all, seated in his arm-chair in London, put forth his Ideas as to the mode, in which the finances of the great Empire may be managed, the five Millions of the Opium-Trade replaced, and new taxation imposed. He might as well lecture the ants and the bees, as to the mode, in which their domestic affairs are to be managed: he neither understands it, nor do they care what his advice is.

At the meeting of the Society of Arts, the several representatives of Great Britain and China, with experience dating back to 1842, were present, and Sir Thomas Wade, on personal knowledge of the whole fifty years, spoke with no uncertain sound: there were present also medical authorities, such as Dr. Mouat and Sir George Birdwood, who had made the products and resources of India their study, and a certain number of Indian administrators, who had known this subject for half a century, and had acquaintance with the difficulties of the problem, which no outsider can hope to attain: those, who were present, represented a large army of God-fearing, Christian men, who have gone to their rest, and left to their survivors the duty of standing up for the people of India, at the price of loss of the esteem of personal friends.

The loss to the Public Revenue is but a small portion of the loss to British India, which would result from the suppression of the traffic. This may seem a most sordid mode of putting the subject forward: of course, the philanthropic speakers on public platforms, and the writers of sensational Essays in Missionary periodicals, cry out: "the Lord will provide": stop the Traffic,

"and show your trust in God." Let the British Parliament set the example, and surrender the One Hundred and Forty Millions levied from the Liquor-Traffic in Great Britain. Great Kingdoms, and vast dependent Empires, cannot be ruled upon such sentimental principles, as are accepted in an Anti-Opium-Trade-Meeting, or an Exeter-Hall-Indignation-Caucus. We have to deal with realities. If any English association were to attempt to do away with the manufacture of Whisky in Ireland or Scotland, from which so many persons obtain honest employment, some few amass large fortunes, and the State collects a considerable Excise-Revenue, the Irish and Scotch would remonstrate, and beg the association to commence their crusade, by an onslaught on English Hops, Gin, and Beer; this is just what the people of India cry out, through their Press, through their Constitutional Rulers, through their friends, and advocates. Long before the earliest date of British Rule, Opium was made in India, and exported to China. The wealth of British India consists mainly of agricultural products, and the Poppy is one of the most valuable crops: even in the time of the Emperor Akhbar, the crop is mentioned by Ab-ul-fazal, as an important source of Revenue to the State. The Bengal Monopoly was established by law in 1797 A.D., as a corrective of the oppression of the Revenue-Farmers, and a protection of the people from getting the drug too cheaply. Advances are made to the cultivator, which protects him from the money-lender, and enables him to pay an enhanced Rent to the land-owner, who pays an enhanced Land-Revenue to the State, as the whole of the crop is sold at once to the Opium-Manufactory, and the price, deducting the advance, is paid to him. Two Millions of Pounds is the average cost of the drug, thus delivered by the Cultivator to the Manufactory. The poppy-seed and oil-cake are an additional source of profit, worth at least £175,000 per annum. The average annual nett income, arising from the Opium sold for foreign export, is Six Millions, and to this must be added, about £800,000, the price of the Excise-Opium, or Opium sold to the people of India under most careful restrictions for home-consumption. One Million and a quarter of cultivators live by this culture, and about 3000 men are employed in the Manufactory: 500,000 acres are under Poppy-cultivation. The export brings great profit to the Shipping Interests.

So far for the Opium produced under the Bengal Monopoly. But Opium to the value of Six Millions, is produced in the independent States of Central India, and two thirds find their way to the port of export at Bombay; the remaining one-third is consumed by the people of the country. In the Province of the Panjáb, which lies outside the Bengal Monopoly, 100,000 Pounds are realized, by a special Excise-duty on the crop grown. The account stands thus:

Bangál Crop	.	.	7,000,000 Pounds.
Panjáb Crop.	.	.	100,000 Pounds.
Central India Crop	.	.	6,000,000 Pounds.
Total	.	.	13,100,000 Pounds.

This is the sum proposed to be sacrificed, and the amount is rather understated, as the Land-Revenue will also have to be reduced in a Region, where a profitable crop is arbitrarily forbidden. The people of India do not demand this sacrifice, nor do the people of China, but a body of irresponsible Philanthropists, who seek to obtain this by a despotic Act of the British Parliament, in which India is not represented. It is an amazing sight to witness Liberals, who would resent the least interference by an alien Power in their own affairs, supporting such a policy; the Export of Opium represents one-tenth of the whole Exports of British India.

We have to consider over and above the loss the disturbing effects amidst a population, whence a very large number of our Native Soldiers are recruited: the cultivator may or may not find an equally remunerative crop for his land, but he has lost his silver-advances, and has to have recourse to the Village-Banker. The land-holder will experience greater difficulties in getting in his Rent, and paying his Land-Revenue to the Revenue-officers of the State. All these things may probably adjust themselves gradually, but the good people of the association propose to limit the cultivation of the Poppy to the amount required for medicinal purposes, and to deal with the Millions of India somewhat in the way, in which the Apothecaries are dealt with in the towns of Great Britain. What are medicinal purposes? It is stated with confidence, by those who ought to know, and who have no interest in speaking falsely, that in some climates the daily use of Opium, eaten (not smoked as in China), is a necessity for the health: I can speak for my own people of the Panjáb that it is a necessity, in the same way as tobacco, and beer, are necessities of the British Nation, no more and no less. By the Sikh Religion the use of tobacco is forbidden: the good people of the Anti-Opium Association were not the first, who started a moral puzzle: the reason why Baba Nanak forbid tobacco, as a sin, is not more evident than the reason why it is now proposed to forbid Opium: it is the *abuse* which we ought to guard against, not the *use*, of God's good gifts. A Chinese Missionary, more enlightened than his fellows, remarks: "Opium-smoking is already taking the place not of the *abuse* of alcohol, but of the *use* of alcohol, and it is becoming possible to "take the drug in moderation"; but he might have gone farther and remarked, that as sure as sentimental legislators forbid by unnatural laws such things as a wise Providence has supplied to be used in wise moderation, so certainly the weaker members of the Human Race are driven into other, and even more objectionable,

indulgences. The forbidding of tobacco has driven the Sikhs into the use, not always the abuse, of Opium, either in the form of pills, or of a liquid concoction. I was one of the first British officers in 1846 placed in charge of a District in the Panjáb, and one of my first duties was to regulate this previously uncontrolled and untaxed traffic. The good people of the association impute to the Anglo-Indian administrators of the present and past generations, that by some Satanic device they taught the four hundred Millions in China to smoke Opium, and the two hundred and eighty Millions in British India to eat Opium, and drink intoxicating liquors. As surely as any attempt is made to cut off the moderate supply of highly taxed Opium, from the people of India, will they have recourse to Hemp, known better in Europe as Hashish, and Churras, or Ganja, a weed which grows wild, or to one of the twelve varieties of materials for concocting intoxicating liquors, with which luxuriant Nature has provided the people of India, and the Natives of the Sea-coast will be corrupted by the Brandy from Europe, the Rum from Mauritius, and the poisons provided by Christians. The people of India will attribute the suppression of their Poppy-cultivation to the energy of some active Company in Great Britain, for the export of intoxicating liquors. The Anti-Opium-Trade-Enthusiast assumes, that the *soi* represents the average Opium-smoker in China, or the average Opium-eater or drinker in India, and that the existence of the moderate consumer is impossible: he would not like to have the argument turned round as regards the consumers of Spanish and French wines and alcohol, and of British Beer and Spirits in Great Britain. Many of the Bishops, and Clergy, and Nonconformist Ministers, take their daily allowance of wine, and they are quite right to do so. At any rate, it may be safely assumed, that the Government of British India, or the British Parliament, can no more arrest the consumption of Opium by the people of India, without causing political convulsions, than it can the practice of Polygamy, the Worship of Idols by the Hindu, and the rite of circumcision by the Mahometan. There are some things, that Government cannot do in Great Britain, although that Government is based on the will of the people governed; there are more things, that the Government of India would not dare to attempt, or would certainly fail in doing, if attempted, without imperilling the very existence of the Empire. It is reported, that no Burmese is to be allowed to purchase Opium: as soon as the law is passed, the execution of it will be watched with interest: it will most probably prove to be an empty threat: at any rate, nothing analogous to it has ever been attempted in India.

The assertion, that the work of the Evangelization of the people of China is impeded by the Opium-Traffic is unworthy of those, who utter it, as a war-cry, or indicates their want of intelligence,

if they think so. France, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Belgium, Scandinavia, and the United States of North America, all send their quota of Missionaries to China, and none of these States have the least connection with the import of Opium. The people of China are quite intelligent enough to discriminate Nationality: indeed, they know it too well. My own experience is this: that the Missionaries of all denominations and nationalities in British India are popular with the people, even with the unconverted heathens, because they conduct themselves in a quiet, unasserting way, neither annoying the Officers of Government, nor offending the prejudices of the people: of this I have positive knowledge extending over fifty years. But in China it is different: this is not the place to enlarge upon it: if the Emperor of China were strong enough, he would be supported by his people in an effort to eject every Missionary from the Empire, following the example of the Emperor of Russia, and the French Republic. Only this year a British Consul forwarded a general complaint to the British Foreign Office, a copy of which was forwarded to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was read in my presence at a Meeting of the Board of Missions of the two Provinces. Neither the Government, nor the People of India, would wish the Missionaries to be disturbed in their peaceful work, and the great majority of Missionaries keep to their holy work, and do not, like their brethren in China, meddle in politics. The Missionaries of all denominations, Protestant and Roman Catholic, are a great blessing to British India: they have to tolerate the sight of Idolatry in its most hideous form, of Polygamy, where woman falls from the just dignity of her sex, as the helpmate of her husband, of marriages contracted without the consent of the weaker party, of enforced widowhood even of girls of tender years, who have never even seen their so-called husbands: they know that atrocious crimes in the name of Religion, burning of widows, slaying of daughters, burying alive of lepers, drowning the aged in the Ganges, are only put a stop to by the stern laws of a Christian Government: they see European liquors pouring into India from Europe. Amidst all this gigantic Sin, the Anti-Opium-Trade Society does not disturb them from their holy duties.

At the late decennial Congress of Missionaries of Bombay, an attempt to bring the Opium-Trade, and other grievances of a non-Missionary character, under discussion, was checked, and not allowed. The Editor of the *Church Times* naturally asks: What is our duty? Clearly, at any cost, we should be consistent; just as the Rev. M. B. Fuller told the Conference, that he had refused a Government-grant towards his industrial School, because the money was tainted, so British Missionaries should refuse Government help, if they receive any, unless they consider that it comes from an honestly earned Revenue. But, inasmuch as the Home Government raises some

Millions from taxes on alcoholic liquors, are all Government employés, and those who receive State-aid, to refuse grants and salaries? If consistency is to be considered a virtue in India, we must show our belief in it at home. Then Schools of every kind receiving Government-grants will have to look elsewhere for their funds. This is just my opinion: how can the Church Missionary Society place in its holy coffers the tainted money, which is granted to them by the sinful Government of India? Some of the speakers on platforms compare this source of income to the profits collected from a house of ill-fame, and the obscene offerings to an Idol-shrine: how can a Missionary Society allow its subordinates to touch such money? they know, and we know, that they know, and the taxpayers in India know, that they know, that the five Millions of the Anti-Opium-Trade pay the salaries of the Bishop and Clergy, Episcopal, Presbyterian, and Roman Catholics, and the Education-grants to Missionary-Societies of all denominations. Why do they not cry out, "Thy money perish with you"; No! it suits them to take it. It must not be supposed, that the Chinese Opium-Trade is the result of any astute policy, or, as good people believe, the machination of Satan himself, acting through a succession of Governor-Generals and Viceroys, like Lord Lawrence and Lord Northbrook, and their unprincipled advisers, some of whom appear constantly on Missionary Platforms. Like many other political events, the trade, from being small, and of comparatively no importance, grew year by year with the peace and prosperity of the two Empires of India and China. I wish to record one incident, of which I am perfectly cognizant. When my Master, Major Broadfoot, Agent to the Governor-General on the N.W. frontier, was killed at the battle of Ferozeshah about Christmas Day, 1845, I was with him, and on his death Sir Henry Lawrence was sent for to succeed him: it was a far cry to Nipál, and there were no railways then, and in the interim I was attached to the office of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, under the Foreign Secretary, Sir Frederick Currie. One day we were in the tent of the Governor-General on business, and Sir Frederick begged for a five minutes pause from Military affairs to get Sir Henry's Signature to a paper regarding Opium: it was signed. A few years before Sindé had been conquered by Sir Charles Napier and annexed, and an unexpected consequence had ensued. The Opium of Central India used partly to find its way to Bombay, where it paid a moderate export duty, and partly to Karáchi, in Sindé, which was an independent Port, and the Opium escaped taxation altogether: that outlet for untaxed Opium was now closed, and there being no possible escape for Central India Opium, opportunity was taken to double or treble the duty, and by a stroke of the pen a vast addition was made to the Revenues.

Let us consider for a moment the effect of a real vote in the

House of Commons, that the Opium-Trade from India to China should cease, compensation of Six Millions annually being paid to India by the British Taxpayer! Nothing less would satisfy India. The first step would be to abolish the Bangál-Monopoly: so far I am with the Reformer: I hate Monopolies, and would gladly see the culture, and manufacturer, set free. The next step would be to abolish the Export-duty at Calcutta and Bombay: as the Indian Treasury would receive its Six Millions from England, there would be no objection there: the consequence would be, that China would be deluged with cheap Opium. But our good friends would not be satisfied with such an amount of Reform; they would desire the State to use its power to prevent the export of the drug: there are two thousand miles of sea-board in British India, with innumerable rivers, small and great, backwaters, and unhealthy inlets, and it would take all the fleet of Great Britain to prevent the illicit export. Baffled here, the good people of the Anti-Opium Society would move Parliament to rule, that nowhere in the Panjáb, the North-West Provinces, Bengal, and Central India, the Poppy should be cultivated. Such an order was never issued in a civilized State; the people of India are not slaves: the population, where the Poppy is cultivated, is warlike, and supplies half our Native Army: in our Provinces there would be Rebellion: in *Central India there would be war*. Mr. Batten closed his address at the Society of Arts with the following warning words:

“You may create discontent among our Native subjects, and disaffection in the best forces of our Native Army; you may alienate the Native (independent) States of Central India, and Rajputána, our bravest and most loyal allies; you may drive the consumer of Opium to alcohol, and hemp: you may do all this, but you will never persuade the Chinese to abandon the ever-increasing culture of the Poppy. You may inflict on India a cruel injury, the extent and consequences of which you are incapable of calculating, but you will fail in any way to benefit China, unless you count it a benefit greatly to extend the cultivation of the Poppy, and the manufacture of Opium within her borders.”

I annex two quotations from *The Times* to show, that others share my opinions.

“To prohibit the use of Opium in India is to *force upon India the use of alcoholic liquors*. Let there be no shirking of this fact. Sir Joseph Pease himself will not contend, that a British-made law will suddenly accomplish for non-Christian India what 19 centuries of Christianity have failed to accomplish for any Christian country, and turn the people into total abstainers. All the efforts of the Society for preventing the Liquor-Traffic among the Aboriginal Races of the world will be but a mockery, compared with the widespread misery, disease, degradation, and crime, which the substitution of alcohol for Opium would lead to among the Races of India. The *Hindu Patriot*, the leading Native paper in Bengal, boldly joins issue with the Anti-Opium

"agitators in England on this ground. Its issue brought by last mail contains an article on 'The Moral Aspects of the Opium Question,' in which it reaffirms the views put forth by *The Times* in regard to the disastrous consequences to Indian morality, which the prohibition of Opium would involve. It puts the case in a nutshell. If the people, it says, 'are deprived by legislation of the use of Opium, they will be driven to the use of more dangerous drugs, like *bhang* or spirituous liquors.'"

"Taken at the lowest figures, the present production of Opium in China amounts to the enormous quantity of more than 330,000 piculs annually. At present, therefore, foreign Opium ministers to certainly not more than one-fifth, and probably to not more than one-sixth, of the total consumption in China. *Its use is, moreover, steadily (if slowly) declining each year*, while, on the other hand, fresh tracts of country are being devoted each year to Poppy-cultivation; the production is steadily increasing, not in one Province only, but in all, and greater experience, and greater care, are everywhere effecting a marked improvement in the quality of the drug and raising it to the level of an Indian product. That the trade in Indian Opium with China is doomed there can be no doubt. The action of the Society for the Suppression of Opium may hasten its death. It would, however, be wisdom on its part to await the process of natural dissolution rather than to dislocate national and commercial interests merely in order to disassociate India from the trade. Its action will in no way tend to suppression of Opium. China is independent of outside supplies, and if the Society gains its end so far as India is concerned, no less Opium will be consumed; the only result gained will be, that Chinese Opium will be smoked in the place of Indian."

"Nor do I allude to the Opium question, which in the hands of enthusiastic or prejudiced ignorance in London has been presented to English audiences in a guise, that excites a smile in every treaty-port in China. There, at least, everybody knows, that the helpless celestial is neither being forced nor befooled by an insidious and immoral Government at Calcutta; whilst long before our domestic Puritans have purged the national conscience of what they style this great sin, the Opium question will have settled itself by the rapid decline of the Indian import and the acceptance by China herself of the undivided responsibility for her own moral welfare."

It is the misfortune, inherent in the circumstances and position of the otiose well-to-do middle-classes of Great Britain and North America, that they have nothing to do. Mr. Froude, in one of his Essays, attributes the spread of High Church-Ritualism to this peculiarity. The Roman Catholic, the Hindu, and Mahometan, let off their religious sentimental steam in pilgrimages to shrines, and processions, and festivals; the Protestant, not having this safety-valve, takes it out in benevolent and quasi-benevolent associations. In and among them is a moving spirit, male or female, of the class described by a writer of last generation, "who knows all about the policy of the Nizam, the secret history of the wars with China, and the economy of an ant-hill." Thus came into existence the seven Fads: I use the word without reproach: it is derived from the French word "*fadnise*," a trifle: they are as follows, (1) Anti-Vivisection, (2) Anti-Vaccination, (3) Pharisaic Observance of the Sabbath, (4) Total Abstinence, (5) the Anti-Opium-Trade-Association, (6) the sounding brass of the Salvation-Army, and (7) the tinkling cymbal of the Ladies' association to discourage child-marriage, to remarry widows in India, and protect the feet of

Chinese women from unnatural ligaments. The Lord will bless them for their good intentions, and mankind would bless them also, if they would break up these tiny troublesome associations, whose only object is to irritate more serious minds, and bring down ridicule on themselves, and turn their energies and prayers to the curing, or mitigating, of the great evils, which Sin and Sorrow bring upon the great gatherings of humanity in British and American cities, beginning at London and New York. The Hindu has been before them in sentimental charity, and Quixotic benevolence. He is ready to subscribe to save a poor bullock from the butcher, and resents vaccination, as an insult to the cow: he establishes hospitals for wounded animals, soothes the last moments of departing quadrupeds, and pays beggars to supply from their hands and necks food to the poor flea, who is incapacitated from his usual sanguineous vocation: he covers his mouth from fear of inhaling inadvisedly one of God's creatures: he shudders at the Idea of liquor, or Opium, or the flesh of animals: he observes with rigour the festivals and sacred days of his god, and rivals, or even transcends, the Salvation-Army in the loudness of his tamtams, and the disreputable appearance of his devotional processions.

Surely the daily, weekly, monthly, round, which so many of us tread, tread up to the age of fourscore, is sufficient to satisfy the unexhausted energies of the most otiose and most benevolent: I hear the sound of the tramp of good men and women from the Prison to the Lunatic Asylum, from the Board of Guardians to the Workhouse: from the Licensing Committee to the Temperance Society: from the Church Room to the Pulpit; from the association to rescue poor young women from sin to the needle-work-association to supply them with honest labour: from the Educational and Pure Literature Committee to the Hospital: from the Anti-Slavery Society-Committee to the Home of the Asiatic, African, and Polynesian strangers: and lastly, from the Missionary Society-Committee to the Bible and Tract Societies-Committee: is not this enough? Why seek the unknown, and imperfectly known, when so much sin and misery that is known, lies at our door? Why look over the nearer horizon to spy out dimly the further horizon, where all things appear as through the small end of a telescope. It is a subject of joy to witness such earnestness, and of sorrow to see it so misapplied: excellent material used for a wrong purpose.

It has been repeatedly remarked, that no single public officer, whose name is known as an authority on Indian subjects, has ever joined, or looked favourably on, the Anti-Opium-Trade Association. One of the most active leaders of the association expressed his wonder why this should be. Old Anglo-Indians, septuagenarian and octogenarian, leave their quiet homes, or congenial scientific Studies, to help to spread the Gospel of Christ, and distribute the

Scriptures: why is it that they fight some of their best friends, and stand up as the champions of the rights of India's Millions, in whose midst they have spent many happy years, and whom they never can forget? They are influenced by the sole desire to protect the weak and injured. A bountiful Providence has permitted them to return alive and well to their native land, when hundreds fell around them, but in the discharge of their high offices, they learnt how noble a trade it is to rule men, to understand their wants, to pity their weakness, to feel for them, and fight to the last, when their interests are in jeopardy: it may be urged, that their *legitimate* interests are not in jeopardy: can it be doubted what reply the independent colonies of Canada, Australia, and South Africa would make to the Anti-Opium Association, if they were asked in a sanctimonious manner to give up one of their most precious cultures, to do away with their most valued export, to cut out Millions from their Budget, and reduce thousands to want by robbing them of their hereditary industry? In a voice of thunder the reply would come, "Begin at home, my friends. Why do you behold the mote in your brother's eye, and perceive not the beam in your own? Cast out your own beam first: lay waste the hop-gardens of Kent and Surrey, send all Brewers and Distillers to Coventry, whether they are Peers or Commoners, burn to the ground their breweries, and distilleries, forbid the export of gunpowder, intoxicating liquors, and warlike arms to the poor African." A division with a majority of thirty in a House with only half of its members, will be sufficient to describe the Beer and Alcoholic traffic of Great Britain as morally indefensible, and that ought to be sufficient. Till that is done, old Anglo-Indians request you to leave India alone.

Calcutta Review, 1893.

(2) THE OPIUM COMMISSION OF 1893.

The names of this Commission have been announced, and give perfect satisfaction. There is not an atom of party-politics in the question at issue; good men have taken different views on an exceedingly complicated subject. It is fair to state, that the balance of knowledge, practical knowledge, local knowledge, is on the side of the Government of India. The object of the Commission is to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. Great Empires cannot be governed on the principles, which commend themselves to voluntary associations, the members of which know nothing of the difficulties of ruling Oriental nations, of levying the necessary taxes, as the sinews

of administration, without causing suffering to an exceedingly poor population of scores of Millions.

Let us consider the question from a constitutional point of view. British India has all the attributes of an independent sub-kingdom. It raises and pays its own Army, frames its own Budget, makes its own treaties with neighbouring nations, passes in its Legislative Council its own laws. It asks nothing from Great Britain, pays no tribute, but annually transmits the value of seventeen Millions sterling in return for the loan of about 70,000 English soldiers, the Civil home-expenditure, and the interest of loans. The territory of Canada, the self-governing colonies of South Africa and Australia, would defy the Mother-country if it attempted to dictate to them, that they should not cultivate a particular crop, manufacture and export a particular article of Commerce, in order to secure an addition to their revenues, and an honourable livelihood to starving Millions of the peasantry. Only imagine a suggestion, that France should not export brandy, Ireland whisky, and Great Britain beer and spirits. Now this is the precise problem laid down: Is British India the best and only judge of its own administrative policy? The rulers of India belong in succession to different parties in home-politics, but they all agree in this question, whether Lord Lytton, Lord Dufferin, or Lord Ripon, and every public servant of the Indian service without exception, civilian or soldier, Conservative or Liberal. Let us take at random Sir Richard Temple, Sir George Campbell, Lord Roberts, or Sir William Plowden.

The question before us is not the past History of China, but the necessity of British India in 1893. Chinese Statesmen like Sir Rutherford Alcock and Sir Thomas Wade stand side by side with the representation of British India on this platform. Is there anything so very contrary to morals in exporting Opium, heavily-taxed Opium, carefully-prepared Opium, to China, a country, which within its own limits produces more Opium than the rest of the world put together? The Indian Opium occupies in relation to the Chinese Opium the same position that first-rate champagne occupies to the light, rough, cheap, wines of France; it is the luxury of the few rich. Consider the actual amount of Indian Opium in relation to the population of China.

The import-duty imposed by the Government of British India is such as would destroy any other export; the drug is again taxed by the Chinese Government Custom-House, as it enters the treaty-ports, and again by the Chinese Excise-Department, as it leaves those ports for the interior. We can whisper words of comfort into the ears of our philanthropic friends. Within one generation the monster will have disappeared. Chinese Opium will have driven out the Indian product. By a strange freak of Nature tea is leaving China, and migrating to India and Ceylon.

The Poppy-cultivation is leaving India, and becoming centralized in China. The Chinaman takes his pipe wherever he goes: the population of China, as of India, is increasing annually: like an overflowing bowl of water the surplus spreads everywhere. In the twentieth century there will be no country without the Indian coolie and the heathen Chinese. If the Anti-Opium-Association seeks the welfare of mankind, it will recognise how puny its weapons are. Lord Kimberley remarked with justice this very year to a deputation, that Britons should cast the beam out of their own eyes before they attacked the mote in their neighbours' eyes. One hundred and forty Millions sterling in alcoholic liquor in Great Britain in 1892 compels our lips to form themselves unwillingly into the words "Hypocrite," "Humbug."

But, even if the manufacture and trade were a crime, which we totally deny, can it be checked, mitigated, or destroyed? The answer of those, who have loved and ruled India over a period of fifty years, who in their old age stand up for the rights of the Indian people against their own countrymen, against the merchant, the Missionary, or the benevolent, but ill-advised association, is that it cannot. It is a sad sight to stand in a Hindu temple, and watch the poor people grovelling to images of stone, or to listen to the proud Mahometan in his mosque; it is sad in courts of justice to accept as law the custom of polygamy, polyandry, and child-marriages, to witness the infant virgin-widow condemned to a life of unhappiness, and to hear of sensible people of the nineteenth century mutilating the persons of their male babies, and calling it a religious rite: these are the conditions of our Indian Empire. We hold it like a wolf by the two ears: if we let go one or both, it is all over with the British Indian Empire. Wisdom, self-control, the iron hand in the velvet glove, the grand policy of "*laissez faire*" in all things not contrary to the laws of God and man, such as murder of widows and female children, are necessary, and hitherto have not been wanting.

A snap-vote of a small section of the House of Commons means nothing. If the British people, from a squeamish sense of false morality, determine to put a stop to the Opium-Traffic in India, while they maintain the liquor-traffic at home, the British taxpayer must pay the piper. At a late meeting the canny member for a Scotch constituency remarked, that he should like the Opium-Traffic stopped, but he could not ask his whisky-drinking constituents to pay the expense: the cry is "*Fiat abstinentia, ruat India.*" The reply from India is, "Begin your amiable endeavours at home; we will follow suit."

This is the Epoch of "Fads": the easy-going evangelical middle classes with plenty of leisure, and no taste for theatres, racecourse, or field sports, take to a "Fad." There are seven of them: (1) Anti-Vivisection; (2) Anti-Vaccination; (3) Pharisaic Obser-

vance of the Sabbath; (4) Total Abstinence; (5) Anti-Opium Trade Association; (6) Salvation Army; (7) Association to remarry Indian widows, and relieve the Chinese women from unnatural ligaments on their feet. The promoters consist of dear good people, male and female, old women, young girls, giving limelight lectures illustrative of Asiatic horrors; all these things are the characteristics of the "fin du siècle."

Pall Mall Gazette, September, 1893.

VI.

THE CENSUS OF BRITISH INDIA, 1891.

WHEN the King of Israel made a Census of the numerically small population, over which he ruled, occupying an area which could scarcely make up two good-sized districts in British India, and the whole of which can be viewed at one and the same moment from the top of Mount Gerizim, he was deemed to have committed a great offence. What shall be said of the Empress of India, who now for the fifth time counts up the Millions of her subjects in one of the outlying Provinces of her vast Empire, and tells the world of the area, population, Religious belief, civil condition, intellectual status, Languages, castes, bodily infirmities, and life-occupation, of her dusky subjects in Southern Asia? No Sovereign in past time had the opportunity or capacity to issue such a manifesto.

The area of British India, including the dependent States, amounts to a Million and a half of square miles. The Report gives the minutest details, but we propose to quote no figure less than 1,000.

There are 2,000 towns with a population of 1,000 or upwards, and nearly 716,000 villages, comprising 53,000,000 dwelling-places for man. The population amounts to 287,000,000; the males exceed the females by 6,000.

Only the first volume of the Report is published, consisting entirely of statistics. Thirteen summary tables place the subject before the reader, which is worked out in detail in the subsequent statements. The month of February was selected as the most suitable month for the operation, which was conducted in seventeen Languages by 9,500 paid enumerators. The cost of the operation will not be less than £250,000 sterling. Between 80,000,000 and 90,000,000 forms were issued, weighing 290 tons, and, if put end to end, they would have reached 15,000 miles. There is reason to believe, that the returns are genuine, and approximately exact,

as the population, by means of the village-officials, is thoroughly in hand.

The great fact stands out, that since 1881 about 17,000,000 additional males, and nearly the same amount of additional females, have been added to Her Majesty's subjects by the ordinary process of generation, for immigration there is practically none, and emigration exists to a certain extent under careful supervision. In Europe it would make a sensation, that 34,000,000 of subjects had been added, exceeding the population of Great Britain. In British India it goes for just nothing: it is an additional fly on the great wheel.

The town-population is only nine and a half per cent. of the whole. In the Province of Bangál, though it includes Calcutta, less than five per cent. of the population is urban. This fact suggests many considerations to the administrators: all the frothy declamations of the English-speaking patriots, and the local Press in the different Native Languages, just goes for nothing; they represent the views of a mere fraction of the teeming Millions, and go for nothing with the various classes who, perfectly unlettered, hold the peace of India in their hands, and on the first outbreak would sweep away the congress, the demagogue, and the public speaker, and burn the printing-presses. "Take away that bauble."

RELIGION.

The subject of Religion comes next in order. The ancient Brahmanic Religious belief still counts 211,000,000 in its different sects. The Buddhist form of belief is held by 7,000,000 in Farther India (Burma), not in India proper. The ancient faith of Zoroaster, dating back to the time of Cyrus and Darius, is professed by 90,000, who bear the name of Parsi or Persian. The followers of Mahomet number 57,000,000; the Empress of India has a far greater number of Mahometan subjects than the Sultan or the Shah. The ancient Pagan or Nature-worshippers number 9,000,000. How small compared to these gigantic figures appear the two Millions and a quarter Christians; all, with the exception of the Syrian Church of Travancór, the result of European propagandism. The normal increase of the non-Christian population by the process of generation, 3,000,000 in each year, exceeds the Christian efforts of three centuries.

As regards age it is notable, that of this immense multitude only 15,000,000 reach the age of sixty. The people of India are not long-lived. As regards civil condition the great fact comes out, that there are nearly 23,000,000 of widows, 13,000 below four years of age, 64,000 below nine years of age, 174,000 below fourteen. The majority, no doubt, are virgin widows, without power of remarriage. Such figures suggest painful consideration, but the

remedy is not obvious. The State has done its duty in declaring the issue of a second marriage of a widow legitimate; but, though a boy can take a horse to a pond, twenty men cannot make the horse drink. There is a prejudice against widows. Widowers find it difficult to get a second wife, when every child is married before the age of four.

The subject of public Instruction only illustrates the results of an enormous village-population, spread over an enormous area, and a comparatively small urban population. The illiterate, and that term means totally illiterate, number 247,000,000 out of the whole population, and probably the number is greater, as certain very backward districts were not enumerated.

LANGUAGES.

The enumerators report 118 different Languages, but upon scrutiny this number may be reduced, as the same form of speech appears under two names. Dialects appear as separate Languages, and there are such ridiculous entries as 300 persons, who spoke Sanskrit as their parent tongue, and 2,000 who spoke Hebrew. It may safely be asserted, that in this century these Languages are only spoken when acquired, and not as the domestic vehicle of speech. One of these Indian Languages is spoken by 80,000,000; several of them are magnificent vehicles of speech, with a vast and ancient literature. English may be spoken as an acquired Language, but there is little chance of it superseding the lordly Languages spoken for centuries by Millions, fully developed, with Written Characters of their own, and capable of expressing any Human conception and being the vehicle of the highest scientific Education. There is no one Vernacular spoken all over India, and this is one of the safeguards of the British power. The fissures of Race, Religion, and Language, render all co-operation or confederation of the various Provinces of British India impossible.

The table of infirmities is remarked. Some Provinces have not been enumerated. There are 62,000 insane, 173,000 deaf mutes, 366,000 blind, and 110,000 lepers. It used to be believed, that lepers were unable to procreate children. In India they had little chance, for they were buried alive; but now they are allowed to live, marry, and have children. The word "eunuch," so frequent in former enumerations, has disappeared; the word "leper" has an ominous appearance for the future.

The table of "Occupation or Means of Livelihood" is a most difficult one to compile, and yet of supreme importance. It is subdivided into "orders" and "sub-orders," with the distribution of these between the rural and urban population. This table by itself reveals the interior working of the great social machine.

The Pax Britannica, and the intercourse with Europe, have brought with them dangers as well as advantages, and the former are likely to increase and multiply.

The last table relates to the Christian denominations by Race, which from our point of view is unimportant, as having no bearing upon the administration of the country. The 9,000,000 Nature-worshippers, or Pagans, will be gradually absorbed in one or other of the great Religions; and as a fact thousands of the non-Arian Races have passed insensibly into the Brahmanical and Mahometan fold, and furnish a large number of the neo-Christians.

One advantage of these cold, passionless, statistical Reports is, that it exposes the ridiculous character of some philanthropic associations, consisting of people who have no knowledge of the difficulty of the problem presented by Oriental rule. It is necessary to be firm and yet sympathetic, to maintain order and repress crime, and yet not to bully, or irritate by police interference, or domestic intrusions. The great principle is, "Let the people alone." They know best what suits them. Why interfere with the drugs, which they consume, or the liquors, which they drink, except by an excise-duty brought up to the level, beyond which smuggling would become profitable? To hear the penny-trumpets of certain associations it might be supposed that the population of India was wasting away, instead of increasing at such a rate, that the limits of production of food are nearly reached. The absence of war, famine, and pestilence, the suppression of widow-burning, female infanticide, and burying alive of lepers, the protection of Human life, especially female and child life, has brought India to the edge of a precipice. "*Mole ruit suâ.*" And yet the British Government could not have acted differently.

Pall Mall Gazette, Oct. 6th, 1893.

(2) THE CENSUS AS REGARDS WOMEN.

At length, by favour of the India-Office, a copy of the first volume of the General Tables of the Census of India of 1891, including the British Territories and Feudatory States, has reached us; it consists of a folio volume of 522 pages, and each page is filled with figured statements without any narrative or comment. It represents an extremely dull and unencouraging form of literature, but one that is pregnant with important facts. Our remarks apply solely to women; the other sex is only alluded to incidentally, or as a necessary complement.

The sexes are divided as follows :

Males	146,727,296
Females	140,496,135
	287,223,431

It is a surprise, that the male sex should exceed the female by more than six Millions, and it is to be hoped, that female infanticide is not the cause. Of that vast population about ten per cent. reside in towns, the remainder in villages; this was to be expected, but from an Educational and Missionary point of view it must be taken note of; residents of villages are not easy of access. Of the 717,549 places of residence, 516,048 have a population of less than 200, scattered over a vast area.

In the ten years, *i.e.* since the Census of 1881, both sexes have increased in numbers by 16 Millions; this marks the awful increase of the population since the removal or the palliation of the three great scourges, War, Famine, Pestilence. The great Pax Britannica is not an unmixed blessing. A slight allowance must be made for increased accuracy of enumeration.

The following forms of Religious belief are registered :

A. The Brahmanical	I. Orthodox	207,688,724
	II. Aria-Somāj	39,952
	III. Brahmo-Somāj	3,052
	IV. Sikh	1,907,833
	V. Jain	1,416,638
		211,056,199
B. The Buddhist		7,131,361
C. The Zoroastrian		89,904
D. The Mahometan		57,321,164
E. The Jew		17,194
F. The Pagan		9,280,652
G. The Christian		2,284,380
	Total	287,180,854

In spite of all the fond assertions of Missionary Societies as to the increase of the new Religious Idea, we have the sad and solemn fact, that the ordinary stream of new births into the world, aided by the protection afforded to life by a Christian Government, far exceeds the tiny increase by conversions of Souls of the neo-Christian Churches. Our attention must be turned to the process of leavening the whole mass by Education, and the gentle pressure

of Christian civilization. Not only is the maintenance of old forms of Religious belief assured to our people, but new forms, more subtle and dangerous, because they are the creation of the nineteenth century, are coming into existence.

Marriage is the important feature of Human life: let us now consider that

In India there are :

	Men.	Women.
Unmarried . . .	65,136,429	43,632,033
Married . . .	62,120,300	62,448,946
Widowed . . .	6,412,483	22,657,429

The number of unmarried in a country, where Marriage is contracted in tender years, at first sight startles, but these statistics deal with the Human Race from the cradle to the grave; the age of the individual is an incident; his, or her, existence is a fact; and we find, that under the age of fourteen years there are fifty-three Million males unmarried, and forty-nine Million females; and as to the residuum we must recollect, that vast numbers associate together without Marriage at all, and there is a vast number debarred from Marriage by idiocy, lunacy, hopelessly deformed bodies, blindness, and other congenital or infantine disqualifications. There are only six Millions of widowers, as many remarry, if by good luck, or payment of money, they can secure a second wife, a thing that is impossible in some castes to a middle-aged man, as every girl is betrothed at three, and married at seven or eight. On the other hand, there are nearly twenty-three Millions of widows: old widows, middle-aged widows, young widows, and virgin widows. The English Government has legitimatised the offspring of a remarried widow, but it is in vain, as there is a prejudice against widows. The consequences are obvious as regards morality. The practice of Polygamy is exceptional: the mass of the population are Monogamist. It is of importance to a Hindu to have a son, who will pour water over his ashes; and, in conversation with a childless husband, I once suggested an additional wife, which would be lawful to him under his law. His reply was, "that his wife was a good woman, and he did not wish to vex her, and, moreover, he had only one room to dwell in. A rich Rajah with a castle and four towers, or four garden-houses, might practise Polygamy: a poor man cannot afford it."

We now come to the subject of "Instruction." The tabulated facts makes one's heart sink.

	Total Population.	Females.
Under Instruction . . .	3,195,220	197,662
Literate . . .	12,097,530	543,495
Illiterate . . .	246,546,176	127,726,768

How many centuries of Christian labour, how many generations of holy, devoted, Christian women, will it take to bring these Millions of poor females into the slightest contact with the most fundamental elements of Christian Education? As it is, they are little better than the sheep, which bleat in the fields, and the birds, which sing on the trees; they have no Future to look forward to, no Idea of repentance for the past, no hopes of another world, except of being with their husbands, if they have had one, and passing out of existence, if they have not had one. Let it not be said, or thought, that they are steeped in vice, or walking in sin. The great majority pass through simple and pure lives, as good daughters, good wives, good Mothers. God has not left Himself without a witness in that vast population, scattered in tens of thousands of villages, or gathered together in hundreds of towns. At meetings in English towns these subjects are discussed in an airy, self-satisfied, way by speakers, who have not fathomed this vast subject of a population of scores of Millions, which by the ordinances of the Ruler of the Universe has remained on this platform of civilization for more than three thousand years; a platform elevated far above the level of the African, the South-Sea-Islander, and the inhabitants of these Islands at the time of the invasion of Britain by Julius Cæsar; a platform hopelessly far below that of the present inhabitants of these Islands, who talk about accomplishing in a decade a Work of elevation of the female sex, which it has taken centuries in Europe to perform, though manifestly not yet completed.

India is spoken of glibly as one country, but it is a congeries of separate countries, separate Races, separate Religious conceptions, separate Languages, separate castes. No less than eighty-one distinct Languages are recorded, but there is a large number of dialectic differences of these Languages. The Hindi Language is spoken by eighty-five Millions; the Toda has not quite two thousand speakers. The majority of these Languages must be the vehicle of Christian Education, for it is the "Language-making faculty," and the "Religious Instinct," that differentiate man from the brute beast. Some of the weaker of these Languages may disappear under the pressure of a stronger neighbour, but there is no fear of the great lordly conquering Languages of British India (about ten in number) ever giving way before English, or any European alien form of speech. We in Europe acquired our knowledge of the principles of Grammar of our own Languages from the Indian sages; their literature is of ancient date, and extends over every branch of Science; their Languages are of the highest order of possible Human development, and are capable of expressing every Human Idea; the people are susceptible of the highest civilization, and have been so from a period, when the inhabitants of Europe were nomad savages dwelling in forests.

The detail of infirmities of women is sad :

Insane	28,650
Deaf Mutes	76,364
Blind	229,615
Lepers	31,026

At pages 189, 191, 193, we come face to face with the statistics of virgin-widows, or at least of girl-widows, for many women of India are Mothers of families at an incredibly early age.

Below four years of age there are	10,165 widows.
From five to nine years there are	51,876 "
From ten to fourteen there are	140,734 "
From fifteen to nineteen there are	280,465 "
From twenty to twenty-four there are	545,465 "

Assuming that matrimony is the summum bonum of life (which may be doubted), these figures indicate a mass of hopeless misery, as the young widow is credited with having to pass a bad time in the family-mansion; but, in comparing Oriental with Occidental social life, it may be questioned, whether the vast company of unwilling old maids, which is the feature of European statistics, does not suggest a tale of greater unhappiness. The Indian woman has no fragment of romance in her; such an Idea as the honour of being wooed for her own personal attraction, and the glory of being won, never troubled her little brain; besides, by the kind customs of her country she has been betrothed and married, and she would have no more dreamt of choosing her husband than she would of choosing her father or her brother; if her union has been cut short by the death of her husband, that is a contingency of mortal existence, not of social customs, and she must put up with it. I have often, during my long residence alone amidst my much loved people in Northern India, thought this matter out, and I see no solution. The British Nation has guaranteed to the people of India their customs and Religion, and any interference by alien strangers would do more mischief than good, and the Bible recognises the peculiar status of women in Oriental countries.

At page 496 there is a detail of the impression made on the 287 Millions by Christianity.

Two Million two hundred and eighty-four thousand three hundred and eighty represents the total of Christians of all sorts in the whole of British India. The ancient Syrian Church in Travancór claims 200,467 of these, and the Church of Rome 1,315,263; this leaves 969,117 to represent the outcome of the labours of one century of Protestant Missionaries. The Report details 63 varieties of Protestant denominations, but they may be reduced for all practical purposes to seventeen, as some of the entries are ridiculous.

One individual represents himself as an "open brother," and another as "New Jerusalem"; a third as a "Theist." There is not much to distinguish the Roman Catholic Indian from his non-Christian countrymen. In a Hindu place of Worship an English Traveller remarked a statue of the god Krishna as a child in the arms of his mother Dévaki; in a neighbouring Romish chapel the same figures, the work of the same Native artist, with conventional changes in detail, represented the Virgin Mary and her Divine child. This fairly illustrates the resemblance of one form of Pagan Worship with another: genuflection to statues; ritual observances; prayer in an unknown Language; servile obedience to priests; a confused assembly of demigods and demigoddesses, which obscure from the poor ignorant worshipper the one real object of his Worship; as to the Hope of his Salvation it is not alluded to.

The darkest feature of the prospect of poor India is still to be alluded to: the élite of the youths are annually turned out of the State-Colleges with their intellects swept clean of the unclean spirit of idolatry: Education has done *that*. "Then goeth he, and taketh with himself seven other spirits more wicked than himself . . . and the last state of that man is worse than the first."

The Brahma-Somáj, the Aria-Somáj, neo-Buddhism, Theosophism, Agnosticism, Theism, and Mormonism, are the real foes of the Christian Missionary.

Indian Women, July 31st, 1893.

(3) THE CENSUS AS REGARDS RELIGION, 1891.

Volume I. of the Report has just reached me from the India-Office: no copy was to be obtained by my bookseller, so I applied to that office. Volume II. is still on the anvil. Pages 495 to 522 of Volume I. supply all the statistics regarding the visible Church of Christ in British India. Out of a population of 287 Millions, with an expanding power of increase of three Millions each year, or 30 Millions from 1881 to 1891, the total of Christians, of all sorts and kinds, all nationalities and degrees of faith, all Languages and denominations, including the seventy thousand European soldiers, amounts only to 2,284,380, or a little more than two Millions and a quarter. We have just completed our first century of Protestant Missions, and three hundred and fifty years have elapsed since Xavier landed at Goa in the reign of King Henry VIII. of England. I lay stress upon this, not for the purpose of undervaluing the duty of Evangelization, or discouraging the Evangelist, but for the purpose of bringing down that overweening pride, which is the weakness of European people in the

nineteenth century, and to call attention to the extreme difficulty of the task that is before us, for verily the close of the nineteenth century records but the gleanings of a few grapes in the Lord's vineyard.

The compiler of the Report, with a grandiose impartiality, and with the air of a man, who has left to some Hindu underling the task of differentiating the schisms and rents in the robe of Christ's visible Church, coldly exhibits the follies of the good, and the mistakes of the wise, in the new Christian Churches springing up amidst the Mahometan, Hindu, Buddhist, Zoroastrian, Pagan, and nondescript forms of Religious conceptions, to which this prolific age is giving birth.

With a cold impartiality he analyses the component parts :

	Population.
(1) The old Syrian Church of Travancôr (Jacobite) . . .	200,000
(2) The Roman Catholic Church, with an existence of three centuries . . .	1,500,000
(3) The Church of England, endowed but not established about . . .	300,000
(4) The Nonconformist Churches . . . about . . .	400,000
(5) The sporadic efforts of such enthusiasts as the Salvation Army, or isolated efforts . . .	the remainder.

The dogma and practice of Christian life are brought before the people of India in the most occidental, unacceptable, and unattractive, form that can be imagined, by an alien and self-asserting European and American agency, despising, and even insulting, the time-honoured customs of an ancient people, who were civilized at a period, when the Anglo-Saxons were still savages. It is supposed by Protestant associations that the great Races of India, warlike, intelligent, and proud of their great History, will be transformed in some dim and remote future by some intellectual and spiritual process into the form and type of the middle classes of Great Britain, the agency being a constantly changing succession of young men and women, living comfortably in good houses, with wives and large families, servants, vehicles, and all the outward show of the nineteenth century; and not exhibiting to the Native community in any degree that "most excellent gift of self-sacrifice," which has been in all ages evidenced by Hindu and Mahometan Religious teachers, and which was the type of the elder Missionaries, such as Paul, Columbânus, and Boniface, and is still the characteristic of the Church of Rome. And so strong is the Alboeracy of the leaders of the movement, that, though the people of India are admitted to the highest secular offices of the State in India, and have justified their admission, after the lapse of a century no Native of India is deemed worthy of the office of archdeacon or Bishop; the Native pastors grow older

and older, but are placed under the orders of a succession of white young men, selected at hazard from the great middle classes at home, ignorant of the Languages, customs, and associations, of the neo-Christians. If the British Government were swept out of India by any political convulsion, the native Churches, not being built up on independent, self-supporting, apostolical foundations, would fall like mud-houses, as has been the fate of the Roman Catholic Missions in past centuries in South America and West Africa.

As an instance of the cynical hyper-accuracy of the enumerators, the following entries may be quoted:

Primitive Methodists	4
Anabaptists (<i>sic</i>)	2
Puritans (<i>sic</i>)	2
Moravians	2
New Jerusalem (Bombay)	1
Swedenborgians	5
Welsh Calvinists	8
Unitarians (Panjáb)	5
Theists	47
Deists	12
Atheists	27
Freethinkers	5
Agnostics	69
Positivists	2
No Religion at all	18

209

The ancient Religion of Zoroaster is represented by 80,000 of the most advanced, educated, wealthy, and enterprising subjects of Her Majesty, known as Parsi or Persian. There are a few thousand indigenous Beni Yahúd, or Jews. Nine Millions are grouped under the head of Animistic Religions, or spiritists, worshipping ghosts, demons, trees, fetishes; in fact, as downright Pagans as the inhabitants of Oceania or Central Africa; but these are gradually passing into the lower strata of the Brahmanical, Mahometan, Búddhist, or Christian, Religions. The number of the Brahmanical exceeds 200 Millions, of the Mahometan 57 Millions; there are no Búddhists in Nearer India, but in Farther India there are several Millions.

There remains the great statistical fact, that the annual increase of the non-Christian population of India, by generation of children, amounts to three Millions, which indeed exceeds the results of three centuries' labour of Christian Missionaries of all kinds. It must be recollected, that in a small Church situated in the midst of a vast non-Christian population, there must of necessity be an annual great wastage, owing to the relapse of baptised neo-Christians into their ancestral form of Worship under the impulse of

gain, or the solicitations of relatives, more especially, when the Church consists of men of low culture and limited means of existence, as is the case.

The standard of social morality of the inferior classes of all Religions is low; dogma, and observance of caste-rules, is the test of admission and exclusion, and not morality. Vast numbers of men and women are reported in the Census (p. 155) to live together united by an informal tie; such temporary cohabitation is accepted in the Courts of Justice, and in social life, as marriage; all, who have trains of Indian servants, are aware of this; readjustment of such unions are frequent. The effect on the increase of the population is the same as that of a legal marriage; but this indicates a relaxation among the lower classes of the very fundamental principles of a community, and indicates how great a change must precede or accompany Christianity, a real Christianity. The Pagan elements, which in European Churches cling to the skirt of Christ's Church, stand out in stronger relief, when surrounded by Paganism.

But as the volume of water carried down to the Ocean by Indian rivers is represented not only by the visible current, but by an invisible underground percolation, so it is, at least we may hope that it is, with the volume of Christian Truth, that is being conveyed from one end of India to the other. Empty ceremonial old-world rituals, such as that of the Hebrew and the Hindu, cannot survive the assault of Education, civilization, contact with other Nations, and the spirit of the age. As the beautiful and poetical conceptions of the Græco-Roman Cosmogony fell in the third century after Christ, so the ancient Brahmanical conceptions must and will fall. So also a Religion, which is openly allied with immorality as regards the weaker sex, as Mahometanism is, cannot survive the lurid glare of publicity, public opinion, and a free Press. No Religious conception can exist without morality, and intolerance will only hasten its downfall. That, which is morally wrong, can never be theologically right.

Already the Census notifies the coming into existence of new categories. The *Aria-Samáj*, a reformed and refined form of the Brahmanical belief, without admixture of alien elements, counts 40,000; the *Brahmo-Samáj*, a still wider development of the Brahmanical belief, with admixtures of foreign elements, numbers 3,000; beyond these are new forms of belief, such as Theosophy, and Mormonism, and many further varieties may be anticipated from the fertile genius of the Indian Nation. Even the Brahmanical Religion, with the utmost toleration, has in succeeding centuries developed numberless sects and Schools of thought. Hundreds of educated youths of both sexes now leave the State-Schools annually with their convictions in the belief of their forefathers hopelessly shattered. Complications of the gravest

kinds may be anticipated. The unclean spirit has gone out of them; what next? History supplies us with no precedents, as the principle of cynical absolute tolerance on the part of the State, and the enforcement of tolerance on all parties in their dealings with each other, have produced an environment of phenomena without any known parallel. The late Religious disturbances in a city like Bombay indicate the danger of living on a volcano; it is quite on the cards that, if the neo-Christian Churches were induced, because they practise the Religion of the conquerors, to assume an arrogant and contemptuous demeanour towards non-Christians, such as the Hebrews of the Old Testament used to evidence towards their Gentile neighbours in Palestine, a spirit of antagonism might be raised such as has lately been reported in China, and which is not wholly unjustified. Year by year the number of native civil employés of the State is increased, and the number of Europeans diminished in British India, and even a well-intentioned Native Magistrate might not have the nerve or courage to act at once and with effect; a slight spark may set fire to the whole building.

One hundred years have passed by, and yet there is not in British India a single independent Native Church, managed by its own Native Bishops and clergy in synod; or, in the case of non-episcopal Churches, by its own Native presbytery or governing council; and the prejudices of the Home-Churches and the Missionary Societies, Romish or Protestant, seem to be against any policy of enfranchisement. The Church of Rome, for the sake of enforcing uniformity of Church-dogma and Church-order, was led in the Middle Ages to endeavour to maintain an unauthorised control over all Christian Churches in the world, and such is her practice still, for she would prefer the population of the world to remain non-Christian rather than become non-Papist. But is Canterbury wise in asserting the same position as regards the Churches, which have sprung up in every part of the world under the shadow of the great tree? Surely the Christian population of Southern India, some individuals of which are in the fifth generation of Christians, are quite capable of ruling their own house; at any rate, if not capable now, after no lapse of time will they become so. The Missionary Societies should be wise in time, and let a Church, which is adolescent, support itself and manage its own affairs, and pass on to Regions beyond. The Holy Spirit, which guided and protected the poor weak Churches during the period of the first three centuries, will not be wanting at an Epoch, when there is no Religious persecution possible. It is to be hoped, that we may not repeat the blunder committed this year in West Africa on the death of a worthy Negro Bishop, who was quite good enough for the duties assigned to him: a retrograde policy has been adopted; a white Bishop, ignorant of the Languages, with two *assistant* Negro

Bishops, has been appointed, in spite of the remonstrances of the Negro Pastorate. If the British Government dealt thus with her colonies, the lesson given by the United States in the eighteenth century would be repeated. The result is waited for with anxiety by all friends of India and Africa.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1893.

VII.

WARNING FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

No. 1.

- A. THE ADOLESCENCE OF A NATIVE CHURCH IN NON-CHRISTIAN LANDS.
 - B. LETTER TO "THE TIMES."
 - C. NOTICE IN "PALL MALL GAZETTE."
 - D. SPEECH AT MISSIONARY CONFERENCE, JUNE, 1894.
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(A) THE ADOLESCENCE OF A NATIVE CHURCH IN NON-CHRISTIAN LANDS.

WHEN a youth by the lapse of years passes from childhood into manhood, he is said to be adolescent: the same law applies unconsciously to groups of men, as they pass from political, or spiritual, subordination into independence.

The great work of the nineteenth century has been to bring the Gospel to the ears and hearts of the ignorant, and untutored, non-Christian world: the problems, which lie before the twentieth century, are different:

I. The degraded Pagan types of non-Christian belief are disappearing, and their place has been taken by reformed, and rebrunished, forms of Theology and Worship, based on a varying standard of Morality, and Education, both, however, advancing year by year.

II. New forms of belief, and practice, are coming into existence, equally opposed to Christian belief, but neither degraded, nor immoral, nor entirely unspiritual.

III. The loosely connected groups of converts to Christianity are forming into Churches, which will have to fight their own battles with their neighbours and countrymen, and manage as best they can their own affairs: to these last my remarks apply.

Episcopacy is the only form of Christian Government, which it is worth while to discuss, as Episcopacy is the only form, which weathered the struggle of the early and middle ages in Europe; and I feel convinced, that the Nations of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, are not likely in things secular or spiritual to dispense

with a Ruler, whether in the form of a Sovereign, or a Spiritual Overseer.

So long as the original Missionaries, the Fathers in the Lord, the first Christians, who converted and baptised and ordained, survive, the difficulty does not exist; but the time comes, when men, like Bishop Caldwell and Bishop Sargent, die: in the meantime the Native pastors are getting older and older, while the English Missionaries come out in a continual flow of young untrained men, young enough to be the sons or grandsons of their Native brethren, and yet asserting authority over them, because their colour is white, and they come from London: those, who were converted in middle life, have passed away: a new Race of men have been born as Christians: the problem is confessedly difficult, but it is one, which the Mother-Church must decide: it is no longer a purely Missionary Committee-question; the work of the Missionary is assumed to have been done, and done well, as regards a particular group of neo-Christians, though the duty of evangelizing Regions Beyond remains, and the nascent Native Church must take its part in this duty. This brings me face to face with the Board of Missions of the Mother-Church: I am totally opposed to any attempt on the part of this Board to interfere with the economy of Missionary Societies: it would be the interference of men, who were uninstructed in details, with men, who are well instructed; but the great principle, which is discussed in this paper, "The adolescence of a Native Church," awaits the decision of the Church itself, and, if not attended to now, will generate greater trouble in the next generation: the Board of Missions should regard such phenomena as their peculiar duty.

The problem, put nakedly, relates to the personality of the Bishop: should he be an alien stranger sent out by the Mother-Church, or a Native?

Let me brush away the Idea once for all, that the Natives of South India, or West Africa, can ever coalesce with the ephemeral European sojourners from Europe in one organized Church: Language, customs, dress, social habits, prejudices, present an insuperable bar, which time will accentuate rather than diminish.

We may also anticipate, that the Territorial Bishops, appointed and paid by the State from the Public Revenue in India, and Sierra Leone, will very shortly disappear: the Bishop will be paid by his own endowment-fund: it is not just to spend funds, collected by taxes from the non-Christian Natives, on Christian spiritual officials. Christians would not like to have to contribute to the salary of the Hindu Priest.

More than this: there is no reason why in the course of time the power of Great Britain may not pass away like that of Rome and Spain, and her Commerce fade like the Palaces of Venice; but in

dealing with things spiritual, connected with the adolescence of Native Churches, we build too low, if we do not build for Eternity. The Church of England during this its day should strive so to order the affairs of the Churches, that have sprung up under its shadow, that they may have a chance of lasting by the Grace of God after the hand of the Mother-Church has been shortened by misfortune, or by misconception of its duty, or by supineness in discharge of its high office: this is what Paul calls, the care of all the Churches. Do Churchmen realize the position, which the Church of England occupies, in alliance with the Episcopal Church of the United States, as regards the Christian *Διασπορά* among the Gentiles? The Fathers of the Church in England are so fully occupied with pressing home-affairs, and the magnitude of the work has grown so suddenly and so mightily, that something analogous to the College of the Propaganda of Rome is required to keep information up to date: in fact, a Foreign Office to the Church of England.

No greater delusion has ever been suggested, than that the Church of England in its corporate capacity, through the agency of its Bishops, should control the details of the Evangelization of the world; those, who suggest this, ought to know, that History, neither past or present, gives any example of such a policy successfully carried out. The gigantic and ubiquitous Church of Rome is too astute for such a policy: it leaves the Evangelization, or Papalization, of the world, to the great Congregations, such as the Benedictine, Capuchin, Franciscan, Jesuit, who belong to all Nations, or to the special Missionary associations of each Nation, while it maintains in the College of the Propaganda of Rome under specially appointed officials full, ready, and accurate, information, the power of appointing Bishops, and Vicars Apostolic, and the absolute control of Doctrine. Even the tiny Protestant Church of Sweden has not been able to prevent the establishment of an independent Episcopal Mission, and the Nonconformist Churches of Great Britain work through associations, or practically independent departments of their particular Church-organization.

But the problems, which are discussed in this paper, are just those, which come properly and solely under a Board of Missions, or a College of the Propaganda, and lie beyond the capacity and competence of the Committee of a Missionary Society: I allude to the phenomena, which present themselves in a new Christianity in Asia or Africa or elsewhere. I wish to write with due respect of the Secretaries and Committee, with which I am familiar, but its constitution is not perfect: all the work in the first instance comes before a territorial Sub-Committee of about a dozen, half laymen, half clergymen, chosen for each particular part of the field, at which Vice-Presidents and Secretaries freely attend. Free from any rules of public debate, each question is there thoroughly

discussed, and an order recorded: this comes up for revision before the Correspondence-Committee, consisting of all the different territorial Sub-Committees, the numerous Secretaries and Assistant-Secretaries, and a great many other members of the Society selected each year, but less qualified to pass judgment on any case than the specially selected Sub-Committee; here the matter is discussed fully according to the ordinary laws of debate, and a vote taken by show of hands. But a week or so after the matter again comes before a body of men still less fitted to take cognizance of it than the Committee of Correspondence, viz., the General Committee; of this anomalous body Honorary Life-Governors, £5 lay Life-Governors, ten and sixpenny clergymen of every age, and degree of experience, or rather want of experience, have a vote equal to that of the most experienced member of the Sub-Committee: the majority know little, and some absolutely nothing, of the principle underlying the case, or even of the merits of the case itself, and yet they can by dead weight of parson-power cancel or modify previous orders: they are no more fit to decide, whether a black or white Bishop should be sent to the Niger or South India, than they are to decide, whether a black or white Viceroy should be sent to India; it is a fair hypothesis, that the younger clergy vote very much as they think that the Honorary Clerical Secretary wishes them to do. It appears, therefore, that the Committee of a Missionary Society, at least of one so constituted, has neither the knowledge nor the capacity to decide a question affecting the future of the Church at large, and that nothing short of representatives of the whole Church of England have the competence to decide, whether a Native Church should be ruled by a young alien, white, Bishop, an absolute stranger to the People, or by an experienced and middle-aged member of the Native Pastorate of good repute, and proved capacity. Only imagine an English Diocese ruled over by a pious young Frenchman or German.

The decision of this issue does not turn on the fact, that the stipend is supplied by the Missionary Society. In the case of Japan, and Palestine, the Primate reserved to himself the right of nomination, although the stipend was supplied in whole or part by two Missionary Societies: when a purely Missionary Bishop is appointed by a Society, such as the Bishop of Melanesia, or Equatorial Africa, the selection may with safety be left to the Missionary Society, because the Native Church is only in its infancy; but, when a more advanced stage has been reached, and a Native Bishop has held the office with success for a series of years, it is a retrograde step, and one calculated to alienate the affection of the Native Church, and wound the legitimate aspirations of the Pastorate, to declare, that no Native is fit to be a Bishop, and that a young Curate, who would probably die within two years unless he left his diocese for England, must be looked for by the Honorary

Secretary with a sufficiency of physical, intellectual, spiritual, and self-sacrificing gifts, very much as Diogenes looked for an honest man with a lantern in broad daylight.

Now what do the Annals of the historical Churches tell us? The fallen Churches in Asia, viz., the Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Assyrian, Travancór, and in Africa the Abyssinian, and Koptic, cannot boast of much spirituality, but somehow or other through the dull dreary centuries of Christian ignorance, and Mahometan oppression, unvisited by Prophet, or Apostle, or Evangelist, of the more fortunate Churches, they have kept their candlesticks lighted, and conserved copies of the Scriptures in their own particular Ecclesiastical form of speech: this is a great fact: to what feature of their internal organization under the Grace of God can this survival be traced, when all around them perished? to the fact of Episcopacy, and *indigenous* Episcopacy: it is so far true, that to this day the Abyssinian Church receives willingly, and by request, an Abúna from its Mother-Church, the Koptic, but the two Nations are closely allied in their level of culture, their Geographical neighbourhood, and their Religious tenets. Can it be said of the Native Churches of South India, and West Africa, that they in the least degree are akin to the Church of England, except in the fact, that they received from it the great truths of Christianity, contained in the Hebrew and Greek Texts of the Bible? The ancient civilization of the people of India is of a totally different type from that of the Anglo-Saxon: the barbarism of the African is of different type from the ancient barbarism of the European, for the African still bankers after Polygamy even in a Christian Church, a desire which never entered into the conception of the Greek and Latin Pagan Races, and those, who drew from them civilization during the last three thousand years.

If we are not careful, Churches composed of the so-called and so-treated inferior Races will discover, that Episcopalianism is a barrier against independence, that a Church, based upon Presbyterianism or Congregationalism, offers an easier channel for the just aspirations of the neo-Christian community to manage its own affairs, spiritual and secular. We cannot indeed control the future development of Native Churches, which by the Grace of God we have been permitted to call into existence, but we can at least so act, that they do not part from us in anger, with wounded self-respect, and bad passions, roused by undeserved and contemptuous ill-treatment. If we reflect on what was the object of the godly men, who at the commencement of this century, brought into existence the great agencies of the Church of England, for Evangelizing the non-Christian world, the like of which no other National Church can show, we cannot but believe, that this object was to found at as an early date as possible independent Churches, supporting their own Pastors, ruled by their own Native Bishops; and

this is precisely what is the desire of many among us. We are now at the close of the nineteenth century, which gave birth to the new Missionary Idea, and the taunt may be justified, that our enterprise has been a failure, if there are no Native Churches: in that period to many colonies, and subject, Kingdoms entire or partial independence in things secular have been conceded by the Imperial Parliament, which has outlived the Epoch of egotistic jealousy of their offspring: within a century after the preaching of Paul, there were independent Churches in existence under their own Bishops: had there been a Missionary Committee at Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, or Rome, of the same manner of thinking as those in London, the independence of these young Churches, and their energy, would have been crushed by Hebrew Chief Shepherds forced upon them, ignorant of their Languages, customs, and social life. At the end of the nineteenth century the Synod at Lambeth will not be honoured by the presence of a single coloured Bishop: the fact that one, whose loss we mourn, was for many years a Bishop, and that no successor in the next generation was selected out of several fit for the office, renders the position more deplorable. The Church of Rome openly denies the Episcopate to any member of an inferior Race: in some particulars the Church of Rome never grows wiser in consequence of failure; it was driven out of South America, West Africa, China, and Japan, because the Native Church of Priests and Bishops had never been built up of indigenous material, and yet it goes on in the same insensate way. The Church of Rome would rather see the Natives of a country heathen than run the risk of their being Christian out of obedience to Rome. Is the Church of England prepared to affirm, that the Episcopal is not an office adapted for any but members of a dominant Race? It is true that this is a new problem: the Work of the Church, for 300 years, lay amidst the Græco-Latin and Semitic Races, admittedly the Races foremost in the ranks of that Epoch; later on the Kelts, Teutons, and Slavs, supplied themselves with Bishops in Europe of their own Race, and in Asia the Armenians, Syrians, Assyrians, and Georgians; while in Africa the Hamitic Races were represented by the Koptic Bishops, and the Church in Travancór, South India, had its Dravidian Bishops. It is only in this nineteenth century that the world has been thrown open to the Gospel, and unfortunately the Anglo-Saxon Race has accustomed itself to lord it over other Races, to think contemptuously of them, and to refuse to trust them. I feel convinced, as the result of long reflection, that this distrust arises in the breasts of good men from the innate albocracy of the white man, and the contempt, which accompanies it, of men of colour, but it may be presumed with certainty, that our Lord himself was a man of colour: among the lower classes the prejudice against so-called "niggers" is excessive, but those, who have lived a quarter of a century in India in close

contact with the people, and who have studied the anthropology of the world in all its varieties, know that this sentiment is ridiculous. The periodicals and Reports of Missionary Societies have accentuated these prejudices, and in their pages we find to our surprise the great Empires of India and China described as the Kingdom of Satan, because the primeval culture of Caste prevails in the one, and the Poppy is cultivated there, and because the primeval practice of worshipping dead ancestors prevails in the other, and Opium is consumed to a disgusting excess. The writer of such periodicals forgets, or has not cared to learn, that Man is a Religious animal, and that the Human heart turns to God, as a sun-flower turns to the sun, and seeks for Him, if haply it can find Him, and rejoices when the Message comes; but by the dispensation of an all-wise Providence, no Prophet or Evangelist has ever come with the Message to these magnificent Races, compared to whom the petty Hebrew, and Greek, and Egyptian, Races are numerically but as a drop in the ocean: Races who have left behind them imperishable monuments of literature and Art, and yet they are weighed in the balance and found wanting by men springing from the manufactories of Lancashire, on the farms in Devonshire, or the tradesman's shop in Bristol, or the business-house in London, and it goes forth from India, and the echo is caught up in the Missionary Room in London, that no one is fit in the second or third generation of Christians to be a chief shepherd of the sheep of his own flock. Another excuse for this failure of duty is, that the Native Pastors are jealous of each other, and would not willingly accept the rule of a former colleague: we have not yet had an opportunity of testing this feeling in India, and it was not felt at all with regard to Bishop Crowther in Africa; but the existence of the feeling is not unknown in England. I have heard in England old clergymen speaking with a certain amount of disparagement of a younger new Bishop: this is one of the objections, which must be brushed aside.

The difficulty in its present form has only just appeared, but as years go on the phenomena will become more marked. In the case of Sierra Leone and Lagos, the Missionary Society withdrew from all control, leaving it to the Native African Pastorate under a territorial Bishop appointed by the Colonial Office. In the case of New Zealand, where the white population so far exceeded in numbers the native Maori, the Missionary Society handed over the work to the Episcopal Synod. Such, no doubt, will ultimately be the case with the Missions in the Dominion of Canada: the Canadian Church will take them over, when the time comes. In the West Indies the Missionary Societies have gradually withdrawn, leaving the local Church in possession. In Asia and Africa, where the natives so far exceed in numbers the European immigrants, and there are no settlers as in healthy climates, the problem is more

acute, and as each combination of circumstances presents itself, it will have to be considered. In two Regions, South India and West Africa, the matter is very pressing, as Sees once occupied are vacant, and it is not a question of creating, but filling a vacancy, that is before us.

Let us consider the circumstances of the Mission in South India, as collected from statements of a faithful, sympathetic, and experienced, ex-Missionary in 1890-91 :

- (1) Christianity in possession more than 50 years : 65 clergymen, some ordained 40 years : the Missions above 15.
- (2) Congregations, some of 60 years standing, most not less than 30.
- (3) Large sums spent by the Native Christians in law-suits and marriage of daughters.
- (4) Great improvement of the material circumstances of the people during the last quarter of a century.
- (5) Majority of the Native Pastors indifferent, feeding themselves rather than their flocks, unable to win the love or respect of their people.
- (6) English Missionaries to withdraw from Pastoral duties, but a certain amount of supervision to remain of Pastoral duties, and entire control of Evangelizing duties.
- (7) Ambition of the people to build brick or stone churches.
- (8) Voluntary contribution of the people far below the scale fairly to be expected of them considering their circumstances.
- (9) Want of spirituality, and of true piety, in the Pastors and other Native Agents.
- (10) Dissatisfaction of the people with their Pastors on the ground of partiality and neglect of duty, and *absolute confidence reposed by the people in the English Missionary* : this complacent opinion is recorded by an Englishman, who confessedly could not speak the Language of the people, and only formed it through an interpreter.

Thus there is no suggestion to grant self-government or independence, in favour of a Church, which has existed for two generations of men ; and this is an understatement, as some Christians of this Church are in the third and fourth generation : it does not seem to pass through the minds of those connected with this Mission, that the English Government may be compelled to withdraw in a few years from South India, that the country may be too disturbed for the residence of an English Missionary, and that the Native Church must be left to itself. Would it not be wiser, and more in consonance with the practice of the early centuries of Christianity, to give this promising Church of 46,000 souls a constitution, and let it run alone? is there

not a want of spirituality on the part of the Home-Committee in London in concluding, that the existence and well-being of such a community depends upon their feeble advice, protection, and assistance, and not on the presence of the Holy Spirit promised to, and manifestly granted to, this association of neo-Christians, who have come out of Brahmanism, and Animism, into Christianity?

Hear what the Bishop of Calcutta said lately :

“ That he loved the Native as he had loved the European ; and the keynote of his work had been to insist that Natives, Eurasians, and Europeans must all be absolutely on the same level, according to their qualifications and characters. From the commencement he said, that he could have no share in any work, that did not acknowledge this ; and he trusted that in Northern India, at all events, that question had been settled for ever. The Bishop expressed the belief, that the day would come when the Church in India would be entirely served by Native clergy and ruled by Native Bishops. He would rejoice if he might live to see the day ; but there again a thousand years in God’s sight were but as a day. The day might be long distant ; but it seemed to him that the lines, on which they must work, were unmistakable.”

The problem in South India is still further complicated by the existence of another body of neo-Christians within the same Region, equally belonging to the same Church of England, equally mourning the loss of its father in God, and spiritual Pastor. The members of this flock are in precisely the same stratum of social culture, speak the same Language, follow the same ancestral customs, are liable to the same natural weaknesses, and heirs of the same ancient civilization, and yet up to this time they have been under different Bishops, because, it is really difficult to say why : a deadly injury is being done to the Church of South India by the stereotyping of differences, which ought never to have existed in the Church at home.

Did I hear some one doubting the capacity of the people of India to supply individuals fit to be a Bishop ? While the Anglo-Saxon Race was still savage, the Hindu Nation was great in Arms, Art, and Science, and has left a literature unrivalled in the world. In the present generation the highest offices of State are filled by Natives of India, and filled well : if some posts are reserved to Englishmen, it is from political reasons, and the fact, that India is a subject country always liable to a mutiny, or a rebellion. There is no post, to which they are not equal, in their own country. How does the Christian Church of Travancór supply itself with Bishops ? As the Church-members, so are the Church-officers and the Bishop : I have no doubt, that the Bishops of the renowned Celtic Church of Ireland, Scotland, and Northumbria, were not such, as would have satisfied the requirements of a Missionary Committee in London of the nineteenth century, but none the less they kept their candlestick lighted, and handed down something worth

inheriting to future generations. Are we doing our duty to the Church of South India in thus for the sake of an imaginary perfection, which will never be attained, restraining the natural development of a young Church? The Tinnevely Church is a sickly plant now, because it has not been allowed to grow spontaneously to its proper stature of indigenous development: it may be, that, while Committees at home are practising the art of doing nothing, and putting off the manifest discharge of their duty to the next generation, these Churches may secede, like the Pastorates on the Niger, and pass into Congregationalism, or Presbyterianism: if we only keep to Scripture-precedents, the Lord will provide a Timothy, a Titus, or a Clement. The people of South India are infinitely superior to the Cretans at the time of Paul.

We are standing in Asia on the edge of a precipice: the old order of things is dissolving very much as happened in the time of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius in the Roman world. The Secretaries of Missionary Societies, and the Missionary himself, are necessarily narrow in their views: the subject must be looked at with the eye of a Christian Statesman, not the less a faithful Christian, because he looks back for guidance to the lesson taught by History, and forward to the slowly unfolding picture of Christ's Universal Church, where there will be Unity, but not Uniformity, and it will not be pretended, that the white man is of necessity, per se, more spiritual, more capable of managing his own affairs, and more Christ-like than the man of colour. We should be ready for Divine Possibilities, and hang upon Divine Promises: the same Grace, and Strength, and Wisdom, which accompanied the spread of the Gospel in the comparatively insignificant Roman Empire, and spread round the tiny Mediterranean Sea, will accompany it, now that the whole world is thrown open, and the sound has actually gone out to the ends of the Earth beyond the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans.

The position of affairs in West Africa is still more critical. The African Race is not likely to be stamped out, like the poor weak Races of North America, or the South Sea Islands. Centuries of oppression have failed to make any impression on the African: transported across the Atlantic to another Continent they have achieved freedom, acquired culture, and cannot be denied citizenship: the African takes the varnish of European culture much more readily than the Native of British India: I know them both. If I found myself in the company of some of the Pastors of West Africa in the dark, I should not be aware, that I was not conversing with a well-instructed English Clergyman; if I laid their letters on the table side by side of those of an English correspondent, no one could suppose, that between the writers of the two there was a vast abyss of Race, colour, and even physical structure.

The Africans of the West coast, from contact with their countrymen from North America, and Liberia, have acquired Ideas of independence, and personal dignity, and do not love the white man.

Thirty years ago the experiment was made of an African Bishop on the Niger, and it has not proved a failure. Many lost an honoured friend, when Dr. Samuel Crowther died on the last day of 1891. The American Episcopal Church is represented by a most worthy African Bishop, Dr. Fergusson, at Cape Palmas; in the West Indies there is an African Bishop, Dr. Holly, at Haiti; and yet a Missionary Committee decided, that there was no African fit to be a Bishop, that there might possibly be an assistant-Bishop, and expressed "a desire, that any African Bishop or Bishops, whether assistant or independent, should be appointed in West Africa, as soon as in the interests of the Church there such appointment seems desirable." As if to give point to this decision a letter was published in the periodical of the same Missionary Society, which announced this decision, that the Native Churches must wait as long for a Native Bishop as the Israelites waited for Christ, and that the English Bishop was the pedagogue to bring the African to Christ. It would appear, therefore, that as far as the Committee is concerned, the recommendation of a coloured Bishop is deferred to the next generation. Now this is not a matter affecting Africa only, or one particular Missionary Society only, but it affects the Church of England in its entirety, and the Church of Christ all over the world. Moreover, it is a message of War to the Church in West Africa.

In consequence of the injudicious and unsympathetic conduct of two young English agents on the Niger (both of whom are dead, and therefore the less said about them the better), certain Pastorates of the Niger have under their Archdeacon seceded from the protection of the Missionary Society, to whom they are indebted for their knowledge of Christ, and thrown themselves upon their own resources, and the alms of the African Churches of Sierra Leone and Lagos. This measure was announced before the aged Bishop died, and actually took place on April 29 of 1892, and it was known, that it would take place before the Committee of the Missionary Society determined to replace the African with an English Bishop: there was no attempt to give time to the seceding Pastorates for reflection by delay; in a few months they might have returned to their allegiance, and under an African Bishop they may do so still: it is devoutly to be hoped, that they will make no approaches for union to the Nonconformist English Churches, or the American non-Episcopal Churches, represented on that coast, or to the Church of Rome: these are all contingencies, which have to be reckoned upon: at any rate, the appointment of a white Bishop, as proposed by the Committee, at this juncture would be fatal to all possibility of compromise.

It goes without saying, that if a Native Church, whether in Asia or Africa, determined to have a Native Bishop contrary to the express wishes of the Parent Society, they must cease to look for financial assistance from that Society, and must be independent all round, and provide the stipend of their Bishop and Pastors, which need not exceed £200 per annum, but this is no more than is done by all Christian Churches, and more than that, all non-Christian tribes and Nations do so also: they, that minister to the Altar, must live by the Altar: this is the avowed ultimate object of all Missionary Societies, but they hesitate as to the time and mode of attaining it. Of course a Missionary Bishop, the leader of an Evangelizing enterprise, is totally distinct from the Bishop of an organized Native Church, and must be a white man, and a Native Church, when fully organized, must not forget its Missionary duties to Regions Beyond. Some cases may occur, where there are Church of England European settlers intermixed with the Asiatic and African, but as regards the Dioceses of South India and of the Niger-Delta there are absolutely none: it is a purely Native Church, the requirements of which have to be considered.

It would be amusing, were the matter not so awfully serious, to read the remarks of a young Missionary on the utter baseness, immorality, dishonesty, of the Mahometan, Hindu, Buddhist, and Pagan, and the complacent way, in which Christians as a general term are described: the writer treats both sides in the abstract: I have lived twenty-five years, many years quite alone, among Hindu and Mahometan, and not found them morally and socially so very bad: I have lived many more years amidst Christians, especially in London, and found them not of the highest type of morality. This same feeling influences Missionary Committees: the Anglo-Indian Members of such Committees try to interfere in favour of the poor Indian or African, but the majority of Clergy on the Committees has no mercy on the nascent Christianity in the midst of heathens, and yet it is presumed, that they have read Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. And it is the more unjustifiable since English Missionary agents, ordained and lay, have been disconnected for gross immorality in Africa during late years. The moral lapses of the English Missionary, brought up in Christian environment, are hushed up, and the unhappy offender is most properly provided for in America or elsewhere in secular employment: the scandal to the Mission, and the Cause, is not forgotten in the Mission-field. The least lapse, however, of an African, whose early years were spent amidst the worst forms of Heathendom, but who has by God's marvellous Grace emerged from the slough entirely, like good Bishop Crowther, or partially in other cases, according to the measure of the Grace and the Temptation, are magnified, and without evidence pass into a Proverb, accepted as a Verity, and alluded to in speech and writing by good men,

who would resent as a personal offence a similar insinuation against an English Clergyman; and on such grounds the whole Race is condemned. The Mahometan gentry were informed through the public crier, by the newly arrived young white Missionary, that since his arrival, and the departure of the African Archdeacon, they need not fear for the virtue of their households. Is not this a libel by inuendo? If the superseded Church dignitary were a white man, he would fill the religious journals with his indignant outcry: he is a black man, and he must submit: he is not supplied with a copy of the charges, though they are the subject of notoriety on the Niger. To a lover of fair play such incidents seem lamentable, and supply another reason for the independence of a Native Church under its own Bishop.

Sometimes we read extravagant praises of the piety of a Native congregation, and the proportion of communicants to the congregation is held up as an example to the home Church: we read of daily family-prayer in humble huts, and reading of the Scriptures: in the early stage of the Missions the converts were adults, and conversions were real, and there was a new creature: to these succeeded a generation of Natives born as Christians, and, as time went on, some fell away from the high standard, and lived immoral lives, and then the depreciation becomes extravagant and unjust. A young Missionary goes out to the field, wound up to the highest pitch by Keswick, or Mildmay, or a Holiness-Retreat, and to him the state of the poor neo-Christians seems abominable, and sweeping censure, and clean sweeps of agents, take place; in this way the opinion of the home-staying Committee as to the character of a people is formed. Some experienced Missionaries in Africa write more cautiously, mercifully, and in a higher Christian spirit: here is one:

“The arrangement made, when the Bishop was here, which brought me into a closer connection with the congregation, has made me much more alive to the weaknesses and failings of our people than I was previously. There are some humble, earnest souls in that congregation such as would give strength to, and illustrate, true Christian life in any congregation, in this country or elsewhere. But there is much worldliness and indifference to spiritual Religion: there is a good deal of weakness, which comes from half-heartedness, and from adherence to some superstitious Ideas; and there is a good deal, that would not accord with social and moral laws. Christianity has yet a great work to do in the congregation before it can be regarded as a people given wholly to God’s service, and as enjoying the blessings of those, who conform to Divine laws. There is less to encourage than I thought there was before my relation to this congregation was as close as it has been for the greater part of the past year. It seems to me, that for years past there has been a considerable leakage from the congregation. In the minds of many, Religion has had but a decreasing power; many have drifted away from the Church, and in not a few instances have been lost sight of.

“One cannot feel satisfied with things as they are. One experiences a longing, that all our people should be more truly and decidedly on the Lord’s side, that they should be the Master’s epistles, known and read by those around them,

“ and be more evidently pressing forward towards those things which are before them. I have sometimes dwelt fondly on the different state of things, which existed here in the early days of the Mission, when the progress of the Gospel roused its opponents to active and bitter persecution of its adherents. But there comes in the thought, that it would have been well for the reputations of some of those, who were persecuted, and bore the ideal with Christian patience and fortitude, if they had been taken away earlier. They had the martyr spirit, apparently, but some of them failed sadly in Christian living. It is in this respect that our people fail now. Here temptations are many and strong. They are ever present. There is so much that a professing Christian can do that is inconsistent with the principles of his holy Religion, without being lowered in public esteem, that the temptation is hardly realized as such. There are those who have committed the keeping of their souls to the Master, and their lives show that He is able to keep them. May God greatly multiply the number of such ! ”

I extract some few lines from the sober and thoughtful Report of the S.P.G. for this year, where no Sensationalism finds a place, and the error, if any, is on the side of coldness :

“ The old Missions in the neighbourhood of Calcutta, for which the Society has cared since 1829, have long been the subject of anxiety and disappointment. The number of adherents is still believed to be about 3,000, but there has been too much reason to fear that of many the Christianity has been little more than a nominal profession, *and of high spiritual life there have been few signs*. No doubt there have been many mistakes in the past, on the part of some Missionaries, who have laboured with all fidelity. There has been too eager a desire to swell the number of converts. It was discovered many years ago, that the teachers were selected rather for their social influence among their fellows than for intellectual or spiritual qualities.”

While preparing this paper I received a letter from one of my old assistants in India in 1858, who has since risen to be a Governor successively of two vast Provinces with a population of Millions of Hindus, Mahometans, and Búddhists, himself a pious man, and a Vice-President of a Missionary Society, from which I quote the following as bearing on the adherence of a Native Church :

“ I hope, that you will succeed in convincing those, who guide our Missions, of the necessity of allowing the Native Church more freedom of self-development. By refusing it we greatly hamper the spread of Christian Truth in India. Why should Missionary Societies impose on Native Churches conditions, which are no essential part of the New Testament system, but the outcome of a political life in past centuries in Europe, which the people of India never have lived, never can live, and of which they cannot understand the purport ? ”

There is much obvious truth in this, and one of the sad experiences of Home-Churches and Home-Committees, will be in the middle of the next century to witness their babes in Christ, after arriving at maturity, shaking themselves free from European mediæval fetters, and possibly re-minting the Divine ore of Christ's Truth, mixed up with the alloy of their ancient Faith,

just as the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries acted as regards neo-Platonism and the old Roman Theogony.

An old Missionary of thirty-five years in India, and known to me all that time, called on me this afternoon, and I discussed the subject: the anxiety, which he felt, was different from mine: his desire was to prolong the control of the Missionary Society, which belonged to one shade of thought of the National Church of England, so as to prevent the territorial Bishop, who belonged to another shade of thought, introducing into the nascent Christianity ritualistic practices, which, though tolerated by the Church, were abominable in the eyes of the Missionary Society, and of the Agents, which they send out. This no doubt is a real difficulty, and a deplorable one, but it has had to be faced in the Colonial Churches, and is one of the results of the unhappy divisions of the Church of England. I have already alluded to the possibility of a young Native Church created by the Church of England passing into Nonconformity, or the Church of Rome: it is impossible to control the future: the real policy is to prepare the Native Church for self-support, self-respect, self-sacrifice, and independence, and then leave the issue to God.

Those, who are hard upon the poor Negro of the Niger, and the neo-Christians of South India, conveniently forget all about the moral character of the City of London, and its streets reeking with drunkenness, and sexual profligacy. After a life of more than one thousand years it is only this year, that the English Church has passed a Canon to get free from the stain of profligate Clergy. And all this in spite of the long discipline of centuries, Pulpits and Sermons, Sorrow following Sin, Bibles laid open, consciences roused by public denunciations and private advice: and yet it is expected by the narrow vision of a Missionary Committee, that the poor Negro, still suffering from the consequences of Christian Sin during the last century, should rise per saltum into the glorious light of Christian Morality. Still, God has not left himself without a witness in this generation, and even the most bitter hater, and most contemptuous despiser, of the African can point to no blemish in the moral life of good Samuel Crowther, which lies like an open book before us, from the age of 14 to 84.

The following suggestion, made by the Rev. J. Barton, is one deserving of all consideration, as coming from one, who has great practical knowledge of the subject, and is kindly disposed to the Natives: let the dioceses be small, and several Native Bishops be appointed to them, on most moderate stipends, without any pretence of secular title or dignity, or undue elevation above the Pastors beyond what is required for the maintenance of the authority of the office. So far I am with him, but to place these Bishops under the titles of Assistant or Suffragan, men

advanced in life, with personal and local experience, under the control of a young, perfectly uninformed, Bishop from England, would produce the very evils, which it is the object of this paper to avoid: it is mere racial pride, that suggests this: if the African had his way, he would exclude every white man from the country: it is very much the same in every country: it is a low form of Chauvinism, and not fit to be entertained in the building up of a Christian Church. Somehow or other that Church has been built up among many Races of what appeared very inferior material, but it has proved sufficient to carry on the Gospel from generation to generation: we have the example on one side of the uprooted Roman Catholic Churches, when political troubles in Europe stopped the supply of European Priests to Africa, and South America: we have the example of the Oriental Churches in West Asia, and North Africa, which have managed by a continuous supply of indigenous Priests and Bishops, though cut off from fellowship with any other Christian Church, and cruelly oppressed by the Mahometan, to maintain their vitality: I assert, that the maintenance of vitality in a Church is one of the chief objects of Missions.

It may be argued, that the appointment of a Native Bishop will prove a failure, and that a failure is a stumbling-block in the way of further advance. Have no white Bishops ever proved a failure? Do we not see in our midst Episcopal personages, who have turned their backs on the plough, and forgotten their high duty, to which they were consecrated, merely for private or domestic convenience? they have not been willing, like Bishops Caldwell and Sargent, to die amidst their flock. Are not some Bishops a veritable impediment to Missionary-work, the vacating of whose offices would be a blessing to Evangelization? The longer that the Missionary Society goes on playing with this subject, as a cat plays with a mouse, the less it will like it. There comes up a murmur from every part of the Mission-field against the over-centralization in the Committee-Room of the many-sided work of the Mission: poor weak Human Nature thus shows itself. The busybodies on the Committee, and the self-satisfied Secretary, are little men, who love power, and flatter themselves, that they know better than the man on the spot. The Missionary Committee is an admirable machine for getting in funds; a fairly good machine for training Missionaries, fitting them out, giving them leave to marry, providing for Missionary children, and for devising new fields for Missionary-enterprise. But it is a totally inadequate machine for controlling, or rather guiding, the wonderful spontaneous growth of young Native Churches, which present totally different phenomena, and idiosyncrasies, in different parts of the world.

The Missionary Committee in order to get in the funds is compelled to pander to the weakest side of its fanciful, and sensational

supporters, by the breath of whose favour it exists from year to year. In an Evangelical Society the Opium-Trade, caste, Ritualism, and Roman Catholicism, must be annually abused: a particular kind of vague transcendental phraseology, with the use of the Divine name repeated in nearly every page, must be had recourse to. The imagination and fond dreams of the least capable of its many thousand supporters must be consulted. Only this year the Secretary informed the Committee, that the omission of the annual meaningless formal curse uttered against the Opium-Trade from the Annual Report in Exeter Hall, would give pain to worthy souls, who require this kind of pabulum to the Missionary palates: however, wiser counsels prevailed, and it was omitted.

Some kind of Statesmanlike view must be taken of the situation. We are creating a great Spiritual Power, which will outlive the English Nation, and its Political Domination. Some sense of historic continuity in the great story of the Life, the never-ending Life, of Christ's Church must be felt. *No Christian Church can last without independence.* A great Church, like that of the Church of England, in the hour of its greatness, and the noon-time of its glorious work of world-wide Evangelization, should evince some sympathy with the just aspirations of younger, weaker, and less fortunate, Churches. Let us not forget the sad lesson taught by the eighteenth century: a little more sympathy with Wesley might have prevented a lamentable secession: let us take heed, lest by want of sympathy with the nascent Christianities all over the world, we drive them out of the pale of the Episcopal Church.

I have done what seemed a duty in making this protest. I learnt my first Missionary lesson in India fifty years ago from the lips of Bishop Daniel Wilson, of Calcutta, and it has been the joy of my life. I learnt how to treat subject, and so-called inferior, Races with sympathy from my friends and Masters in the art of Rule, John, Lord Lawrence, and Sir Bartle Frere. We may not find, that every Native Pastor develops into the proportions of Bishops Caldwell, or Sargent, or Samuel Crowther, still less shall we find the chance Curate, upon whom the eyes of the Honorary Secretary falls, evince the like capacity. Such men may be fit to be Missionary Bishops, to lead the forlorn hope, to suffer hardship and be strong, like a modern St. Paul. Self-sacrifice of this kind will always be wanted. But for the peaceful, unsensational, duties of the overseer, *ἐπίσκοπος*, of a young Native Church, a man like unto themselves is required, a coloured chief-Pastor among coloured Pastors, and a dusky father of dusky-spiritual children.

June 18th, 1892.

Ἐπ' ἀληθείας καταλαμβάνομαι, ὅτι
οὐκ ἔστι προσωπολήπτης ὁ θεός

Acts x. 34.

(B) LETTER TO "THE TIMES," 1893.

Sir, Without in the least reflecting on the wisdom of the Archbishop of Canterbury, and on the merits of the lamented Bishop Hill, whose death you recorded in your issue of yesterday, I beg, as a sincere friend of Africa and the Africans for many years, to ask you to place before your readers the real question now at issue not only in Africa but in India.

Are the natives of those great countries to be kept for ever in spiritual subordination to committees of pious people in London? The Churches of Africa and India are already in the fourth generation of Christians: self-supporting Churches, with their own Church organization, under native Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. In the early ages of Christianity and in this country of England such was the practice. After conversion the natives of each country desired, and were permitted, to manage their own affairs. Rome tried to rule Europe and failed. Why should Canterbury try to rule Africa and India, and the rest of the world, where Englishmen have happened to attain material power?

If the new Churches are worthy of existence, they are able to manage their own affairs. In India, natives are found to be worthy of the highest offices of the State, members of the great councils, judges of the High Court, administrators of great Provinces, but not one is found to be fit for the office of Bishop among his own native Pastors, and over the Churches of his own countrymen. In West Africa, to which Dr. Hill was proceeding, the Negro Pastorates have been for many years presided over, till his death, by a Negro Bishop, who knew the Languages and customs of the people, and loved and was well-beloved by them. There are several Negro Pastors suited to occupy his post, but it does not quite suit the prejudices of a committee sitting in Salisbury-square, to give the much-desired independence. The Niger Pastorates are on the brink of rebellion, and the fear is that they may join Nonconformist congregations. As long as Dr. Hill lived I was silent. God's hand has intervened. Let us be wise in time.

(C) NATIVE CHURCHES IN ASIA AND AFRICA.

(By an Observer.)

In British India, the highest posts under the Government are occupied, and well occupied, by educated and accomplished members of the great Indian Nation, which was civilized at a period, when the ancestors of the Anglo-Saxons were still savages dressed in skins. In the United States of North America there are nine Millions of Negro freedmen, enjoying the full liberty of citizens of

the great Republic, distinguished for their ability, eloquence, and self-reliance. On the West coast of Africa North of the Equator are colonies of Europeanized Africans, speaking English, dressing as English, intelligent, honourable merchants, editors of local papers, Authors, quite equal to the average Englishmen of their own sphere of life: conversing with them in the dark you would mistake them, by their accent and the character of their conversation, for Englishmen.

These men, both in India and in West Africa, have the inestimable advantage of constitutions suited to their respective climates. Some of them, indeed, on a visit to England have succumbed to the, to them, deadly climate of these Islands. Both in India and West Africa these men are acquainted with the Languages of the tribes, among whom they dwell, and are in sympathy with their lawful ancestral customs: it is unnecessary to say that, all being educated, and some being Christians of three or four generations, they have no sympathy with the hideous practices of their fellow-countrymen in their state of barbarism. They are the advance-guard of that native Indian and African civilization, which it has been the happy fortune of Great Britain to bestow upon subject Races. The people of India have preserved their old dress because, being heirs of an ancient civilization, they had one more suitable to the climate. The people of Africa have adopted the European dress because, being previously totally uncivilized, they had no dress at all.

The object of the good people in Great Britain, who take an interest in Christian Missions, is to convert these Indians and Africans to Christianity. They are no doubt right, but this is not the place for such discussion. There is a material side to Christian Missions, and it is this: Whatever Great Britain does for inferior Races (inferior by courtesy), the great object must be to make their work lasting, and such as will survive the disappearance of the British power, "which may any day fade like the Tyrian purple, or moulder like the Venetian palaces," to quote the happy expression of Lord Beaconsfield. Independence, and self-Government, are of the essence of a lasting civilization; for this purpose the Government of India has laid the foundation of Municipal and Provincial Government, and placed men of the country in places of power and influence.

It is scarcely credible, that after one century of Missions the good people of Missionary committees have not laid the foundation of a single native independent Church in India or Africa. The busy-bodies of the committee, who would resent intrusion of alien authority in their own concerns, cannot keep their hands off the affairs of the distant Churches. Not one single native Bishop can be pointed out in an English Episcopal Church; not one single independent Church organization in English Nonconformist

Churches: there must be young Britons, who fall sick and die periodically, only partially, if at all, acquainted with the Languages, entirely careless of the customs and sympathies of the congregation, to rule over old, white-bearded Pastors old enough to be their fathers. By a lucky chance a native Bishop was appointed to the Niger Basin thirty years ago, a man of blameless character, and quite fit to be a Bishop among his Negro Pastorates; he died full of years and honour three years ago. The anti-Negro feeling triumphed in the committee, and the late Dr. Hill, who knew nothing of the Language, was sent out. His death was reported this month, within a few days of his landing in his Diocese. Immediately another white Bishop is nominated, in his case a man of experience and knowledge of the Language; he may last two years, and then search will be made for another curate ready to start on a venture, aut episcopus, aut mortuus.

It need scarcely be said, that deep dissatisfaction is felt by the native English-speaking Negroes, lay and ordained; the Negro Pastorates of the Niger are on the brink of secession. It will be the same in Southern India.

I quote from a volume written by me as far back as 1855, which has a bearing upon this question:

“Alexander the Great’s Kingdom was divided, and law was given to all in Greek. We find from contemporary writers, that the same albocracy, so striking in British India, flourished famously under the Ptolemies, the Antiochi, and the Seleucidæ. Place and power were given to the white-faced, and the dusky native had to bow. It might be a heavy Bæotian, a mercurial Athenian, a saddle-maker from Macedon, or a fisherman from an Ionian island; but he was a Greek, and, of course, a ruler of men, only to be approached as a superior.”

Pall Mall Gazette, 1894.

(D) SPEECH OF MR. ROBERT NEEDHAM CUST, LL.D.

(*Diocesan Reader, London, and Hon. Sec. Royal Asiatic Society.*)

It seems presumptuous in me, as a layman, to follow so many of my right reverend fathers and reverend brothers, who have delivered their opinions before me, but this is one of the most important questions of the Church, looking into the future. My remarks are confined to Native Indian and African Self-supporting Churches, and to Native Bishops. One hundred years have elapsed since the Church of England commenced Mission-work in earnest, for it began at the close of the last century, and during half that period I have

had the privilege and honour of watching the moves on the Missionary chessboard, not only in India and Africa, but in every part of the globe, and sometimes those, who watch the game, see more than the players. It seems to me that, if we allow the present policy to continue in force, there is extreme danger, that at the end of the nineteenth century there will not be one single independent, self-supporting Native Church, governed by its own Native Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. Let us look back to History, and mark the warnings which it gives us. We are blindly following in the steps of the Church of Rome. In South America and West Africa it had Missions remarkable for power and greatness. But that Church never allowed anything to be done without the agency of Europeans, and so, when political troubles arose, there was no innate power in the Native Church to continue its existence by ordaining Native Priests, and consecrating Native Bishops, as occasion arose after the withdrawal of the Europeans. Consequently the Churches were swept away. The contrary example is exhibited by the Syrian, Nestorian, Assyrian, Armenian, and Georgian Churches in Asia, and the Koptic and Ethiopian in Africa. They were not very spiritual, not very great, not very strong; yet from the time of the Great Councils they have kept their candlestick lighted, have an uninterrupted succession of Bishops and Priests and Deacons, and we are doing our best to help them to continue their existence, and to educate them. During the whole period of Mahometan rule they have never been destroyed. An independent, self-supporting Church is the desired object, the reward, and should be the result, of our labours. Some years ago an African Christian of independent position called on the late Mr. Venn, Secretary of the C.M.S., and remarked how much money he was spending on secular objects, good objects, to improve his country. Mr. Venn asked him why he did not spend some of his superfluous money in Missionary-work. His reply was, "Trust us; give us an independent Church, and we will try to be worthy of it." This remark touched Mr. Venn closely, and led to the partial independence of the Sierra Leone Church: the Pastorates are independent, but the Bishop is salaried and appointed by the British Colonial Office. It led also to the appointment of a Negro Bishop in the Niger Diocese; and with reference to the remarks of the Bishop of Bloemfontein, I am glad to say, that there never was the least doubt as to the purity, morality, and goodness, of the late Bishop Crowther. If nothing more had been done by Missionaries in Africa, we should still have had cause to rejoice, that they had taught a freed Slave to live a stainless life of sixty years in the midst of his countrymen; and, when the old Negro Bishop died at the age of eighty years, he was deeply lamented.

Well, there was the Hon. and Rev. James Johnson, Native Pastor of the Bread Fruit Church in Lagos, and member of the

Council of the British Governor of Lagos; there was Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther of the Niger Delta, son of the Bishop. If an Englishman happened to converse with these Native clergymen in the dark, or read their letters, he would suppose, that they were English clergymen, so much had they assimilated the best features of the English character; yet to fill the vacant Bishopric some clergyman from an English parish must be looked for, not knowing a word of the Language of the people. I took the liberty of remonstrating with his Grace the Archbishop, who condescendingly allowed me to correspond with him on this subject, and I was bold enough to write: "Do not allow Canterbury to follow the example of Rome, and crush the independence of the Native African Church." His Grace deemed it right to appoint an otherwise excellent man, Dr. Hill, who died on landing at Lagos: the climate is deadly to a white man: sooner or later they all die. One point was gained; that two excellent young Negroes were appointed Assistant Bishops; but if the circumstances had been reversed, would any English clergyman have liked to have been offered to be an Assistant Bishop? Why treat the Negro in his own country as an inferior person in Christ's Church to a white man? A remark fell from a previous speaker, the son of my honoured friend the Bishop of Durham. He seemed to say (as I understood him), that the people of India could not produce men fit for Bishops. I have spent twenty-five years in that country, and in every branch of the service of the State there are judges, administrators, councillors, and military commanders: the people of India are quite fit for the highest secular office: is it possible that there is not a man fit to be a Bishop in the fifth generation of Native Christians? This does seem an anomaly, for in England the same families and classes of society, that produce Statesmen and soldiers, also produce Bishops. I maintain, that the people of India can produce Bishops, if we have the grace to look in the right way for them.

Albocracy, or the "white-man prejudice against the coloured Race," must be got over. It has been the bane of the Church, where it has prevailed. Not a penny should go from the Missionary Associations or Churches in England to support the Pastors and chief Pastor of settled Christian congregations. Set the Church free, and tell them, "Now you are independent; support yourselves, and the European Pioneer Mission will pass on to Regions beyond." Here at the end of the nineteenth century all the Native Churches are still in bondage, and we may go into the twentieth century in the same way, for the difficulties will increase so long as Native Churches remain strangers to intellectual and spiritual independence. I sit down enforcing my opinion in favour of Native independent self-supporting Churches and a Native Episcopate. The material

power of Great Britain may disappear like the power of Rome and Spain, but the same Holy Spirit, which supported the infant Churches in Asia, Africa, and Europe, in the first centuries after Christ, will not be wanting to sustain and guide the spirituality and orthodoxy of Native Churches planted by Europeans, and no longer crushed and insulted by an alien stepmother after they had attained to their adolescence.

Missionary Conference of Church of England, June 2nd, 1892.

VIII.

WARNING FOR THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

No. 2.

THE CIVIL DISABILITIES OF CHRISTIAN CONVERTS IN BRITISH INDIA.

THERE is no doubt, that, as long as the world lasts, a change made in the ancestral Religion will be prejudicial to the social status, the means of livelihood, and the domestic relations, of the person, whom his new friends hail, as a convert, and his old associates curse, and excommunicate, as a pervert. An American Bishop told us in one of the Sectional Meetings of the Missionary Conference, that the Mormonite Polygamists of Utah get their extra wives in great number from Christian England, and Wales. No doubt the daughter of an English Clergyman, or a pious Layman, who was talked over to join the Mormonite Sect, would leave her home, and neighbourhood, as an object of scorn, hate, and deprivation of her share of the parental inheritance. The same would be the fate of an English youth, who became a Mahometan. We can only realise the exact merits of a case by bringing home analogous circumstances to our mind. The Christian Religion in England is comparatively modern, compared with the antiquity of the Zoroastrian, Brahmanical, Búddhist, and Confucianist, Religious beliefs in different parts of Asia.

Let us enquire what the Master says :

"In the world ye shall have tribulation," etc.—John xvi. 33.

"He that loveth father and mother more than me," etc.—Matthew x. 37.

"Everyone that has forsaken houses, or brethren, or children, or lands, for My Name's sake, shall receive an hundredfold, and inherit everlasting life."—Matthew xix. 29.

The same sentiment appears throughout the Gospels, and the Epistles.

The Professors of the Ancient National quietist Religions, and also the great world-wide Propagandist Doctrine of Búddha, were ever tolerant: if left alone, they would leave others alone. A renegade Jew would have received no quarter, no pity, no inheritance, from his own relations and countrymen: the stoning of Stephen in the Christian era evidences this. The Greek, and Roman, were ever tolerant. Christianity began the practice in Europe of Intolerance, Confiscation, and Disabilities. Islam followed her example in Asia and Africa. Our position is singular in claiming for converts to our own Religion immunities, which until a very late period the Church of England never allowed to the Jew, the Nonconformist, the Romanist, or the convert from Christianity to Mahometanism.

In Turkey, or Persia, or any independent Mahometan country, Death, and Confiscation of goods, have always been the recognised consequence of change of Faith. This severity is gradually passing away, as far as the Executive Government, and the Courts of law, are concerned, but, as outbreaks of popular fury and an enraged Priesthood have to be reckoned with, successors of Stephen are still stoned, and successors of James are still killed by the sword.

In British India, on the occupation of the different Provinces, not only absolute toleration of all forms of Religious conceptions was guaranteed, but the Hindu and Mahometan law, and customs having the force of law, as regards Matrimony, and Inheritance, were declared to be the personal law of every inhabitant of the country, so long as the paramount laws of the Human Race were not violated; that is to say, the burning of widows, and slaying of daughters, both of which customs were part of the law relating to Matrimony, were forbidden, as being murder. It has taken half-a-century to tread down these customs.

Just before the Mutinies of 1857 a law was passed, declaring, that the succession to ancestral property was not forfeited by change of Religion: this was a very strong departure from the original guarantees: it is notorious, that in past centuries the Hindu, who became a Mahometan, did not forfeit his estate: it so happens, that Christian converts generally belong to the poorest classes, and claims to landed property, or valuable chattels, are rare.

About the same time a law was passed, declaring the issue of a Hindu widow, who remarried, to be legitimate: this law has been practically inoperative: I never heard of a case arising out of it.

These laws affected property and status, but the real trouble of a convert in the nineteenth century, is to retain possession of his wife and children, and this trouble existed in the time of our Lord, as evidenced by His Words quoted above. Can modern Christian Legislation remove the difficulty? Is it wise to do so? Will *true* Christianity gain by it?

The state of British India is at the present moment not satisfactory. The air is full of rumours: a period of unrest, if not of open disturbance, seems to be near at hand. The population of the country during the half-century of *Pax Britannica*, has increased at the rate of three Millions annually, and the general poverty has increased also: war has ceased; pestilence and famine are kept under control. Twenty-two Millions of widows are the result of the law abolishing widow-burning: a large number of unmarried females is the result of forbidding the practice of killing daughters in high-caste families: the land is overrun with lepers, as the result of forbidding the burying-alive of lepers; and lepers have families of young children: there can be no doubt, that we were right in doing what we did, but we have to cope with the consequences. Well-intentioned, benevolent, people in England have commenced a system of worrying the people of India about their Marriage-customs, their use of stimulants, and sedatives, and now a palpable injustice has been inflicted on a great country with a population of 287 Millions for the benefit of the manufacturing interests of the small population of England, by forbidding British India to tax imports from Lancashire. The Native Press is active, unbridled, and outspoken. Up to this time there has been no breach of the absolute enforcement of Religious toleration, and of the respect to the customs having the force of law.

Now it is clear, that nothing but Legislation can remove the disabilities, or such portion of them, as come within the scope of Legislation. This implies, that a pressure is desired to be brought upon the India Office, and the Viceroy, to move them to "do something": what? To get up an association, analogous to the Anti-Opium-Society, would be the worst possible policy: it would exasperate both the Government, and the people governed: who should bring the pressure to bear? The Missionaries of the Church of England are inconsiderable, when brought into comparison with those of the Church of Rome, the Nonconformist Churches of India, the Churches of Continental Europe, Scotland, and America; and it would be impossible to act in concert with the Church of Rome, and very difficult to act in unison with the other Protestant Churches, who might suggest methods and remedies, which the Church of England could not approve of. To my knowledge one Nonconformist Church insists upon converts breaking all previous Marriage-contracts, and starting fresh in life with a new Christian wife. Such was, in fact, the practice of Jewish converts in London, when admitted into the Church of England, until only a few years ago, when I helped to stop the practice.

Nor would the difficulty end here: We base our claim to Justice on the highest grounds, that a man or a woman should not be deprived of their consorts and children on account of a change of their Religious conceptions: this would apply equally to the

Hindu, who became a Mahometan, or a Brahmo-Somájist, or an Aria-Somájist, or a Theosophist, or a Mormon, or a Unitarian, or any new form of Faith. The Mahometans settle the matter absolutely by declaring the Marriage-contract made between Mahometans void, if one or other of the contracting parties cease to be Mahometan, and that condition is a matter of general notoriety.

The contract of Marriages between Hindus is indissoluble, but the Christian convert is deprived of the society of his wife, and care of his children: this circumstance is also a matter of general notoriety. There is no legal process available for restitution of Conjugal Rights, nor would the Government dare to order the Police to seek for the wife, as for an offender, and make her over to her husband: such a course would be illegal now, and such Legislation is impossible. I put the question to the Laity and Clergy of England: if any of you had a daughter married to a man, who suddenly became a Mormon, or a Mahometan, or joined one of the Sects, which deny the Divinity and Atonement of Christ, would not the Parents and Relatives of the wife do their best fairly, or foully, to save the wife, and the little children, from what appeared to them a frightful contamination? Now to my certain knowledge such is the feeling of the Hindu, and Mahometan, Parents and Relatives, when the man, to whom one of their family is married, becomes a Christian.

The alternative is to set the man free from the Marriage-contract, and enable him to marry somebody else. As regards the conversion to Christianity of a Hindu, this has been done. In 1864-65 a law to this effect was passed, while I was a Member of the Legislative Council of the Viceroy, and in spite of my strenuous opposition. The Hindu convert to Christianity can cite his wife to appear before the Magistrate in camera, and to express her individual feelings on the subject, and to listen to the conciliatory advice of the Magistrate: if she does not return to her husband within a year, he is at liberty to re-marry. This presupposes, that the Magistrate is a Christian: this was the case in 1864-65: it is not likely, that a Hindu, or Mahometan, Magistrate would give advice in the sense desired by the Christian convert.

As regards converts to Christianity from Mahometanism, no analogous law has been passed: I have consulted my friend Sir William Muir, who is an authority on such matters, and he agrees with me, that the converts from Mahometanism should have the same privileges as the converts from Hinduism.

So much for the Marriage-contract: if the wife herself elects, or is compelled by her Relatives, to abandon the society of her husband, the Marriage-contract must be declared cancelled. Personally I am, and was always, opposed to this law: in the Missionary-Conference at Lahór in 1861 I opposed any interference; in the Legislative Council of the Viceroy in 1864 I

opposed the law, but it has been thirty years in force for the Hindu, and ought to be extended to the Mahometan.

As regards the custody of the children of tender years, we may safely leave that question to the Courts of law: the principles of *Jus paternum* are thoroughly understood. Protestant Missionaries should not condescend to enter into lawsuits with non-Christians only for the sake of getting an influence over young children, and making them Christians. This is the well-known policy of the Church of Rome, which will spend hundreds of Pounds to get a child out of the clutches of Dr. Barnardo: if a man wants the custody of his children, let him sue for it; the question of their Religion will depend on themselves.

An independent grievance is, that the Christian convert, having become an outcast, is deprived of the use of the wells of the village. It must be recollected, that the water is drawn out of the well by letting down a brass vessel with a rope into the well, and this is a difficulty, for obviously the vessel of an outcast defiles the water from the point of view of ceremonial purity. But in most villages there are members of the sweeper, and other helot, classes, who are outcasts, and they must have some means of getting their water, which the neo-Christian should not be too proud to share. At any rate, no Legislation in this question is possible. The wells were made by Hindus, or Mahometans, and are kept in repair by them, and the lawful custom of the majority of the inhabitants must be respected. The Christian converts must seek another dwelling-place. The Master has spoken on this subject also.

In Southern India tyrannical rules are put forward, compelling so-called outcasts to wear such-and-such a kind of dress, or abstain from wearing it; to give way to a caste-man in the public road: such customs must die out: the Christian convert is quite able to vindicate his rights on such matters in the Courts of Justice.

A great lesson is being taught to the whole population by the entire absence of any distinction of individuals, one from another, in the State-Railways, Ferries, Schools, Hospitals, and Courts of Justice.

The conclusion, that I have arrived at, after careful reflection, is, that it is not expedient for the Board of Missions to move in this matter. The Native Churches in India are quite strong enough, if they have a grievance, to state it by petition to the Governors of their Province, or to the Legislative Council, and to ventilate the matter in their own Public Press, or in Public Meetings called for the purpose. It is utterly impossible to concede anything to a Christian convert, which is not conceded to any other Native of India, who changes his Religious belief. Such a policy would be unworthy of the character of the Government, and the settled convictions of the Nineteenth Century. As stated above, large tribes of Hindus during the Mahometan Empire accepted Mahome-

tanism, and are still in possession of their ancestral lands. Large numbers of Hindus have in times past seceded from their ancestral Religion, and Practice, and have become Sectarians, such as the Sikhs of the Panjáb, and many others less well-known: they have kept their ancestral lands. There is now a new crop of Religious beliefs, entirely non-Christian, such as the Brahmo-Somáj, Aria-Somáj, neo-Buddhist, Theosophist, Mormon, Unitarian: they have all a right to the same civil privileges: before long, or even while I write, we shall have Christian converts, of whom the Missionaries have made much account, passing into one of the new-fangled beliefs: if the English Christian Official, either by legislative authority, or executive power, tears away the children of Christian converts from the homes of their non-Christian Relatives, what will the feelings of the Christian Church be, when the families of Christian converts are torn away from the Christian village, and handed over to Mormons, and Theosophists? In the proclamation of the Queen, 1858, when taking over India from the East India Company, it is distinctly stated, that we must do unto others, as we should wish men to do unto us. We are in an Epoch of Intellectual, and Religious, change: when a Native Christian wishes to marry the sister of his deceased wife, and his own Pastor will not marry them, he merely joins another flock of neo-Christians, where this license is allowed, and gets married. It appears to me quite impossible for the Board of Missions of but a fragment of the great Missionary-Army to take any steps in the matter.

It does not follow, that the power of Christian Europe will continue very much longer in India. It would be a fatal error to leave Christianity in a "White Man" guise. Of all Religions in the world Christianity is allowed by those, who study Religion scientifically, to be the one, which has the greatest power of adapting itself to the Religious wants of individuals, Nations, and successive generations of mankind, or in other words to be the most "elastic and comprehensive": it has no "Kaaba-stone," like Mahometanism, to tie it to Arabia; no Pagan illusions, which it cannot get rid of, like Buddhism. The Government of India has always acted as the benevolent, and impartial, Ruler of its subjects, and it may be depended upon, as willing to give relief to all those, who can themselves show cause. Nothing could be so fatal to the permanence of Christianity amidst the Millions of non-Christians, as the idea, that Christianity had powerful friends, and advocates, in Europe, that it was the "White Man's" Religion: if that idea gained ground, it would fade away with the decay of European Secular Power, instead of flourishing for ever with indigenous vitality, as the Church of Christ.

1894.

IX.

THE CONVERSION OF INDIA.

By Dr. GEORGE SMITH, C.I.E.

THIS book is, in fact, a collection of ten lectures delivered in the Autumn in the United States. Mr. Nathan Graves, of Syracuse, New York, founded an annual lectureship after the model of the Boyle Lecture in England on the subject of Christian Missions. The Author is favourably known: he went out to India in 1853 as editor of the *Friend of India* in Bangál. Since his return home he has been actively engaged in the administration of the Scotch Free Church Missions, and has published certain esteemed Missionary biographies. As a Scotchman, invited to lecture to an American audience, he had to depart from the cold, impartial, attitude of a historian; everything done by American Missionaries had to be applauded, and, as a set-off, everything done by Scotch Missionaries had to be painfully and repeatedly brought forward. Considering the very considerable number of Missionaries, sent to India by the great English Societies, and the highly meritorious work of the Germans and Danes, this feature of the work is a great blemish. If the subject were not so serious a one, the name of the book would be a cause of derision. Perhaps for the "Conversion of India" should be read "The Unsuccessful Attempts made for the Conversion of India in the last Nineteen Centuries." Only a few months ago in the pages of the *Pall Mall Gazette* there appeared some remarks on the Census of British India taken in 1891. The positive fact is gathered from that Census, that the population of the Indian Empire increased every year by the mere excess generation of children to the amount of three Millions, or thirty Millions in a decade; and the recorded amount of Christians of all kinds, (1) the ancient Syrian Church of one thousand years; (2) the Roman Catholic Mission of three hundred years; and (3) the Protestant Missions of one hundred years, amount in 1891 to 2,284,172, or little more than 2½ Millions. From this must be deducted a quarter of a Million, including the Europeans and Eurasians; and of the remaining two Millions more than one-half belong to the Church of Rome, whose Religious state, in the

opinion of the Author, is, if anything, rather worse than that of the Hindu. It seems to be a point of Missionary honour, or a lever for funds, to throw dust into the eyes of their supporters. Great stress is laid on the average increase of Protestant converts, and the remark of one canny Scot is quoted, that, if the increase of conversion goes on at this rate, the whole population of India will be Protestant Christians in 2150 A.D.! This is indeed drawing bills on the future with a vengeance, and we are very sorry to read such absolute nonsense in an otherwise sensible book.

Missionary-enterprise is deserving of the highest commendation; it is one of the special glories of the Anglo-Saxon Race on both sides of the Atlantic. The attempt to evangelize India utterly failed in the early centuries, when made by the Nestorians. A dead and degraded Church has survived in Travancór in South India. In the Middle Ages, when the Portuguese power was in the ascendant, the Church of Rome strove by the aid of the Arm of the Flesh to establish itself. The Inquisition was introduced. The day of the Portuguese power passed away, but a large half-caste population, bearing Portuguese names, suggesting Portuguese immorality rather than Religious zeal, survived, and amount now to more than a Million, and enjoy entire toleration as a Roman Catholic community. The Native Protestant converts are the result of the Missionary-zeal of this century. By the Victoria proclamation of 1858, entire toleration is guaranteed to every section of the population, and is enforced. The Religious troubles arise from conflicts between the followers of two non-Christian Religions, and the Government only interferes to keep the peace. The Lecturer quotes the case of Lord Canning calling upon Mr. R. N. Cust, the writer of these lines, a high public officer, to justify his presence at the baptism of a Native convert; but he does not add the fact, that the officer asserted his right to attend at public services of his own Religion in his private capacity, just as much as the Hindu and Mahometan did in theirs; and his right was admitted. This same officer, under the order of the Viceroy, razed a Christian Chapel to the ground, because it had been erected on the edge of a Hindu reservoir of water, which offended their Religious views and disturbed their Worship.

The Author of the volume seems dissatisfied with the past and present policy adopted by the State in India of cold indifference. He alludes constantly to the duty of Christian Nations, and Christian people, to encourage conversion of Souls. He has not clearly grasped the function of an Imperial State, which is (1) to secure to the people peace, justice, toleration for all forms of belief; (2) to support Educational and sanitary institutions of a secular character; (3) to secure free trade, free rights of locomotion, freedom to change Religious belief, free right of assembly, and a free Press. (4) Its further duty is to put down all crime, whether in the guise of

Religion or not, for nothing can be theologically right that is morally wrong; (c) and, lastly, to promote the tranquil elevation of the moral and intellectual standard of the people. As to encouraging any form of spiritual belief whatever, it is not the affair of the State: this would only be the survival of a bad past. All that a true Missionary can desire is a fair field and no favour. Somehow or other the Protestant Missionaries always, directly or indirectly, desire aid from the State, though in a Roman Catholic, or Mahometan, country they protest against any interference. This impartial position the Government of India does occupy, and there is no other country in the world, where there is such entire freedom to those who act with discretion, and have a respect for the rights, feelings, and convictions of others. As Lord Lawrence remarked in his famous despatch, 1858, "Christian things must be done in a Christian manner."

Pall Mall Gazette, 1894.

X.

THE FIELD OF BIBLE-WORK.

IN no other Region of the world can be found such a congeries of Races, and Languages, and Religious beliefs; such material wealth; such an ancient and grand literature; such an early and continuous civilization. We find ourselves in the midst of problems of Religion, Language, and Written Character. For nearly one whole century this Region, has been under the moral and material control, and influence, of the British Nation without any disturbing rival. Have we done our duty?

To the East of this Region is the totally distinct world of China; to the South is the fairy world of Oceania, the very existence of which is unknown in India; to the North lie the Asiatic Provinces of Russia in Central Asia, dimly known; to the West lie the Kingdom of Persia, the Empire of Turkey in Asia, and the Arabian Peninsula, the Region in which the Human Race passed its childhood, and from which Europe, still further to the West, derived its Arts, Sciences, and Religion.

In passing under review this gigantic subject, I must proceed on intelligible lines.

In dim and remote antiquity, India was occupied by barbarous tribes, of whom little is known. More powerful Races invaded the country, and these inferior Races were driven to the central hills, where they exist to this day; and some of them are advancing in number and Christian civilization. They are Pagan, that is

to say, they do not accept the Brahmanical Religion. Two translations of the Bible have been supplied to them: (1) the Santál; (2) the Mandári, or Kol. They are called Kolarian.

At a subsequent, but still at a remote, prehistoric period, the great Dravidian Race crossed the range of mountains, which separate India from Central Asia, possibly by the Bolan Pass, and advanced into India, and occupied the whole of the Peninsula, absorbing some of the pre-existing tribes, driving others into the central hills, and allowing a third section to remain as helots. This superior Race was profoundly influenced by the great Arian Race, which occupied Northern India, and received from them the Brahmanical Religion, and an abundance of loan-words, and, possibly, though it is not quite certain, a Written Character, as well as a vast literature. For this great Race several translations of the Bible have been prepared.

I. Támil, for fourteen and half Millions on the Eastern side of the Peninsula, down to Cape Comorin, and in the Northern portion of the Island of Ceylon.

II. Télugu, for fifteen and a half Millions on the Eastern side of the Peninsula, North of Madras up to the River Godávari.

III. Malayálim, for four Millions on the Western side of the Peninsula down to Cape Comorin.

IV. Karnáta (vulgo Kanarese), for nine Millions in the centre of the Peninsula.

These are the four great Languages, but translations of the Scripture have been supplied in the Tulu Language in the Ootocámund Hills, in the Gond in the central Vindya Range, in the Koi on the River Godávari; and, far to the North, the Maltu Language in the Rajmaháli Hills, approaching the River Ganges. In any other country but India or China a Language-field of fifty Million would appear enormous; but we shall see, that one of the Languages of North India has by itself, independent of its numerous congeners, a population of speakers of more than half as many again.

At some prehistoric period, later than the settling down of the Dravidians, the so-called Arian Race, cradled in Central Asia, crossed the Hindu-Kúsh. The detachment, that moved towards India, or the Indic branch of the great population, which speaks Arian or Indo-Germanic Languages, has been hitherto provisionally reputed to have been one of six detachments; of these four moved into Europe, and one settled down on the Region between India and the Tigris: this was the Iranic branch, and of that branch two Languages are represented in Bible-translations used by the subjects of Her Majesty in British India.

I. The Pastu, the Language of a considerable Afghan population within the British frontier.

II. The Balúchi, the Language of a considerable Balúchi population, also within the British frontier.

The Indic branch moved into the plains of India, penetrated down the basin of the River Indus into Sindh, and beyond Sindh into the Provinces of Gújarat and Maharashtra, South of the Vindya Range. On the other side they spread down the basin of the River Ganges to the Indian Ocean, occupying Nipál, the Assam Valley, and Orissa, pushing aside the indigenous Races, who fled right and left to the mountains, or assimilating them, or turning them into helots, as they exist to this day. These mighty invaders brought with them the germs of the Brahmanical Religion, and of a vast and unequalled literature, preserved in the most perfect form of Human speech. With them came Arts, Sciences, and civilization, which they handed on, as we have seen, to their Dravidian neighbours. Wonderful Religious books were composed by them, not only in support of their original Brahmanical belief, but in support of their sectaries, the Sikh, the Jain, the Kabir-Panthi, and the Búddhist.

For this great and mighty population the following translations of the Bible are available. It must be recollected, that during seven hundred years the Region was under the sway of Mahometan Sovereigns of the Tartar Race, and intermixed with the Hindu population are fifty Millions of Mahometans, all of whom have adopted one or other of the Languages of India, and have, by introduction of Arabic and Persian Words, phrases, and Grammatical Inflections, greatly affected many of those Languages.

They are as follows:

I. The Sanskrit, the dead, sacred, and liturgical, Language, is represented by a translation.

II. The Híndí, with its great Dialects, Urdú, South Indian Urdú, or Dákhani, Marwári, Kumáoni, Gurhwáli, is the Language of at least eighty-five Millions, and is represented by six different translations; and the full Work is by no means yet done.

III. The Panjábi, further North, with its three Dialects, Dogri, and Chambáli, spoken in the Himaláya, and Multáni, are represented by four different translations.

IV. The Kashmíri, for the inhabitants of the Valley of Kashmír in the Himaláya Mountains.

V. The Nipáli, for the inhabitants of Nipál in the Himaláya Mountains.

VI. The Bangáli, for the thirty-nine Millions of the Province of Bangál. In the same way as Urdú represents the impression of the Mahometan immigration and culture on the Híndí Language, the Mahometan Dialect represents a similar, though not so great, an influence on the Bangáli. Translations are supplied in both.

VII. The Mághadi is represented by a translation for the use of a population in the Province of Behár.

VIII. The Uriya Language is spoken by eight Millions, partly in the Province of Bangál, and partly of Madras.

IX. The Asámi Language is spoken by a portion of the residents in the Province of Assam.

X. The Maráthi Language and its Dialect, the Kónkani, are used by eighteen Millions in the Province of Bombay and the Central Provinces, and translations are provided in both.

XI. The Gujaráti Language and its Dialect, known as Parsi-Gujaráti, are used by nine Millions in the Province of Bombay, and the native State of Gujarát, and translations are provided in both.

XII. The Sindhi Language and its Dialect, the Katchi, are spoken by about two Millions in the Provinces of Sindhi and Katchi, and translations are supplied in both.

XIII. The Island of Ceylon received its civilization, and Religion, and its two Languages, from India. It has already been noticed, that the inhabitants of the Northern portion use the Támil Language, as they are immigrants from South India. The Southern portion of the Island is occupied by immigrants from the Province of Behár, in Northern India, and are supplied with the translation of the Bible in the Sinháli Language.

XIV. Having now arrived at the frontier Region of Búddhism, I record, that the translation of the Bible is supplied in the sacred Language of the Búddhists, the Páli. Here we have the spectacle of fourteen Languages and fourteen Dialects, used by at least one hundred and fifty Millions of people, many of them in a high state of culture, and supplied with twenty-eight translations, some of them *perfect of their kind*. Some of these Languages are as familiar to Englishmen as their own mother-Language; some of us have read daily these translations (for instance, the Urdú translation in Roman Character) for two scores of years, and appreciate them. It is true, that the mighty English Language is used by two hundred Millions, and the Mándarin Language of China is also used by a population of two hundred Millions. The marvel of India is, that the Languages are apparently separate, but closely united in structure and word-store. Such Languages as these will last as long as the world lasts. They are not like the uncultivated colloquials of China, just lifted into the position of Languages by the aid of foreigners, and helped to express themselves by aid of the Roman Alphabet, or newly-adapted forms of their National Ideograms. The Languages of India are all independent Languages, wrought out by the genius of the people, spoken by Millions, each with its own form of Written Character, which has been used for centuries, and has heaped up a vast literature, prose, and verse. There is no other phenomenon like it in the world, except that of the Indo-European Languages in Europe. Sanskrit and Latin alone in the world's history gave birth to families of Languages mightier than themselves, and then ceased themselves to be living vehicles of speech, but lived on as mighty reservoirs of the wisdom of the past, and lent themselves for the use of liturgy

in places of Worship, and a vehicle of literary communication among Scholars speaking the Languages of different countries.

I have passed under review three groups of Languages :

- (1) The Kolarian.
- (2) The Dravidian.
- (3) The Arian.

These are all included within Nearer India and Ceylon. I now proceed to notice the Tibeto-Barman group, which is included partly in Nearer India, partly in Farther India, and partly in High Asia. These Nations and tribes must have descended at some unknown period from the plateau of High Asia, and penetrated as far as the Arian intruders, who held the basin of the River Ganges, permitted them. They now occupy the Himaláya, part of the Assam Valley, and, crossing the Patkoi Range, the basin of the River Irawádi, and the country intervening betwixt the Rivers Ganges and Irawádi. The translations of the Scriptures are:

- (1) The Gáro Language, in the Province of Assam.
- (2) The Manipúr Language, in the Native State of that name.
- (3) The Barma Language, the vehicle of speech of the great Province of that name.
- (4) The Karén Language, used by the Karén tribe, in three Dialects.
- (5) The Pegu, or Mon, Language, used by the population in the Delta of the Irawádi River.
- (6) The Nicobár Language, spoken in the Island of Nicobár, in the Indian Ocean.

Outside this group of Languages linguistically, but situated Geographically in their midst, the unique Khasi Language is represented by a translation of the Bible, used by mountaineers.

This description exhausts the tale of Languages spoken within the British dominions in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula, or Farther India; but outside there are populations, more or less independent, for whom translations of the Bible have been prepared in.

- (1) The Shan Language, used by tribes in the rear of Barma.
- (2) The Siam Language, used in the independent Kingdom of that name.
- (3) The Laos Language, used in a Province to the rear of Siam.
- (4) The Annam Language, used by the population in the basin of the River Mekong subject to France.

Thus ends the tale of the translations prepared for the inhabitants of this part of the Continent of Asia.

But there are wonders still more wonderful in the great Region of the Indian Archipelago, which extends from the Peninsula of Malacca on the mainland, in a magnificent sweep to the North of Oceania, from which it is separated by a deep arm of the sea, and an entire change of Fauna and Flora, up to the China Sea. These Regions have not been forgotten by the Bible-Society. The Races and the Languages of the populations differ totally from those of India; but some portion of Indian culture, or, at least, of Indo-Chinese culture, has found its way to some of the islands. The Kingdoms of Holland and Spain exercise political control, but fail in the great duty of supplying to their subjects the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue of each island.

The following translations have been provided in

- (1) The Malay Language, in two Dialects, for the population of ten Millions in the Peninsula of Malacca, and the Island of Sumátra.
- (2) The Batta Language, in two Dialects, the Toba and Mandailing, for a tribe in the centre of the Island of Sumátra.
- (3) The Java Language, for a population of thirteen Millions in the Island of that name.
- (4) The Sunda Language, for a population of four Millions in the Island of Java.
- (5) The Bali Language, for a population of one Million in the Island of that name, and of the Island of Java.
- (6) The Nias Language, for the population of a little Island near the Island of Java.
- (7) The Búgi Language, for a population of one Million in the Island of Celébes.
- (8) The Macassar Language, for a small population in the same Island.
- (9) The Alfuer Language, for a small population in the same Island.
- (10) The Dyak Language, in two Dialects, one being called Sea-Dyak, for the population of the Island of Borneo.
- (11) The Pangasinan Language, for a population in one of the Islands of the Philippines.
- (12) The Sangír Language, for a population of eighty thousand in the Island of that name.

I have come to the end of my story, and leave to other hands, or another opportunity, the history of Bible-work in the extreme Orient, viz, China, Japan, and Korea, and the fairy Regions of Oceania, which is the fabulous Antichthón of the Ancients, upon which a great blessing has now been outpoured, and the Gospel-message has been conveyed from Island to Island up to the Gate of the Rising Sun at no very great distance from South America.

It is a great marvel to see, how the Bible-Society has cast a girdle round the whole world. The inquirer may get beyond the field of a particular Missionary Society, or beyond the Mission-field altogether, but to get beyond the blessed influence of the Bible-Society is not possible; for the way of the Bible is in the Sea, and its path in the great waters: it runs very swift over the face of the earth, and its foundation is in the mountains. *Non nobis, sed Deo, sit laus.*

I have not been careful to load this narrative with details, whether the whole, or only portions, and what portions, of the Bible have been translated. In very many the whole Bible has been translated, distributed in thousands of copies, in numerous editions, and sizes, and types, and diversity of Written Characters, revised and re-revised, or still on the anvil. In other Languages portions only have been published, sufficient for immediate wants, and rendering the path smoother for the translator, to whom the special grace is conceded to complete a work commenced by holy men, now resting from their labours, whose works in very deed follow them. Though dead they still speak to Millions. By a law, which is as old as the Society, and which, if the Society remain true to its organic principles, it will never change, the inspired Text is distributed without note or commentary, to supply which, where needed, is the duty of the agents of the Missionary Societies, or the Churches of each Region.

The population of India, according to the Census of 1891, amounts to two hundred and eighty-seven Millions; the number of each sex is nearly equal. More than fifty Millions are Mahometan; more than two hundred Millions cling to the ancient Brahmanical conception, which is as old as the time of Moses; about nine Millions are Nature-Worshippers, commonly called Pagans, and, in the Census, "Animistic" or Spirit-Worshippers: these will gradually be absorbed into the more powerful forms of belief; about 80,000 preserve the old tenets of Zoroaster, and are called Parsi; there are a few thousand Jews. The number of Christians of all sorts amounts to

2,284,380.

Of these one and a quarter Millions are Roman Catholics; two hundred thousand belong to the ancient Syrian Church in the South of India. The Protestant Churches are as follows:

Church of England	295,000
Presbyterians	30,000
Baptists	186,000
Lutherans	64,000
Miscellaneous	50,000

In the list of the Church of England and Presbyterians, the European British Army, exceeding 70,000, and the whole European civil population, are included. The population of British India by the ordinary process of generation of children has an annual increase of three Millions, or thirty Millions in the decade intervening between each Census. This fact may convince all but extreme enthusiasts, that the process of conversion to Christianity will be slow. So it was in the early centuries of Christianity, but in British India certain powerful factors are at work, which at the end of another century will tell very strongly against ceremonial, and antiquarian, forms of Faith and Worship.

I. The stern repression of all customs contrary to the law of Humanity and God; such as Sâtiism, female infanticide, etc.

II. The distributing broadcast of the Bible.

III. Education, which, if not Religious, is strictly moral, enlightened, and calculated to train the intellect. Ignorance is the mother of false beliefs.

IV. Absolute and chivalric tolerance. Not long ago a Parsi Magistrate in Bombay flung an English Captain of the Salvation Army into prison for breach of the Police laws, which control the proceedings of propagators, or practisers, of all forms of Worship. I, myself, with the sanction of the Viceroy, levelled to the ground a Christian Chapel, which an ill-judging Missionary had erected in such contiguity to an ancient place of Hindu Worship, as to prove a cause of offence, and likely to lead to a breach of the peace and bloodshedding. We are bound to do unto all men, as we should wish them to do unto us.

The Alphabetic system of British India is worthy of notice. Europe derives the numerals, known as the Arabic, from India. When in English Schools children note in numerals the year of our Lord, they are but imitating the practice of children in India. When the people of India commit to writing their poems and philosophic treatises, or their ordinary correspondence, they make use of two forms of Alphabetic writing, the Indic and the Arabic, and now the Roman Alphabet is widely used. The Bible-translations of the Society are circulated in all three; the public officer of the State conducts his official business in all three at the same time, having separate clerks for each detail of duty. In China we come upon the use of Ideograms; in North America of Syllabaries. Both are survivals, or injudicious revivals, of an old-world practice, which existed before the Idea of the one great Alphabet of the world was evolved by the Phenicians from the Hieratic Inscriptions of Egypt. Wonderful as it may seem to be, all the Alphabets of the world are derived from the same common tree, and British India is indebted for its Alphabetic system to Western Asia, and all its magnificent varieties can be traced back to the early forms, which have survived to our time in

the Rock-Inscription of the Buddhist King Asoka. 200 B.C., in several parts of India. But the subtle Indian intellect developed the simple germ of the Phenician Alphabet to a marvellous extent, and has taught a lesson to Scholars in Europe as to the different organs inside the mouth, by which sounds are articulated. So also in the Science of Grammar: it is well-known that all the Arian Languages of Northern India are close kin to the Languages of Europe, ancient and modern; but the mechanism of the Greek and Latin Languages remained unexplored, and the meaning of the complicated Inflections of nouns and verbs remained unsolved, until, half a century ago, the study of the Sanskrit Language revealed the great secret, and the public-school Grammars of modern days are the outcome and direct consequences of the conquest of India; and, to a certain extent, the activity of the Bible-Society in the work of translation has assisted this great advance of Human knowledge.

I mention these things to illustrate and enforce the importance of our Bible-work at this Epoch. Every graduate of a State-place of Education in British India, receives a copy of the Scriptures, in the form and Language acceptable to him, as a present from the agents of this Society. The same intellectual process of disillusion is in progress in British India, that we read of as being evidenced in the Roman Empire in the second century of the Christian era. I never allow myself to speak disrespectfully of the Religious conceptions of a non-Christian people: they are feeling after God, if haply they can find Him. Paul's speech at Athens and at Lystra is an example to us all. The ignorant young Missionaries often abuse Mahometanism or Hinduism without understanding them. "*Damnante quod non intelligunt.*"

It is better ignorantly to worship God in a wrong way than to rank with the atheists, sceptics, agnostics, theosophists, of modern days, who knowingly reject and despise the very Idea of a God. It is difficult to imagine what will be the Religious aspect of British India in the next century. Idolatry, and gross forms of Worship, and crass forms of belief, cannot survive the scorching light of nineteenth-century civilization, a free Press, free Institutions, and enlightened Education. We believe, and truly believe, that the Scriptures are powerful to instruct, convince, and, if accepted, to save. The Missionary cannot be everywhere, and is too often a very weak Human vessel, thinking more of his Church than of Christ. This Epoch as regards the whole world, and specially as regards British India, is the opportunity of the Bible-Societies. Both the colporteurs, and Bible-women, must continue to work, as they have hitherto worked, with *judicious self-control and in love*; they will find the civil power perfectly cold and impartial; it allows the distribution of the songs of Krishna, and other publications of a dubious character as regards to morals. But it errs on

the right side in extreme toleration with reference to the peculiar position, which a Christian Government occupies in ruling a non-Christian Empire. A false step might pull the whole fabric of Empire down. Of all Societies none more than the Bible-Society can earnestly pray, "Let us alone in our peaceful and holy Work; we want no help from the Arm of the Flesh."

Bible-Society, August, 1893.

XI.

BANGAL MS. RECORDS, 1782-1807, WITH A DISSERTATION ON LANDED PROPERTY AND LAND RIGHTS, IN BANGAL AT THE END OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. By Sir W. W. HUNTER, K.C.S.I., 1894.

THESE four volumes comprise a selected list of no less than 14,136 letters of the Board of Revenue, Calcutta, 1782-1807, a very critical period in the History of British India, as a system was forming, which for good or evil would be binding ever after on future generations. It is quite exceptional to discuss subjects of purely economic and political interest in the pages of this Journal, which are reserved to linguistic, ethnic, and archæological topics; if an exception be made in this case, it is out of respect to the exceptional grandeur of the subject, and to the Author of the treatise, who is one, to whom India is so much indebted for his statistical and descriptive Works, and who is a valued member of our Society, and has been on our Council, ever ready to render the Society assistance.

Just one century ago, in 1793, the Permanent Settlement of the Province of Bangal was passed into law: attempts have been made to set it aside, and attempts have been made to extend its leading principle of permanency to other Provinces: both attempts have failed, and it is devoutly to be hoped, that they ever will fail. No doubt such a policy, as a Permanent Settlement, would not in this century (at least since 1840) have been carried out, unless preceded by a survey of the land, a discovery of the area cultivated, and culturable, a record of existing rights, whether of proprietor, something less than proprietor, and cultivator in its many varieties, and a settlement on some certain basis of the assessment of the Rent payable by the cultivator to the proprietor, as well as the Revenue payable by the proprietor to the State. Besides, the great Pax Britannica of nearly one century in this Province has altered

the problem : the population has increased almost up to the limits of sustenance ; vast tracts of culturable land, which had become a waste, occupied by wild beasts, during the unsettled political state of last century, have come under culture, and agricultural export beyond Sea has come into existence ; the great promoters of the Perpetual Settlement in 1793 would not recognise the Province, with which they had to deal, and deal at once, in the guise under which it appears in 1893.

In the "History of British India," by James Mill, published in 1840, at page 486 of vol. v., appear the following words :

"The raiyats (cultivators) were therefore handed over to the zamindars (proprietors) in gross." "The legislators were English aristocrats, and aristocratical prejudices prevailed." These expressions have always appeared to me to have been unjustifiable, not through the ignorance, for this great policy had not been carried out in a corner for selfish purposes by low-minded men, but *from deliberate prejudice* of the writer. The task, which Sir W. Hunter has undertaken, is, by an elaborate examination of the Records of that period, to prove this fact. I admit that the subject will not interest many : Science is more captivating than Provincial administration ; the investigation of a Buddhist Stupa, or the deciphering of a Cave-Inscription, or the interpretation of Sanskrit manuscripts, have more attraction than the discussion of measures honestly undertaken to alleviate the heavy burdens of Millions, who had suffered cruelly, their unhappy lot, in the words of a Statesman of the time, being cast "in a perpetual conflict of two forces, the "force of oppression (on the part of the Collector of the Revenue "of the land), and the force of evasion, exhibiting an intricate "scheme of collusion opposed to exaction."

To me, who half a century later had the same problems placed before me, in 1846, when the Province of the Panjáb after a series of tremendous battles had been annexed, the introductory chapter is peculiarly interesting and instructive ; but half a century had, in 1846, supplied the Government of British India with a body of trained Revenue officials, English and Native ; an overwhelming military power, close at hand, enabled the Divisional and District Officers, on their arrival in districts, where an Englishman had never been seen previously, to act deliberately, and with a certainty, that their orders would be carried into execution. In 1793 these advantages were wanting.

Sir W. Hunter treats the subject coldly, impartially, with all the sang froid of a philosophic historian ; but still in every page it is self-evident, that he knows the Region and the people, whose good and bad fortunes he is describing. He quotes chapter and verse to show how the idea of a Permanent Settlement arose, for it was a new and bold one ; what were the exact position of State-rights, Landholders' obligations, and the customs of cultivators,

before this great measure was passed. Those, who have had the same problems to solve in other Provinces, can sympathize with those wise, kind-hearted, and thoughtful Statesmen, who a century ago were watching by the cradle of the great Empire of British India. No doubt mistakes were made: some arose from over-caution, some from their being too sanguine, and they were totally deficient in that knowledge of the tenures and customs of the land in India, which are familiar to the present generation. British India, as they knew it, was in a weak childhood; it has now arrived at a strong manhood, and yet it is encompassed with dangers of a totally different character. Sir William reminds us, that the conciliatory policy was dictated by the British Parliament in Pitt's Act of 1784, that it was pressed in long and able despatches by the Court of Directors. It was solemnly and laboriously discussed by the men on the spot; they acted to the best of their light; no unworthy motives, no desire of personal aggrandisement or gain, influenced them. They could not have dreamt in 1793 what British India would develop into in 1893. Circumstances, which they could scarcely anticipate, have made many to doubt as to the wisdom of the policy, but it is a fait accompli. To cancel it for the sake of administrative symmetry would be a blunder; to tamper with it under the influence of short-sighted cupidity for more Revenue would be a crime. Sir W. Hunter's judicial dissertation, supported by the long array of correspondence, will, I trust, render this impossible. He places the conduct of the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, and his colleague Sir John Shore, in the most favourable light: if they could have had the grace conceded to them of moving slowly, and allowing the decennial period to run out, it would have been well; but no official in India has a tenure of office for more than one lustrum. Lord Cornwallis went on the maxim of "*Bis dat, qui cito dat*," instead of "*Festina lenté*." It seems strange to Revenue officials of the modern School, that the *via media* of a settlement of thirty or forty years was never suggested. It is remarkable, that the policy of all concerned in those days was that of generous limitation of the State-demand, recognition of the rights of property, both in the proprietor and cultivator, and in those days India was little known or cared for. In these days the current thought of the Socialist is to declare the land to be the property of the State, and practically in this last year the annexation of a country in South Africa, Matabele-land, has been accompanied by a confiscation, not only of the Rights of the Sovereign, but of the land and chattels of the proprietors and cultivators of the soil. The collection of Revenue was the sole Idea of the Native Ruler; it was the sole object of the Ruler of a State, as this supplied the sinews of war, and the material of luxury: when in 1765 the "*Diwáni*" was transferred to the East

India Company, it meant the annexation of the Province. We must not forget, that the Native process of collecting Revenue was based on every kind of cruelty to the defaulter, even personal chastisement; yet still, owing to the sparseness of population, the Revenue, nominally asserted, was never realized: the existing system, derived from the Mogul Empire, had broken down as regards the State, the proprietor, the cultivator. In 1765 the East India Company inherited a system, from the cruelty of which it revolted: the problem had to be solved; the proposed panacea was fixity of tenure, a statutory title, and sale of land in case of default. Sir John Shore was in favour of a transition-period of ten years. Lord Cornwallis believed honestly, that the time for experiments had passed, that something must be done at once. No doubt Anglo-Indian administrators of this generation would have sided with Sir John Shore, but in those days there was no supply of skilled officials, Native or English; the only Ideas of the latter were commercial: their first object was to provide the Annual Investment of a Commercial Company of Traders: the officials of this century are of a different type, and are Statesmen.

In spite of its defects there are advantages in the Permanent Settlement of this great Province: the fortunate proprietors know well that, though the British Government is bound by its word, there is nothing to bind the invading Russian, or French, or the Native Rulers, who might come to the front. The great land-owners know, that their existence is tied up with British Rule: it has enabled a rich, fat, residentiary, class to come into existence: the Income-Tax, and Succession-Duties, may bleed them hereafter. One of the misfortunes of the village-settlements of Northern India is, that the agricultural class is without resources for bad years, as there is no margin of accumulated profit: they can only just pay their way.

I congratulate Sir William Hunter in having added this noble disquisition to his other useful, instructive, and interesting, publications: it is a satisfaction to me personally, that he has not consecrated his leisure-hours and literary talents to the description of military campaigns, and victories purchased with the blood of thousands of poor creatures, who had no conception of the cause, for which they were slaughtered. His pages tell us of the peaceful triumphs and failures of wise, and conscientious, and honest (let us remember that last characteristic) administrators of the affairs of a *great people for their benefit*. During the century, which has elapsed since the days of Lord Cornwallis, such has been the good fortune of India, and the proud boast of her administrators.

“Peace has her victories, no less renowned than War.”

Not all attempts to benefit the people have been successful. Sir

William Hunter's eloquent pages show how hard it is to do good on a great scale without running the risk of doing much greater evil in an entirely unexpected way. This Act was passed in 1793 for the *benefit* of the great Land-owners: it has been the ruin of nearly all: a new class has taken their place, and enjoys their privileges. The rights of cultivators, resident and hereditary, were to be protected by interchange of written documents: all this has utterly failed, but subsequent Legislation has done much to protect the weaker against the stronger. But the amazing increase of the population, no longer decimated by War, Pestilence, and Famine, has reduced the cultivator to a dead level of abject poverty, and the outlook of the next half-century is very depressing. Such is the lesson forced by experience on all Anglo-Indian administrators, so complicated is the problem, so multiform the phenomena, and so difficult it is to arrive at the actual facts.

The style of this Work leaves nothing to desire, and the subject is fascinating. It seems like returning to one's old love to leave the field of Language, and Religious conceptions, to which for many years I have been exclusively devoted, and bring my thoughts once more to the subjects, which occupied them for the quarter of a century which ended sadly in 1867.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1894.

XII.

THE ILBERT-BILL IN CALCUTTA.

Speech made at a Meeting in London to support the Bill for the purpose of securing Equality of all Subjects of the Queen in the Courts of law, 1883.

I HAD the honour of holding the offices of Judicial Commissioner of the Panjáb, and Member of the Council of the Viceroy for making laws. I have the greatest pleasure in seconding the Resolution, standing betwixt the sons of my two Masters, Sir Henry Lawrence, and John, Lord Lawrence. It is forty years since I went to India, and during the long period I was there I lived in close intercourse with the Natives, and I should feel lost to myself, if I did not stand up for them when they have been so seriously charged. The question before us is one of imperial interest. Are we to govern India upon the low principles, on which the Portuguese and the Spaniards govern their colonies, or are we to continue the policy, hitherto followed by a long line of Viceroys and Governors, of

governing India in the interests of the people of India? I have not a word to say against those, who go out to India for agricultural or commercial purposes: they are honourable and law-abiding men; but they are not colonists in the sense that the people in Australia are colonists. They are merely birds of passage, who go there to make a competence and return. Our interest is really with the people of India. During the time I have been in India I have seen the Native officials in every branch of the public service rising step by step, and worthy of the advancement they have received. It has come to this: that every court of first instance in the civil department is occupied by a Native; many of the courts of first appeal are occupied by Natives; all the great Revenue Courts, which are of extreme importance in the North of India, are occupied by Natives; and I can testify, having myself been Chief Judge in the Panjáb and head of the Revenue in the North-West Provinces, to the efficiency and the honesty and the intelligence, with which over a long period they have discharged those duties.

Can there be any question as to their being qualified? Read the annual Reports, that come home from the different Provinces, and you will see in page after page how well they have conducted themselves, how well they have served the State. Their position has been improved and their salaries increased, by successive Governors and Viceroys. I can speak myself from having been often occupied in business with them, in unravelling great questions, in settling the affairs of two Provinces, and I have found in them all those great gifts, which public officers ought to have. But we need not go to India for proof. How many come home here and are admitted to the Bar, the great Bar of England! As barristers, they are by statute entitled to fill certain judicial or quasi-judicial appointments in this country. Debarred in India they would be qualified in England. The Natives are admitted to the great medical profession and into the various Educational departments, filling high and important offices in our Colleges and Schools with efficiency and distinction, and taking their degrees at Oxford and Cambridge with honours. If they do not come over to our Civil Service in large numbers, it is because there is a separate service in India. Recently I went down to Oxford to see a Native take his degree; he was a distinguished Oriental Scholar in India, and he had come home to qualify himself in European knowledge at Balliol College, and there took his degree, and is now ready for the Bar. In the course of our conversation, he said, "Why is it that the English gentlemen in India think, that I and men like me will go back to India and insult their women and trump up cases against them? It is hard that people should say such things and get up such monstrous scandals." One of the reasons why Lord Ripon should nail his flag to his mast and carry his Bill, is in answer to these

base and unfounded charges against the Native Magistracy. It is not a question of appointing new Magistrates; it is a question of giving additional powers to old Magistrates. The interests of the humblest Natives of India ought to be as dear to us as those of the most influential Englishmen; and, if these Native Magistrates are capable of doing and thinking of such things as regards Englishmen, ought we to allow them to retain their office with the power of doing the like things to Natives? It is necessary that a court of inquiry should be held, and that people should be called upon to substantiate their charges or admit that they are baseless. It is sad, that Englishmen in the heat of passion should allow themselves to say such things. There is but one conclusion that we can come to: India must be governed for the people of India. We are bound to enact for them the best laws, that Human ingenuity can suggest. We are bound to establish the best possible Courts of Justice, civil and criminal, and to place to preside over those courts the best and most qualified and most learned men we can find, whether Natives or English. We are bound to place all subjects of Her Majesty, without distinction of Race, Religion, or nationality, under the same laws and the same Judges.

Sir, In Mr. Justice Stephen's letter of this day there is an ambiguity. He sometimes uses the word "European," sometimes "European British subject." For the last class only is the privilege claimed. And yet in India there are numerous American citizens, German, French, and Italian subjects, dwelling in the interior. For these gentlemen no protection is claimed, and yet they are as liable to the imaginary injustice, which a Native Judge could inflict upon them, and by their respectability as deserving of protection.

It appears to me, that the United States and the other European Powers might justly claim, that their citizens and subjects should not be placed under the risk of penalties, from which we shield our own Subjects. I have lived twenty-five years in British India, and always felt ashamed, that my friends from the United States, in all respects the same as myself, were liable to a different law of Procedure. I have lately travelled in Algeria, and was often in the company of Frenchmen. How indignant I should have felt, if the Kádi of Batna or some other place, could have arrested and tried me, while the Frenchman could claim the right of being tried at Algiers.

Consider, then, the position of the Eurasian men, who are Englishmen, and Subjects of Her Majesty, and yet are left exposed

to imaginary hardships, which the British European Subject protests against. Their number far exceeds that of the European British subjects.

Let me say a word for the Natives, the gentry, the commercial classes, the learned bodies, the landholders, the Army, the people at large. If we do not secure to all Her Majesty's Subjects the very best possible law of Procedure, and secure the service of honest and upright Magistrates and Judges, we are not worthy to stay in India. Our hold on the country rests upon the conception entertained by the people of our lofty Judicial and Executive Impartiality, our unlimited Religious Tolerance, and that we rule the country for the benefit of, and in the interests of, the people.

Letter to The Times, 1883.

XIII.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO A MANUAL FOR THE GUIDANCE OF REVENUE OFFICERS IN THE PANJĀB.

THE tendency of the authorities, who rule British India, is to issue orders, *pro re natâ*. Each succeeding generation of officials has to pick up his knowledge, not in one Code of Positive law, and one Manual of subsidiary practice, but as best he can in volumes of Regulations, Acts, and Circulars.

This fact struck me, who as a Barrister had more technical knowledge of English law and practice than is common to members of the Civil Service, and in 1867 I proposed to the Supreme Government to draft a Code of Revenue law for North India, comprising all the Regulations and Acts passed by the Supreme Government in one Code: my proposal was accepted, and the Code was drafted, printed, and sent to India: a copy of my proposal is published in my third Series of "Linguistic and Oriental Essays," page 333.

But my attention had been called several years before to the necessity of compiling a Manual of the Subsidiary Rules of practice for the Province of the Panjāb, and in 1866 I published my Manual, dedicating it to my two great Masters in the art of administration, James Thomason, Lieut.-Governor of the North-West Provinces, and John Lawrence, Chief Commissioner of the Panjāb, at whose feet I learnt my lesson, and whose principles I have never abandoned. It is noteworthy, that I corrected the

proofs of this Manual for the guidance of the officials of the Panjáb at Allahabad, where I held the office of Member of the Board of Revenue of the North-West Provinces; so entirely did I belong by experience and repute to both these Provinces, going backwards and forwards, as my services were required, and having in my Provincial Circuits visited every District from the frontier of the Bangál Province on the River Karamnása to the boundaries of the Afghan Kingdom, with the exception of one frontier District, Derah Ishmail Khan. I had also the peculiar advantage of being assisted in the details of this work by my honoured and valued subordinate at that time, now known as Sir Charles Aitchison, K.C.S.I.

London, 1894.

The Collector of Land-Revenue, assisted by his Assistants, and Office Establishment, by his Sub-Collectors and their Establishments, by the village Headmen and Accountants, is charged with the duty of (1) collecting the Government-Revenue, and protecting the rights of all those, who have a beneficiary interest in the land. Thus he has (2) to maintain a custody of Records and a system of Registration, by which the Rights of others should be known inter se, to maintain a settlement Record, that the Rights of all should be known against Government, (3) exercise a jurisdiction by which the Rights of each should be secured to them in due season, and the Rights of Government enforced against them all. Moreover, (4) with a view of preventing the interference of foreign agencies into the Revenue Department, the Collector is charged with the execution of decrees of Courts of Civil Justice against the land. The object of this Manual is to show how these duties are to be done.

There is much borrowed from other books in these pages. The Directions to Revenue Officers, N.W.P., and the Circulars of the Revenue Department of the Panjáb, are made free use of: the object is to place in the hands of the student and the official a Manual of the existing practice, and the approved principles. No finality is pretended. It is quite possible, that much of this practice may hereafter be modified. Many of these principles are already the object of attack.

In 1860 the Author consolidated into Circulars the scattered rules on several branches of the subject. All that is now aimed at, is a further consolidation of these Circulars into one comprehensive treatise, arranged according to the natural order of subjects, intermixed with extracts from the Directions, and other official papers, and comments, the results of his own official experience.

This Manual relates exclusively to land, its tenures, and its responsibilities. Everything connected with the Treasury will be found in a separate Manual. A separate Manual has still to be

prepared for assessed taxes, stamps, excise on liquors and drugs and customs. The Pension rules, the rules for supplies to troops on the march, the management of Local Funds, must be looked for elsewhere. The minute details of the Collector's Record Room, the Collector's Vernacular Office, of the management of village Accountants, of the management of land under sequestration or direct management, of the law of Distraint, of the adjudication of Summary suits, of the duties of the Sub-Collector, will be found in separate Manuals prepared by the Author in English or Vernacular. These subjects will therefore be only noticed briefly in this Manual. Thus it happens, that many subjects alluded to in the Directions to Revenue Officers, N.W.P., are found wanting here.

There are no appendices to this Work, and no tabulated forms have been admitted into its pages: the book of forms is a separate compilation of the Revenue Department, the numbers of which are quoted in the margin, and, if the matter hitherto entered in an appendix is worth retaining, it has been consolidated into the Text.

The Revenue-Officers are at the time of writing these lines vested with Civil Court powers in the class of cases, which relate to land, or the products of land: whether this anomalous jurisdiction is to be continued, may well be doubted; at any rate, all allusion to such powers will be restricted to an additional Chapter, No. XI., and is disconnected from this Work, which is confined to the strict duties of a Collector.

On the other hand the position of the assignee of Land-Revenue, a class which occupies a prominent position in the Panjáb, as absorbing one-sixth of the whole Revenue of the Province; of the landowner in all his phases, developed into full dominion, or compressed into a miserable quit-rent; of the tenant in all his customary or legal varieties, and of the village office-bearers, is discussed at length in the hopes, that by a new generation, unblinded by prejudices, and undeceived by mere names, large and sound views may be entertained on these important and hitherto imperfectly understood subjects.

We have deflected more than we imagine from the system set forth in the Thomason-treatise: that treatise published in 1849, and encumbered by appendices, has been modified by Circulars of the Suddur Board of Revenue, N.W.P., and is not strictly correct for those Provinces. The student after reading any portion, has to be reminded, that much of the rules contained in it has no connection with the Panjáb, and that much of the narrative relates to a forgotten state of things.

The Author is one of the few, who have had the advantage of acquiring practical experience of both developments of the Revenue system, and of having sat at the feet of James Thomason

and John Lawrence. The subjects, which pervade the Thomason-treatise are :

- I. The evils of the Sale Law.
- II. The mischief caused by the Civil Courts.
- III. The status of the superior land-owners.
- IV. The over-assessment and balances.
- V. The miseries arising from former misgovernment.

Everything in this treatise indicates the desire of a great man to create a system, to bring order out of confusion in spite of determined opposition, and in face of obstacles.

None of these evils exist in the Panjáb. We have made a temperate use of the Regulations, invaluable guides, and the results of approved experience. We have never allowed the Sale-law to plant its baneful foot; we have kept at bay the Civil Courts. We have no superior land-owners of the kind, which exist in the North-Western Provinces: light assessments have caused no processes and left no balances. The transfer of land has been so far discouraged, that the status *quô ante* has been preserved, until the landowner has learnt the value of his property.

A careful consideration has led to an arrangement of subjects into chapters and sections. The Panjáb Official knows only of Revenue-processes by vague report. By a waive of his hand annual Millions are levied from a contented and willing people, who have never been evicted from their holdings, have never seen their chattels sold, or heard the tap of the Collector's hammer. Errors there have been of another kind, fortunately of a negative kind, which may be corrected if taken in time, viz., undue restraint on voluntary transfers of property, uncertainty of tenure, an exaggerated tenant-right, ignorance and inexperience on the part of those, who settled, and those who managed.

No vernacular terms, however common, are used in this treatise. It is found that great mistakes arise from a lax phraseology, and the random use of generic vernacular names. In the table of definitions will be found the vernacular rendering of every technical term.

Lahore, 1866.

XIV.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

SIR, an important paper was presented to the House of Commons by the Under Secretary of State for India on the 4th of August, which deserves mention in your columns. It is called "Despatch from the Government of India dated 25th June, 1887, relating to the system of licences for the Distillation and Sale of Spirituous Liquors in force in the various Provinces of India." It is signed by the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir F. S. Roberts, and five other members of the Supreme Council, a soldier, a barrister, and three members of the Covenanted Civil Services of the different Presidencies. Its inclosures consist of reports from the eight Provinces, into which British India is divided.

This despatch is the deliberate and weighty reply of the responsible administrators of the Empire of India to the hasty and libellous statements of the Venerable Archdeacon Farrar, Mr. Samuel Smith, M.P., and Mr. Caine, M.P., made at a meeting in Princes' Hall of the Church of England Temperance Society. The object of the meeting, as understood by many, who were invited to attend, was to devise measures to protect the Negroes of West Africa from the intoxicating liquors of Europe. The three speakers above mentioned turned their eloquence against the responsible Government of British India.

Archdeacon Farrar laid down the naked propositions that (1) the British found India sober; (2) and had made it drunk for the purpose of collecting Revenue.

The despatch now presented to Parliament is a reply to that statement, which was a grievous charge against a long row of illustrious Statesmen, who had filled the offices of Secretaries of State for India, Viceroys, Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, and Chief Commissioners, and a large army of Civil functionaries, who had devoted their lives to the advancement of the interests of the people of India long after their official connections had ceased, and to whom the welfare of the people of India is very dear. Those, who know India are aware, that the country abounds with the materials for making intoxicating liquors and drugs, sugar, barley,

rice, hemp, poppy, the leaf of the *Bassia Latifolia*, the Palm tree, etc., that the manufacture is most simple, and previous to British rule was quite uncontrolled by the State; and it is proved beyond doubt, that it is precisely those tribes and Races, which have been the least accessible to the influence of British rule, which are most addicted to intoxicating drinks and drugs.

It is true, that the Religious books of the Hindu and Mahometan denounce the use of such drinks and drugs, and honour be to the wise sages of past time who wrote those books; yet it is notorious how different the practice of Professors of non-Christian Religions is to the precepts, which are written in a totally unknown Language to the general community and not allowed to be translated. In the Christian books drunkenness is forbidden, and yet in Christian England it is practised to a great extent.

A perusal of the literature both of the Hindu and Mahometan will convince anyone of the existence of the habit among the people. When the Panjáb was conquered in 1846, the earliest British officers in the cities of Lahór and Amritsar found decoctions of Opium and intoxicating drinks freely sold in the shops, and the Court of the Sikh rulers was notorious for the habit of intemperance, and so was the Sikh army.

The average consumption in India is only one bottle, or one bottle and a half, of spirits a year for each adult male, and in some Provinces less than that; it is clear that the terms "drunkenness," "drinking classes," and "spread of drinking," bear a meaning wholly different in India and England. Could we but reduce the consumption of London to that standard, how glad would be the hearts of the Temperance-Societies!

But upon what principles does the Government of India act? Let us see what the Government of Madras says:

"The sale of intoxicating liquors is just as much a trade as that of any other kind of commodity, but there is this great difference, that while the sale of a necessary of life, like bread, need not be interfered with or regulated in any way, the sale of intoxicating liquors, if left to the unfettered operation of free trade, involves an enormous amount of drunkenness and crime, and therefore calls for regulation at the hands of any Government with any pretence to civilization. The policy that the Government has announced of endeavouring to realize the *maximum* Revenue from a *minimum* consumption, though perhaps involving, in its strict interpretation, a verbal contradiction in terms, yet expresses with sufficient force and clearness what we consider the right course to pursue. It is, however, to be observed, that while all taxation becomes Revenue as soon as it reaches the public exchequer, yet it should always be borne in mind in connection with the taxation derived from the sale of intoxicating liquors, that it is imposed primarily in order to restrain the consumption

“ of such liquors, and not for the purpose of making money out of their sale, and that the fact of the Revenue so derived being large is merely an incident arising from two causes: (1) The determination of the Government to do all that lies in its power to repress a baneful trade in what is not a necessary of life; (2) The general prosperity of the people, which enables them to spend on the indulgence of a vicious propensity money, which might be better expended or invested. It follows that every right-feeling Government will do all it can to increase the taxation up to that point, when the people, rather than pay for the high price liquor, which alone can be had in licensed shops, will take to illicit smuggling and distillation.”

Such, to the best of my belief, have ever been the principles of the Government of India. Such they were, when I learned my lesson under Lord Lawrence 40 years ago: and as I held the highest Revenue-posts both in the Panjáb and North-West Provinces, I can speak of these two great Provinces, and I remark that Sir Richard Temple, whose knowledge of India is wider than that of any other living man, last week in the House of Commons gave the most emphatic denial to the assertion, that the authorities, in order to stimulate the excise-Revenue, were driving the people into intemperance.

As a Magistrate of Middlesex and of the Liberty of Westminster, I am aware that there are many more public-houses in the neighbourhood of the Abbey and the Houses of Parliament than there should be, but I do not retort, that this is caused by the desire of the Dean and Canons to increase their rents and of Parliament to enhance its Revenue.

Editor of "The Times," 1887.

XV.

NATIVE SERVANTS.

It must be admitted that it is the duty of laymen, both negatively and positively, to advance the cause of Christianity in this country. The Subject was discussed in the late Conference, and a layman of undoubted piety, with an experience of thirty-five years in this country, laid it down broadly, that the best and most effective mode was, by each man instructing his own Native servants in Gospel-truths. It was shown, that the number of these servants exceeds

fifty thousand, that they are very much under our influence, very docile, and that the experiment has been tried and succeeded.

Let us examine this subject with care, let us dismiss all romance and sentiment. There are some really pious men, who are so thoroughly unpractical, and so visionary, that they retard rather than advance the cause which they advocate. Now this subject must be approached on the practical side. Is the measure feasible? In what way? On the one side, we know that at Agra, the residents used to entertain a Catechist, who went from house to house to talk and read to the Native servants. This, however, is not considered sufficient; the Master of the house itself, or the Mistress, must not delegate the duty to others; he must bring his own personal influence to create a more kindly feeling between master and servant. We have no doubt, that in every Missionary family such is the practice, and that there is a domestic altar, at which all are invited to attend. We have always wondered that Missionaries allowed themselves to entertain Mahometan and Heathen servants; still, if they are compelled to do so, we make no doubt that all real Missionaries do take an interest in the conversion of those, with whom they are in constant familiar intercourse. We are informed also, that some pious laymen have tried the scheme, have assembled their servants on Sundays, or on week days, have read to them, and prayed with them with profit. This is what is recommended for general adoption; this is the measure, the general feasibility of which we wish to examine.

There are few Christian servants in the Panjáb; and we grieve to say those few are in evil repute. Ladies have tried to keep Christian female servants, and have failed; the mass of our servants are Hindu, Mahometan, or outcasts. Say what we like, they are very good servants. So very few of those that keep house in India, have ever kept house in England, that they imagine that the domestic difficulties, of which they with justice complain, are peculiar to India. Now, of our Indian servants none live under the same roof with us; some go home at night to their proper dwelling-places in the Bazaar; others lodge in the compound; a portion of the servants are male, the remainder female; some are entirely out-of-door servants, and never enter the house. At no one moment of the day can it be predicted, that all the servants are in the compound: the subdivision of duties is very minute, and each man is present, when his peculiar duties call him, but at any other time he is probably engaged in the daily solemn sacrifice of his own dinner, or he has just stepped out to the jungle, or strolled off to the Bazaar to buy something. If anyone doubts this, let him have a roll-call suddenly, even for the pleasing duty of distributing pay, and he will find many absent.

The time of the European is also told out pretty closely. No one in India can live a very irregular life. There is the morning and

evening walk or ride; the two or three meals: the absence at office, generally absorbing six hours with all honest men, as, for the sake of argument, we will assume our readers to be. If a half hour is lost in the morning, the whole day is put out; if there are children in the house, what with their sleeping, eating, walking, and crying, it is of paramount importance to keep to regular hours. Now at what hour of the twenty-four can the pious layman assemble his servants for a quiet half-hour of reading and talking? At what hour of the morning can he be sure of that slippery fish, the Dhobey, of the Khansamah, who is so fond of going to the Bazaar, of the Bearer, who is busy getting the lamps trimmed before he goes off to his dinner, the female servants, who are busy in my lady's chamber, the grooms, who are rubbing down the horses, the Chuprassies, who are preparing for six hours due attendance at Cutchery? If this matter is put off to the afternoon, it is put off for ever; if done only on Sunday, the effect must be very slight. For the sake of argument we have supposed, that the servants like to attend, but a great many will not like to do so: perhaps some will object to the females coming, others will take exception to the outcasts, or the Murghywála. Some will resign outright, or be twitted by their neighbours as Christians. Looking at the matter from a practical point of view, but with the most friendly spirit, we confess, that we do not see our way, and we call on those, who advocated the measure so emphatically in conference, as being more important than either funds, advice, writing, or example, to show us the way. We should be sorry to hear of the disruptions of a well-ordered household by the introduction of the Religious complications between master and servant.

On the other hand we think, that the kindly feeling, which ought to exist between master and servant, may be brought about more directly. Outrageous cases of ill-usage, such as lately occurred at Derah Ishmail Khan, are confessedly against the public conscience; we have no slave-flogging in India; by the late change of the law, the master has no power to throw his servant into prison; the Criminal Courts are closed to such breaches of contract; if a master ill-use his servant, a Justice of the Peace, or a Magistrate, is armed with power to punish; but such cases are rare. The real offence of the master is *first*, using abusive Language; *second*, holding back pay for many months; *third*, withholding Certificates of character deposited on entering service. We undertake to say, that if servants are well chosen, considerately used, regularly paid, and reasonably indulged, they will cling to their masters to a wonderful extent. But it is cruel sometimes the way, in which many months of wages are withheld: servants are taken up to the expensive and inclement hill stations, and their wages are not raised, nor is warm clothing supplied. All considerate masters, and specially those who wish to act as Christians, should look to this. To abstain

from threatening and abuse, to pay regularly and sufficiently, to do nothing unjust or inequitable, would be measures of a more practicable nature than to undertake the difficult task of conversion and instruction.

Lahór Chronicle, 1860.

XVI.

TRAVELS OF AMÍN CHAND.

IN the Autumn of 1850, in communication with and with the approval of John Lord Lawrence, then a Member of the Board of the Panjáb Commission, I took three months accumulated Privilege Leave, made over charge of my District of Ambála, and visited seriatim every one of the Cis-Indus-Districts of the newly annexed Province of the Panjáb, reporting by letter the expression of my opinion. In 1861 I was deputed, after a lapse of ten years, to make a second inspection. Beyond the Indus I visited Derah Ghaji Khan, and Pesháwar, and traversed the Kingdom of Jamu-Kashmir, the Sovereign of which was my personal friend. I was accompanied by an intelligent Official, whom I had trained since 1846: under my guidance he took notes of all that he saw, in the Hindustáni Language and the Arabic Character. We dropped down the Indus into the Province of Sindh, took ship at Karáchi, and reached Bombay. On the 10th January, 1851, I embarked for England, and Amín Chand, accompanied by my Native servants, worked his way back through the Central Province to Agra in Northern India, and thence Northwards to his home at Bijwára in the Hoshyarpúr District of the Panjáb. By the time that I returned to India, after a tour in Turkey and Palestine, he had compiled his narrative of the whole expedition, which he had accomplished, telling the story in his own way. I had it printed with a Vernacular Map at Dehli in 1853, and wrote the accompanying Preface:

“ It has often occurred to me, that our Schools teach Geography and History on wrong principles. Little Indian boys count on their fingers the names of the principal towns in Lancashire, and enumerate the Roman Emperors, who are entirely ignorant of the Panjáb, or Bombay Provinces: they know all about Marathon, or Marston Moor, and nothing about Plassy, and Pánipat. This is clearly wrong: they should be taught the Geography and History of their own country: they should form their Ideas of Cities from Dehli, and Banáras, of mountains from the Vindya, and Himaláya, and of Rivers from the Ganges and Jamna.

“ And what country can boast of cities so ancient, and so royal; such conquering Rivers, such magnificent mountain-chains?

“ With a view of assisting the attainment of this knowledge, and
 “ supplying a class-book, this Work is published: it is the Journal
 “ of a Native of the Panjáb, who early in life resigned high
 “ employment to gratify his desire to travel. Being unencumbered
 “ by business and in easy circumstances (for he travelled with me
 “ to Bombay, and at my charges on his road home), he introduced
 “ himself everywhere, and was able to collect much interesting
 “ information.

“ The first part contains a tour through the Panjáb, Sindh, the
 “ Bombay Province, Central India, and part of the North-West
 “ Provinces. The second part will contain the tour through the
 “ Bangál Province, and the remainder of the North-West Provinces.”
Banda, 1854.

In 1859 I published a Second Edition, with the accompanying Preface:

“ In 1854 I published at Delhi the First Volume of these travels:
 “ the edition was purchased by the Educational Department of the
 “ North-West Provinces. I now send forth a Second Edition,
 “ accompanied by the Second Volume, which completes the Work.

“ It was favourably noticed by the Committee on Vernacular
 “ Publications at Agra: it has the merit of being entirely original:
 “ the tour was actually made by the Author in the years 1850,
 “ 1851, 1852, and at my charges. The style of composition is
 “ that of a well-educated man, who makes no pretence to be a
 “ Scholar, according to the narrow views of the Hindu, or Maho-
 “ metan Schools, but who is one of the most intelligent and apt of
 “ the Panjáb Native officials.

“ The copyright of the work is granted to the Proprietor of the
 “ Koh-i-Núr Press, Lahór, for the full term.”

Amritsar, Sept. 1859.

XVII.

OBITUARY NOTICES.

SIR GEORGE CAMPBELL, K.C.S.I., D.C.L.

THIS is the last duty I could have wished to discharge, viz. to record the death of my dear life-long friend, Sir George Campbell, M.P. for Kirkealdy Burghs, N.B. He was a member of this Society since 1875, but never took an active part in its meetings, though on many subjects connected with Asia generally, and with India specially, he was a competent authority. Born a Scotchman in 1824, he received his early education at St. Andrew's and in Edinburgh. On receiving a nomination to the Bangál Presidency of the Indian Civil Service he passed two years at Haileybury College, where he was distinguished for his mathematical and legal

attainments rather than for Oriental scholarship. In fact, he never claimed to be a Scholar in the broad sense of that word, but he was an able administrator of Asiatic Provinces, and a close observer of Asiatic habits and customs. He filled successively the posts of Judicial Commissioner of the Province of Oudh, Member of the High Court of Judicature of Calcutta, and Lieut.-Governor of the Province of Bangál. Throughout his whole career he evidenced talents of the highest order, and an unrivalled grasp of difficult administrative problems. As far back as 1852 he published his two volumes "Modern India," and "India as it should be," which left their mark on the administration of the next twenty years.

On his return to England in 1875 he received the honour of Knight Commander of the Star of India, and of D.C.L. from the University of Oxford. He was returned in the same year to Parliament as member for the Kirkcaldy Burghs, and occupied that seat to the day of his death with every prospect of re-election, and he was indefatigable in the discharge of his duties in the House of Commons.

He visited the United States, and published a volume "White and Black in the U.S." He visited the Danubian Provinces and published a volume "Handy Book of the Eastern Question." He visited Egypt repeatedly, and he also published a book, the "British Empire," with special reference to India and the Colonies. All his writings evidence careful inquiry and a far-seeing intelligence.

He was a Liberal in politics, and followed Mr. Gladstone, but his views with regard to Ireland were formed from a careful local investigation on the spot, and were placed before the public in his volume on "Ireland" several years before Mr. Gladstone developed any portion of his Irish Policy.

In India as in Ireland he was a champion of the interests of the hereditary occupying tenant of the soil as against the alien absentee landlord.

A student of anthropology he made one lasting contribution to the Science. In considering the ethnical relations of the Non-Arian Race of Southern India, he came to the conviction, no doubt indicated previously by earlier Authors, that in the Vindya Range there existed certain Races, who were neither Arian nor Dravidian: he struck out the name of "Kolarian" in 1866, and that term is now accepted.

He was esteemed and loved by all who knew him. A friendship of fifty years enables the writer of this notice to testify to this fact. If he attained every post and honour which were attainable, it is because he was most worthy of them; and the opinion is deliberately expressed that of all the members of the Indian Civil Service since 1840 up to the date of the change of system in 1856 he and Sir Richard Temple, Bart., occupy the highest rank for administrative ability and knowledge of India.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1892.

GENERAL SIR LEWIS PELLY, K.C.B., K.C.S., M.P.

The news of the sudden death of this amiable and distinguished officer, at the age of 67, fell heavily on the ears of his numerous friends and admirers. He joined this Society in 1858, and had served on the Council, and contributed papers to this Journal. He went out to Bombay in the Native Infantry in 1841, but at a very early date he was employed in the Political Department under Sir James Outram and General John Jacob, and he accompanied the former in the Persian expedition in 1856. In 1859 he was Secretary of Legation at Teherán, and became Chargé d'Affaires on the retirement of Sir Henry Rawlinson. In 1861-2 he acted as Consul on the East Coast of Africa; in 1862 he became Political Resident in the Persian Gulf; and in 1872 he accompanied Sir Bartle Frere on his mission to Zanzibár. In 1873 he was Agent to the Governor-General in Rajputána, and in 1874 he was Special Commissioner at Baróda. In 1876 he was appointed Plenipotentiary for the frontier discussion of Afghan affairs, at the special desire of the Viceroy, Lord Lytton, and soon after he returned to England, having received repeatedly the thanks of the Government of India, and the Orders attached to his name. His public career in India and Persia was most remarkable.

But there was a literary side of his career also: he was an admirable Persian Scholar, and he contributed to the Proceedings of Scientific Societies, published separate pamphlets, was a constant writer in periodicals and Newspapers, and under his direction was collected and published the *Miracle Play of Hasan and Hasain*, a set of thirty-seven dramatic scenes, concerning which *The Times*, in a long review under date August 19, 1879, remarked, that it was full of matter of the highest value to the student of Comparative Theology; in fact, it was a work unique of its kind, and which no one could have put forth, who had not the peculiar experiences and knowledge of Sir Lewis Pelly.

In 1885 he stood successfully in the Conservative interest for the Northern Division of Hackney, and sat for that borough up to the date of his death. He knew certain subjects well, and wisely confined himself to those subjects, and when he spoke, his words had due weight. He was a Director of the Imperial British East African Company, and his last utterance in the House of Commons was in connection with the affairs of East Africa, with which his official experience had made him familiar.

He was extremely courteous in his manner, and agreeable and instructive in his conversation, and he was one of the best type of the Anglo-Indian officials.

Journal of Royal Asiatic Society, 1892.

PART III.
AFRICA.



I.

SUGGESTIONS WITH REGARD TO THE ANNEX- ATION OF U-GANDA.

I. PRELIMINARY REMARKS.

DECLAMATION, and exaggerated fear of massacre, are represented in the Press. No one appears to have formulated a policy, such as a Viceroy of India would be compelled to do under similar circumstances. In the absence of any scheme proposed by abler hands, I submit one.

My position is entirely independent. As a follower of the Duke of Devonshire, I am not in sympathy on one great subject with the present Government, but this is a subject entirely outside party politics. At the late Election I heard most ungenerous charges against Mr. Gladstone. Who bombarded Alexandria? Who deserted Gordon? The Conservatives, who are now bringing pressure on Lord Rosebery, in the event of disaster will at the next Election cry out: Who invaded U-Ganda? Who deserted such and such a political officer, who got killed at his post?

I am totally unconnected with the Eastern Equatorial African Company: I know some of the Directors to be the most honourable, and benevolent of men: moreover, all that they have done, has been well done, except the despatch of Captain Lugard to U-Ganda: were their hands forced in this policy?

I am a Protestant, and yet it grieves me to find not a single word spoken in England, except by Captain Lugard, in the interest of the citizens of a friendly State, and entitled to our protection.

I have been half a century connected with Christian Missions: I know pretty exactly what is doing in every part of the world. Neither Missionaries, nor Missionary associations, appear to advantage in this affair. I read week by week what the French are doing: they are perfectly confident of the protection of St. Joseph, and the Blessed Virgin, and of the Intercession in Heaven in their

favour of their beatified colleagues, who have died in the field, and of Pagan children, surreptitiously baptized "in articulo mortis." And yet with such supernatural auxiliaries they apply for the aid of the French Republic, which Gallio-like expels British Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands, and threatens the same policy in Tunisia and Algeria.

"Non tali auxilio."

The conduct of the British Missionary Society is equally ambiguous, and facing both ways. In *The Times* of Oct. 12, the Secretary writes, that the Committee have cast their anxiety on God, and await the issue in prayer: this is as it should be: it is what the Missionaries of smaller kingdoms, which have no big ships, and big battalions, are obliged to do. But the recognized Press-representative of the Committee, *The Record*, in its Supplement dated Oct. 14, two days later, attempts to rouse the Annexation-instincts of the Nation: petitions are to be forwarded to both Houses with signatures of men, women, and children, who scarcely know, whether U-Ganda is in Asia, or Africa, and do not realize, that the policy to be forced upon the Government means bloodshed, outlay of treasure, possible discredit, and the assumption of vast responsibilities without the necessary Military preparation: every electoral device is to be set on foot: Sitting Members are to be approached, and, if a General Election comes on at Easter, there will be another distracting side-issue. Copies of this war-cry are forwarded from the headquarters of the Church Missionary Society. *The Times* of April 18, in its leader remarks, that the Church Missionary Society is "bestirring itself to organize and give voice to the opinion of those, who 'protest against the abandonment of the work,'" forgetful of the letter published by the Secretary in its columns of the 12th, that they were wholly given up to Prayer.

"Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo."

There is an entire forgetfulness of the Rights of African Sovereigns, and African People. Last century the Europeans stole the Africans from Africa: in this century they steal Africa from the Africans. The Missionary is supposed to come to convert the Soul. An intelligent Mahometan once remarked, that, whatever the white man pretended, the Missionary always had under his cloak a rifle on one side, and a demijohn of Rum on the other, for as sure as fate the Soldier and the Liquor-dealer came with him: I have often on platforms denied this, and tried to point out, that the Missionary had different objects and methods, and neither asked leave of his Government to go to, or the protection of his Government to stay in, any country. If U-Ganda is

occupied in 1892, mainly because British Missionaries require protection for themselves and their converts, they can no longer say, that they lean on the Hand of God, and *not* on the Arm of the Flesh.

II. PROPOSALS.

My only excuse for intruding into this subject is, that since 1877 it has occupied my thoughts, as Member of Council of the Royal Geographical Society, Member of the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, and Chairman of the African Sub-Committee of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society. I have read every book on the subject in the English, French, German, and Italian Languages from the first expedition of Henry Stanley to find Livingstone, to his last to relieve Emin Pasha. I have carefully studied the latest Maps of the Region. I have seen and conversed with nearly every Traveller, and nearly every English Missionary, who has found his way to the Equatorial Lake, and back again to England. I have thought over this subject, and am not in the least surprised at the turn which affairs have taken. From the point of view of my Indian experience of twenty-five years, gained under Lord Lawrence in annexations, rebellions, mutinies, and unceasing military expeditions, I am not in the least surprised, that, if a ship is allowed to drift, it should go upon the rocks, and so it must be, until a decided intelligible policy is adopted with an eye not only to this year and the next, but to the consequences of our policy in 1892, which will certainly ensue in 1900 or thereabouts. My recommendations are therefore :

- I. Absolute abandonment of the Kingdom of U-Ganda by every employé, civil or military, of the British Government, or of the Eastern Equatorial African Company, on the 31st of March, 1893.
- II. Withdrawal with them of all the Mahometan Sudánese soldiers of Emin Pasha, and all other Mahometans, not Natives of U-Ganda, and subjects of King Mwanga, who can be induced to accompany them.
- III. Negotiations by private individuals in England with Cardinal Lavigerie in Tunis to bring about an amicable *modus vivendi* between the French Roman Catholic Missionaries and the English Protestant Missionaries, on equal and honourable terms to both, with a compact of mutual assistance against the Pagans and Mahometans in case of attack made by the latter two sections of the population on the two former.
- IV. The establishment of a British Commissioner, and an armed force, in a properly constructed fort at or near Sio Bay on the East side of the Equatorial Lake, within the English

sphere of influence, outside of the Kingdom of U-Ganda, in the neighbourhood of which eventually the terminus of the Mombása Railway will be placed, all expenditure to be borne by the British Government.

- V. The guaranteeing of the dividend of a Railway from Mombása to Sio Bay by the British Government on condition that it be opened for use in (say) five years from date of evacuation of U-Ganda. Let us consider these points separately in detail.

I. Before the arrival of Captain Lugard the Roman Catholic and Protestant sections were masters of the situation, holding all the high offices, and there is no reason why, if they again acted in concert, they should not be so again: the withdrawal of the Sudánese soldiers (Point II.), and the reconciliation of the Roman Catholic and Protestant sections (Point III.), and the presence of the English Commissioner on the East side of the Lake (Point IV.), the presence of the German authorities at Bukóba on the frontier of the German sphere, cannot fail to bring home to Mwangi the necessity of deferring to European wishes, and it would also be his own interest to do so. At any rate, we must regard the matter from an Imperial point of view, and not forget the lessons of Khartúm and Majúba Hill, and we ought not to jeopardize our Imperial prestige, because European Missionaries have planted Missions in a foreign and dangerous country, and because a premature advance of the Agents of the Eastern Equatorial African Company has taken place: the pear is not yet ripe: this was often said of the Panjáb in North India; but the time came, when it was ripe, and fell into our hands: if we have but the grace to wait till the Railway is in working order to Sio Bay, we shall then be in striking distance, and can strike at our leisure.

Nor need we be afraid, that this delay will jeopardize our sphere of influence. Our German and Italian frontagers are bound by treaty, and have their hands full within their own spheres, which are but half occupied: as regards the French, let any reasonable person look at the Map: it is a far cry from the U-Banghi River, the French frontier, to the Nile Basin: it took Henry Stanley years, *not* months, to get from the Aruwini to Albert Nyanza: we should hear from the West coast of a party having started, and before they had traversed the intervening Regions, we should have had time from Sio Bay to send forces across the Lake and re-occupy U-Ganda. The assassination of our Consul General at U-Ganda, should we be ill-advised enough to remain after March 31 in Méngo, would be infinitely worse than the repulse of Majúba Hill, and Lord Wolseley would find it infinitely more difficult to conduct an avenging force from Mombása to U-Ganda than from Cairo to Khartúm. A great deal of unsupported praise is lavished

on the wealth and commercial prospects of U-Ganda: it appears to me entirely unfounded. When we annexed the Panjáb, we knew, that it had a population of Seventeen Millions, skilled in agriculture and Commerce, and in a high state of civilization: the people of U-Ganda appear to be naked barbarians with no elements of Industry and Commerce: the Enterprise would not pay under the present conditions.

II. It is obvious, that to leave the Sudánese soldiers of Emin Pasha behind us is to render Mwanga's position intolerable: they are Egyptian subjects, and it will be necessary to pay the expenses of their journey home, and get other alien Mahometans as far as possible out of the country.

III. It is not the business of the Imperial Government to occupy Provinces and Kingdoms, because Missionaries, vaunting of their *not* trusting in the Arm of the Flesh, have ventured into them: I have had fifty years' acquaintance with Missionaries, and Missionary Committees, and they are the very last class of the community, whom I should consult on matters of administration, or worldly policy: certainly in all our battles, annexations, rebellions, and mutinies, we never did so in India: they, good people, would have replied, that they could give no advice, because they did not understand the problem, and could take no part in what must eventuate in shedding blood; it is the fashion now for Missionary Committees to get up deputations, urging the Foreign Office to bring pressure on the Emperor of China, or the Emperor of Turkey, to do something or other, and on the India Office to alter their financial system by prohibiting the cultivation of the Poppy, and on this occasion on the Foreign Office to occupy with military forces an African Kingdom. All this is very foolish, particularly because they always give out, that they do not meddle with politics, cast their anxiety upon God, and are content with what God sends them. The Missionaries of Switzerland and Sweden are obliged to be so, but here we have the French applying to their Government, and the English to their Government: they would resent any interference of the State with their projects, however wild, and yet directly they get into trouble, up goes a deputation, trying to bring pressure on an unwilling or hesitating Government. The state of affairs at U-Ganda is simply disgraceful: it is not a Religious quarrel, but a mere fight of French and English, as it used to be in public Schools fifty years ago, when the memory of the battle of Waterloo was fresh among boys.

The Roman Catholic Missionaries have precisely the same rights as the Protestant, and are entitled to the same protection, and have a right to send a deputation. The Missionaries of foreign Nations in British India, Africa, and N. America are on precisely the same footing as the British Missionaries, and no preference ought to be shown. Unfortunately the French Missionary, whether Roman

Catholic or Protestant, will drag in his Nationality: Sir Bartle Frere told me, that the French *Protestant* Mission in Basuto-land was the cause of the troubles there, and the French Government decorated the Head of that *Protestant* Mission with the Legion of Honour because "he contributed to the influence of France within the British colony of South Africa." This is a radical error, from which the Roman Catholic Missionaries of Great Britain, Germany, Italy, and Spain, are entirely free.

Still I think that a *modus vivendi* might be arranged before March 31, 1893. I anticipated some such trouble, for I went over to Tunis in 1881 at my own charge to put the matter before Cardinal Lavigerie: His Eminence heard my story, and then stated, that he entirely agreed with me, that there ought to be a considerable distance betwixt the Stations of the two Missions: unfortunately circumstances prevented this, and we see the fatal consequences: wiser now in consequence of their troubles the two parties might be induced to agree to a territorial partition of the country, mutual forbearance, and a united action, if attacked by the Mahometan or Pagan Sections of the population.

And the British and French Governments should be informed of this compact, and insist on their countrymen keeping to their conditions: in case of difference there would always be an Umpire in the person of the British Commissioner on the other side of the Lake at Sio Bay.

IV. I now come to the fourth point. The position of U-Ganda is a dangerous one, open to attack from many quarters: the position of Sio Bay and its neighbourhood is safe: the population is said to be Negro, *not* Bantu as is U-Ganda: at least the Vocabularies collected are those of Negro Languages: it is well inside the British sphere, but still upon the Eastern shore of the Lake, so the British flag will still be in evidence: several Travellers have found their way to it from Mombása in safety, and I suggest it as a safe *provisional* advance-post, until the Railway is completed from Mombása. The whole position of affairs will then be changed: Steamers will be placed upon the Lake, and, if it is desirable to establish a Consul-General at the capital of U-Ganda, and penetrate beyond to U-Nyoro, Albert Nyanza, and Wadelai in Equatoria, it will then be quite possible. This establishment must be supported by the British Government, and will no doubt be costly, but anything less than this would imply abandonment of the Sphere of British Influence. Such a policy would not be a weak concession to an unreasoning cry of persons, who did not understand the problem, or care to look forward ten years, and consider the possible consequence of an insane Jingo-expedition, but it would represent the calm and deliberate opinion of a Government, which intended to follow the example of the administrators of British India, which, having established a firm

basis on the Sea at Bombay and Calcutta, proceeded step by step year after year up the valley of the Ganges until the whole Peninsula was conquered up to the mountain Range. Oriental Kingdoms are founded not by a rash bite of an unripe apple, but by a slow picking off the leaves of an artichoke, as they get ripe.

V. Granting the guarantee to the Railway from Mombasa to Sio Bay seems to go without saying: of what use was spending money on the Survey, if, when the project was declared to be feasible, it was not carried out? We have assumed certain responsibilities under the Brussels-Conference: the *time*, and the *mode*, of discharging those responsibilities rest with us, but we must give evidence of an *intention*, and it is presumed, that the gentlemen, and Societies, who are now so outspoken of their intention by deputations, and the Press, to force Lord Rosebery's hand, will be ready to grant the money required to carry out the modified policy now proposed.

If experience be worth anything, it must not be like the stern-light of a ship, which only illuminates the space, which has been traversed, but it must be like the search-light on the prow, which peers into the darkness of the near future. The question before us is: shall we do it, or shall we *not* do it? If we do it, what will be our situation in five or ten years? if we do *not* do it *now*, can we tide over till we are ready to strike a lasting and efficient blow? I think that we can. It is unworthy to act from fear of the Russians in India, or of the French in Africa; it is unworthy of a great country to be goaded by irresponsible Missionary Associations into a policy, which is not for the advantage of the Empire, and which means expenditure with no immediate return. We want the British Power to be maintained with honour, and without unnecessary waste of treasure, slaughter of poor Africans with Maxim-guns, and sacrifice of British prestige: it is well to have a Giant's strength, but not to use it as a bully: we require time to take breath, and prepare for a peaceful advance later on: we have often had to do it in the childhood of our Indian Empire. The children of this world are wiser in their generation than the children of light. In the long run a Missionary Association gains glory, and larger resources, by the slaughter of its converts, and the destruction of its Mission-Station. If we can judge from the French Missionary Reports the French Missionaries are making their troubles well-known in France, and are milking that cow most effectually. The Protestant Press parades the list of those, who have fallen, with a kind of pride: "See the success of our Labours!"

"Merges profundo pulchrior evenit."

But to a Secular Power to make a blunder in territorial annexation, and capture a useless white Elephant, is worse than a crime:

to be in a hurry is a terrible mistake: we ought *not* to have advanced, till we were sure of our supports, and we shall be so, if we have the grace to wait five years. The Missionary is dauntless in character, and quite ready to die, but he is regardless of consequences to himself or others, and forgets, that the death of a white man in Central Africa means something more than the loss of a single valuable life. He is worthy of the highest admiration, and will have his reward, but Earthly Kingdoms cannot be governed in this way: Earthly Rulers have to grapple with hard facts, and admit the existence of impediments, which compel sometimes absolute, but in this case, it is to be hoped, only temporary, withdrawal from the Kingdom of U-Ganda.

London, October 14, 1892.

IF WE DECIDE *not* TO HOLD THE WHOLE OF THE KINGDOM OF
U-GANDA AS A BRITISH PROVINCE, THEN WHAT?

Read Sir G. Portal's despatch to Lord Rosebery, dated Zanzibar, Nov. 1, 1893, received at the Foreign Office, Dec. 6, 1893, and presented to the House of Commons, March, 1894, after the death of the writer: pages 29-39 of the Blue Book.

April, 1894.

There is a great deal of false glamour about the value of the Kingdom of U-Ganda: (1) it is on the Equator, and not 4,000 feet above the level of the sea; (2) the nearest portions are 700 miles from the nearest seaport; (3) the only products are ivory and coffee; (4) there are positively no natural modes of communication, either by water or land: a ton of goods cost £300 in portorage; a letter takes four months to get to Great Britain; (5) the only armed Native Troops are the Mahometan Sudánese soldiers of Emin Pasha, described as most brutal; (6) the reigning Sovereign is a cruel debauchee, with no gift of rule, and apparently the last male of his race; (7) there is no hope of the cost of administration being defrayed by the Revenue of the country.

If you glance round Africa, and the world, you will nowhere find a more undesirable Region, more difficult to hold, and more profitless when held. All the facts stated above are derived from Sir G. Portal's own statement. As to the fear of any other European Power stepping in, if we step out, Germany is the only one who could get at the Region: it is a far cry to get to the nearest French colony, and any attempt on the part of France would mean war. Italy, Portugal, Belgium have got their hands full elsewhere.

The idea of introducing the Sultan of Zanzibár into the possible arrangements seems madness. He has neither ability, nor resources, nor knowledge of the country, except through the Arab Slave-dealers, who are the avowed enemies of all Europeans, and of all progress.

I am glad to see from § 4, page 32, that Sir G. Portal is entirely opposed to the "*direct* administration of U-Ganda by the British Government." The advantages would not be commensurate with the financial sacrifices which must be made: it would be better on every account to leave the king to conduct his own administration.

This is really a great point gained, that the Special Commissioner after visiting the country has arrived at this clear decision: that he and his brother, both healthy men in the prime of life, with every comfort of food, clothing, and medical attendance, should have succumbed to the climate of this tropical Region on the Equator is a fact, which I record, as another argument against annexation, and colonization.

It remains, therefore, only to discuss the alternative proposals.

Sir G. Portal considers it necessary to deprive the East Equatorial African Company of any political, or administrative, duties, either within the limits of the Sultan's territory, "*under concessions made by that Sovereign,*" or outside the limits in the interior "*under the Royal Charter.*" This is another great point gained. Such Companies under Royal Charter are a curse to Africa. The kind of men, who make up the Boards, or go out as their Agents, are not qualified to wield the rod of Empire: they very properly think of their dividends, and nothing beyond.

So far I am in unison with Sir G. Portal:

- (1) No attempt of *direct* administration of U-Ganda.
- (2) Cancelling of the Charter, and Concessions to the E. E. Company.

Henceforth our road divides.

I positively object to allowing Zanzibár to have any control whatever beyond the ten-mile coast radius: it is possible, that the same kind of Concessions, as the Sultan made to the Company, can now be made to the British Government. Let us take this for granted, and consider (1) our position, (2) past experience, (3) future prospects.

(1) *Our Position.* It is a grave question, affecting the interests of Great Britain for the next century: it may prove an incubus, and a danger, as the Danube, and the Euphrates, were to the Roman Empire: we must decide this grave matter not with an eye to the views or convenience of the present Epoch only; we must look forward twenty years: we must lay our foundations firm, if we

mean to build a new edifice, or we shall have to leave the country in disgrace, as we left the Sudán and Afghanistán. I should prefer the policy of clearing out, but it is too late, and it is wiser to accept the fact, that the British people of both political parties are determined to do something in the way of annexation: a wise Statesman always accepts facts: "non quod volumus, sed quod possumus": all that I ask is, that we should form a deliberate scheme, keep clear of all entanglement with Zanzibár, and we should not be in a hurry. "Festina lenté."

(2) *Our Past Experience.* British India gives a good precedent. Had it been proposed at the close of the last century to annex the Panjáb, and place a Resident in Afghanistán, wise Statesmen would have said: "Hold your hand: the pear is not ripe." Our policy was to advance up the valley of the Ganges, and strip off leaf after leaf of the great artichoke. So we secured:

- (1) A strong position at Calcutta.
- (2) Annexation of Lower Bangál.
- (3) Annexation of Behár.
- (4) Annexation of North-West Provinces.

When I entered the Indian Service in 1843 our frontier was on the Satlaj: we had a Region called the Protected States betwixt the Jamna, the limit of our Provinces, and the Satlaj, the limit of our Protectorate. Under my very eyes came

- (5) The conquest of the Panjáb.
- (6) Friendly political relations with Afghanistán.

Here we have a "modus operandi": safe: with supports behind us on the frontier: "etapes," "places d'armes": communications first by Rivers Ganges and Jamna; then by Roads; now by Railway. It took half a century.

(3) *Future Prospects.* Let us adopt the same policy: let us imagine the British sphere with Mombása as a basis, and *Albert Nyanza* as the extreme summit, to be treated as the valley of the Ganges was in the first half of the century: the great Marquess of Wellesley, Governor-General in 1805, knew what he was about: he had a plan, and looked ahead.

Now as regards our "British East Equatorial Africa."

- I. Fortify Mombása, and make it a safe harbour for men-of-war.
- II. Induce the Sultan of Zanzibár to transfer the Concession of his ten-mile radius to the British Government on liberal terms, to be increased, if success attends the enterprise.
- III. Annex all that country, which lies South of the River Tana up to the dividing Range of mountains, known

as Mau or Kikúyu, on 36° East Longitude: administer this Province in the cheap manner of a non-Regulation District in India: no troops are required, only a Military Police: British India will supply the material for a Police Regiment.

- IV. Make a Railway from Mombása to Kikúyu, a cheap single line, with a "place d'armes" at Kikúyu. This is Region I, analogous to the Province of Bangál.
- V. On the other side of the Range is Region No. II, the West face of which is the shore of Victoria Nyanza: this Region must be left to itself as far as possible *for the present*: a line of Road should be marked out, and an annual payment made to the Chiefs to keep it open: if any breach of the peace takes place, or plundering of caravans, we must punish them, as we do the Afghans on our Indian frontier.
- VI. On the Lake we must have at a suitable spot another "place d'armes," with access to the Lake, and a protected harbour for our Steamers on the Lake. This Region will be our Protectorate, till in due time it expands into our North-West Provinces.
- VII. U-Ganda should be treated like Afghanistán, absolutely evacuated. No British flag should fly: a treaty of friendship should be formed with the King, and an annual payment made, in return for good behaviour, and presents of Arms: *if the King wishes it*, a Political agent should reside at the Court of the King, but no British troops: the sole communication betwixt the capital of U-Ganda and the Region No. II on the opposite and Eastern side of the Lake should be by Steamers, which, of course, will be armed.
- VIII. As to the Kingdom of U-Nyoro, Lake Albert Nyanza, and the upper waters of the Nile as far as Lado, we should declare them to be within our Sphere of Influence, and announce our intention to deal with them *as time goes on*: with the West Bank of Albert Nyanza, and of the Upper Nile, we should disclaim all connection, and limit our Sphere to the Eastern Bank; in course of time a route will be worked out to Lado from some Port on the Indian Ocean, North of Mombása, through the Galla country: we must leave this to the future: *it is the natural outlet of the Upper Nile Province*.
- IX. The Missionaries, British or French, must manage their own affairs: no blessing will ever attend the preaching of the Gospel, supported by the Arm of the Flesh, and Maxim-guns: since the time of Charles Martel, and Boniface, no true Evangelization has been attempted by

force of arms: there is no Mission of any denomination or Church at this moment, "which sits upon rifles and guns" (to use Metternich's phrase). I have been devoted for fifty years to Missions, but I denounce the Missions, both Romish and Protestant, at U-Ganda: it is a mere bid for political power.

It is far better to withdraw at once, than to have to withdraw, as the French had to in 1870 from the Romish Provinces, and the British did twice from Afghanistan, and once from the Transvaal. There is a French Proverb, "Step back in order to make a better leap": let us do so: a Naval Power should be based firmly on the sea, with a facility of collecting reserves, and sending up relief, maintaining Railways and Telegraphs: only imagine in the nineteenth century the existence of a "Chateau d'Espagne" in Central Africa, with an interval of four months for a letter to arrive in London, and eight months to get a reply back to the writer. All things will come right, if we have grace to wait.

The expense, the loss of life, the uncertainty, and the possibility of disaster, are appalling to think of: I am old enough to recollect the news of the disaster in Afghanistan reaching England in 1839-40 via the Cape: we cannot wait four months now: the loss of life of British troops marching under the heat of the Equatorial sun will be frightful; the cost of an expedition would be tremendous. We do not think enough in England of physical obstacles. I remember, when I was in Kashmir in 1850, talking with my old friend, Maharaja Golab Singh, the King of the country: we were standing on a bridge, looking at his fortress, and I said, that I could shell the fortress from that bridge: he laughed and said, "how will you get your guns up the passes from India to Kashmir?" The old fox took care that the roads were totally impassable for guns. King Mwanga might say: "get your troops here, and keep them alive for a term of years." Gradually, gradually, as the Railway extends, and our Power settles down, all will be possible.

I add some incidental remarks.

We must get the Sudánese, or Nubian, Mahometan troops out of the country at any expense. I read in *The Times* of April 23, that among the forces of the King of U-Nyoro, who fought against the British, were some of the Nubians of Emin Pasha's force: if we left them behind, they would join their co-religionists, and overwhelm the King's administration.

We have nothing, as a ruling Power, to do with the fact, that the people are Christian, or Hindu, or Mahometan, or Pagan: we must deal fairly with all. The administration of British India has taught us this lesson: it is mere claptrap sentiment to introduce such colouring of a grave question: I am sorry that Sir Gerald

Portal stooped to do so. Page 20, Factor 11: what judge is he whether "*the hold is firm?*" I doubt.

The administration of U-Ganda has no possible connection with the export of slaves from the coasts of the Sultanat of Zanzibár, or the Portuguese colony of Mozambik. The flow of the Caravans of Slave-dealers is over Lake Nyasa: at any rate, it will not be through the Mombása Province, as suggested under Heading III.

If no Railway be made to Kikúyu, it must be recollected, that the only alternative is forced labour, or Slave-labour, of porters: *there are no roads for wheel carriages*: no elephants, camels, oxen, or horses, as in British India; only a few donkeys, and half a dozen ponies.

The Idea of a European colony under the Equator seems to be a grim pleasantry: no European woman has ever penetrated to these Regions; so there has been no experiment in child-life: between the Tropics of Capricorn and Cancer there is no prospect of European settlements in Africa.

If French Missionaries are to settle in an English sphere, they must supply themselves with passports, the possession of which will remind them, that they are under the protection of, and therefore during their domicile, *which in their case is for their life*, subjects of, Great Britain, and any act of intrigue, or rebellion, will render them liable to the same punishment, which would most certainly meet any British Settler in a French colony, viz. Expulsion or Imprisonment. As a corollary to this, the French should receive compensation for the brutal treatment, which they received from the Agents of the Chartered Company in 1892, and be assured of the same Tolerance as in British India. It is shocking to read the expressions of the Protestant Missionaries on this subject.

Too much stress should not be laid on the word "treaty." Of course in Europe, or Asia, or America, a treaty is a very solemn thing; but in Africa during the last fifteen years everybody, who has been in the country, men like Carl Peters, etc., with no manner of authority from their Government, have been making treaties. Bundles of treaties are reported to have been made by Chiefs, whose actual residence is uncertain, who had no power to act for their tribe, and also were ignorant of the purport: before a treaty is made, it is usual to examine the credentials of the parties contracting: nothing of this kind has been done: the treaties are just waste paper. The treaty made by Sir G. Portal with Mwangi (page 18) is a sample of a solemn document prepared by a duly authorized representative of Her Majesty, and to be respected.

As to U-Nyoro, Colonel Colville should be severely reprov'd. At page 17 Sir G. Portal writes: "I can see no object worth gaining by a forcible subjugation of U-Nyoro," and yet the Colonel attacks that Kingdom, and the Missionaries shout out (see *Times*, April, 1894), "U-Nyoro for Christ: send a Missionary at once to occupy

the country." We should never have established our Empire in India, if we had acted in this way. In 1845, Dec. 18, I was with Sir Henry Hardinge (Lord Hardinge) and a few others, under a tree having lunch, a few hours before the battle of Múdkí commenced: the old Peninsular soldier said thoughtfully, "I hope that the House of Commons will be of opinion, that we had sufficient provocation to justify this war." Young fellows and Chartered Companies wage war "à la discretion" now: this should be stopped.

The Prime Minister remarked at the Lord Mayor's Banquet, 1894, as follows: "Of armed exploration the dangerous bearing is obvious enough. The Explorer of the last generation was a simple Traveller, who took his life in his hand. His successor of these days is the commander of a little army, who takes it upon him to fight battles, annex territory, and conclude treaties."

P.S.—The following letter sent by me to *The Times*, July, 1894, supplies a hope that the national contention betwixt the French and British Missionaries will now disappear:

"Sir, I have the honour to inform you, on the authority of the *Illustrated Catholic Missions* of July, 1894, page 41, that the Superior General of the French Missionaries now at U-Ganda has applied to the Pope to allow Cardinal Vaughan, Superior General of the Mill Hill Society, near Hampstead, in Middlesex, to send out a detachment of English Fathers to work, as allies and auxiliaries, of the French Fathers, and it is extremely probable that the Holy See will approve of this arrangement, as in every way desirable to all who take an interest in the welfare of U-Ganda.

"Hitherto there has been a confusion in the Native mind of European nationalities and Languages with different forms of the same Christian Religion. To the Natives the priests of the Church of Rome were all Wa-Franza, and the Protestants all Wa-Inglésa. This delusion, which has caused bloodshed, will exist no longer.

"At the same time the public declaration of the British Protectorate removes all political complications. In British India, in Canada, and in Australia, there are French Missions, but they never give the least trouble, as, so long as the Civil Law is obeyed, the British Government never interferes in their operations. If necessary, every foreigner could be required to supply himself with a passport, as was the case in British India during the Mutinies of 1857; in time of peace this formality ceases.

"What is required for the Protestant Mission in U-Ganda is a resident Bishop, content to follow the example of the Romish Bishop, and to live a term of years with his Missionaries, instead of being backwards and forwards every two years to London, for the purpose of consulting the Missionary Committee, and visiting his wife and children."

II.

THE U-GANDA SCANDAL, 1892.

I HAVE been asked by the Editor of the *Imperial and Asiatic Quarterly Review* to write on this Subject: though painfully familiar with it I hesitated to do so: the volcano of public sentimentality must burn itself out: the people of England have passed into one of their periodical paroxysms of madness: some years back there was just such another about Gordon of Khartúm. A wise old man in the Middle Ages wrote as follows: "Sine insanum vulgum facere quod vult, nam vult facere quod vult." "Let the foolish world do what it wishes, for it wishes to do what it wishes."

In the decision of the Government of the country announced in *The Times* of this day, November 24, 1892, I hail the sign of returning common-sense, and sobriety of thought.

"It has been resolved by the Government not to interfere with the evacuation of U-Ganda by the Imperial British East Africa Company on the 31st of March, 1893, but at once to send out a Commissioner of their own with a sufficient Native escort for the purpose of reporting on the actual state of affairs in U-Ganda, and the best means of dealing with the country."

This practically defers the final decision until after Parliament has met: it will give time to those, who with imperfect information have rushed into the Subject, to mature their knowledge: Bishops, Deans, Assistant-Masters in Public Schools, leading-article-writers, country Clergymen, members of Chambers of Commerce, enthusiasts, fanatics: many of these did not know six months ago where U-Ganda was: a year hence, if some terrible disaster, like that of the fall of Khartúm, or the defeat of Majúba Hill, were the result of our premature occupation of this inland mountainous country, they would deny all responsibility: the policy proposed is one of the gravest problems of this century: let it be thought out, free from rodomontade, bunkum, semi-Religious humbug, on its merits. I shall strive to maintain a cold judicial attitude in these remarks: it is not a Missionary, or a Commercial, question, but a National one.

Let me enumerate the different motives, urged by different individuals in Public Meetings or letters to the Press.

- I. The honour of Great Britain.
- II. The continuity of moral policy.
- III. The suppression of the Slave-Trade and Slavery.
- IV. The opening out of new markets, and a vast field to British Commerce.
- V. The annexation, *with the consent of the Native Sovereign*, and his Pagan and Mahometan Subjects, of a country half as large as Europe, healthy, fertile, suitable not only for residence of Europeans as in British India, but for colonization, as in South Africa.
- VI. The risk of other Powers, German, Italian, Portuguese, and French, grasping at this "Pearl of Africa," if the British failed to lay their hands on it at once.
- VII. The prospect of the cultivation of coffee, tea, cotton, and other tropical products; the existence of animal wealth in the form of Ivory, and of mineral wealth untold.
- VIII. The awful consequence of the Briton failing at this juncture to discharge his Imperial Mission, viz., civil war, murder, massacre, such as, in the opinion of H.M.'s Consul-General at Zanzibár, Sir G. Portal, *the world has never known the like*.
- IX. Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches, and of the Church of Rome.
- X. Protection of the Native Christian Churches from the Intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan.
- XI. The establishment of Protestant Government, under which, in the opinion of one of the Missionaries who has come from U-Ganda, "the future would be very bright."
- XII. The maintenance of sacred treaties, extorted from a King, who was one of the basest of men, who had killed an English Bishop, had been nominally both a Protestant, and a Roman Catholic, who was admitted to be a murderer, on the ground that in the interests of the Subjects of this King it would be shameful to abandon them.
- XIII. The occupation of the Head-waters of the Nile, presenting a strategic position unequalled in the world.
- XIV. The whole New Testament has been translated into the Language of U-Ganda.
- XV. In the plan of the Creator of the world, Africa was created for the benefit, and the vile uses, of the people of Europe: the Negro, being only partially removed from the position of his near relation, the anthropoid ape, has no right to independence, political freedom, or the use of his own customs: he was placed in Africa to be cut down and plundered by Geographical explorers, to be debauched by the importers of European and American liquors,

to be shot down by European Maxim-guns and rifles, to be encouraged to internecine tribal warfare by a liberal importation of gunpowder, and lethal weapons.

Let us calmly consider all these points, neither from the fanatical semi-religious point of view, nor from the selfish commercial point of view, but from the point of view of experience.

(1) "The honour of Great Britain." "Scuttling" is said to be "dishonourable": let us take care that we do not *scuttle* our own ship by overloading it: in the case of a European war, our position is already very insecure. Is it honourable to invade with a military force and conquer a Nation, which has never given us any cause of umbrage? We read in Pope's "Homer," Achilles' angry exclamation:

"What cause have I to war at thy decree?
The distant Trojans never injured me."

The U-Ganda lamb has never injured the British wolf: the Scotch fought the English for their own Mountains: the Irish are crying out for National independence. The English Race, whose glory it is to have never had its towns occupied by a foreign force, should be merciful to the poor African: what then is the real motive of this cry? The earth greed of the comfortable English middle classes: the possession of large ships and big battalions breeds a lust of annexation, a Jingo-feeling; the old cry of the Roman people,

"Panem et Circenses,"

and new triumphs strutting down the Sacred way. Instead of attending to the sorrows and wants of their own poorer classes in their great cities, the comfortable middle classes are desirous to control the filthy opium-smoking appetites of the Chinese, to enforce the remarriage of Hindu widows, to compel the Chinese women to have their feet free from ligaments; and lastly to anticipate possible civil strife in U-Ganda, they would let loose the dogs of war: the honour of England is represented by Maxim-guns imported to cut down the African converts of French Roman Catholics: Jingo-expeditions of this kind are promoted by the same sense of honour, which in the last generation caused duels with sword and pistol. There will be a certain Nemesis: it is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant.

(2) "The continuity of moral policy": this is lawful and good; but we must not do evil, that good may come: by all means, by lawful means, repress the Slave-Trade, stop the importation of liquors, and lethal weapons; what can be more incontinently

immoral than the unjustifiable annexation of an independent Kingdom, and the slaughter of poor Africans by Maxim-guns? The less that Morality is talked about, since the agents of the East African Company entered U-Ganda, the better.

(3) "The Suppression of the Slave-Trade." My previous knowledge of the country made me very sceptical on this subject: every speaker, and every writer, introduced it like a schoolboy's tag to his verses. The Rev. Horace Waller, an admitted authority for many years, spoke as follows at the Deputation to the Foreign Office on the 20th October, 1892, of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:

"So that at the present moment, I think, we may congratulate ourselves on the fact that, however bad the Slave-Trade might have been in U-Ganda, at present it is not allowed. I think, my Lord, I have detected an anxiety on your part, owing to what has taken place at other meetings, to know if there are any great Slave routes from U-Ganda to the coast. It has been the duty of the Society, with which I have the honour to work, to make all the investigations possible on that point, and I can only say that we know of no routes, routes in the proper sense of the word. The whole of the East coast of Africa oozes with the Slave-Trade. There is not a creek, there is not a man who owes a dhows, that does not know something of this atrocious trade; but to talk of a collection of Slaves taking place in U-Ganda in order that they may be marched down in thousands and tens of thousands, as they are in the Portuguese dominions on the East coast of Africa, is speaking beside the fact altogether. One must speak the truth, and it will do no harm here if, in parentheses, I say there has been, to a certain extent, a Slave route, and that one does exist at the present moment; but when Slaves are seen going through that country in large numbers, I am ashamed to say, that it is very often for the purpose of taking provisions from Mombasa to the British East Africa Company's headquarters in U-Ganda. It has been known to your Lordship, and all those who are present here, that there has been a downward pouring of Slaves; not many of them; but in times past, when Mr. Stanley took away from Zanzibar a very large number of Slaves indeed, and brought his remnant back, those Slaves came down along what we may call, if you like, a Slave route, to go back to their Slave-labour. Such is the state of things at the present moment; and again, I say, it is best for us to look these facts in the face, if we are to try and put our heads together and lay the thing before Her Majesty's Government in such a shape that they may be able to deal with the question of the Slave-Trade.

"With regard to the railway, I am not sanguine enough to suppose for one moment that that railway will make a very appreciable difference in the export of Slaves from Africa. Slaves at the present moment are teeming in our Protectorate of Zanzibar."

Lord Rosebery, in his reply to the Deputation, spoke as follows:

"The extent of the question was pointed out by Mr. Waller in his speech, perhaps more extensively than I could do it by any words of mine. He recommended a railroad that would cost two and a half millions; but he himself said, that it would not be a great anti-Slavery agency, and he pointed out that, whereas we had acquired the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba in exchange for an important British possession, in the hope of civilizing those countries, Slavery flourished largely there. And he further pointed

“this out, that, whereas, with the view of developing British influence in our sphere, we had handed over, to a very large extent, our responsibilities to a chartered company, yet that Slavery flourished in the very employment of that chartered company. Now, these are not my representations; they are the representations of a member of the Deputation, and I only allude to them to point out to you, how very large is the question, to which you have invited my attention.”

It may be safely asserted that any allusion to the Slave-Trade in connection with the annexation of U-Ganda was only by way of aggravation: of course a Railway and European occupation will sensibly, *but indirectly*, sound the knell of Slavery and the Slave-Trade, but the prominent place given to this great curse, both in the discussions this Autumn, and in the debate of the House of Commons last Session, was quite unjustified by facts.

(4) “The opening out of new markets.” A most desirable object, and a legitimate one; but why select a country seven hundred miles from the Sea, at a height of four thousand feet above Sea-level, with no well-established trade route, and no means of transport except Slave-labour, especially as this country is inhabited by a people in a low state of culture without a single market town, or masonry house, to whom a sheet appears to be the only garment, if we can judge from the illustrated literature sedulously circulated by the Missionary Society? If we can judge from the accounts of Henry Stanley and Carl Peters, the progress of a Caravan is only accomplished by acts of cruelty, flogging, shooting, etc., etc. Has the Chamber of Commerce thought out the details of such Commerce? Liquor, gunpowder, fire-arms, would be the most acceptable articles. The chief leader of the existing Caravans is a white man, who some years ago went out as a Missionary, and now cohabits with a black woman, and goes backwards and forwards, commanding a party of what Mr. Horace Waller calls “technical slaves.” Let it be recorded to his honour, that he neither flogs, nor murders, and pays his porters their wages as agreed upon. Here what *The Times* reporter writes in 1892:

“The active and businesslike methods now adopted by the Company have improved affairs very much in this respect. Each man receives a brass ticket with a number, which he must produce on his return to the coast, otherwise he is fined a certain amount of his wages. Deserters when caught have, as a rule, a very unpleasant time, and are in addition compelled to work off their advance, which gives them ample time to reflect on the error of their ways. However, it is not possible as yet to abolish this system, owing to the fact of nearly all the porters being Slaves, whose masters expect to receive something on account, by way of security and compensation, for the loan of their services, and they are, moreover, entitled to half the wages paid to their Slaves on their return to the coast. The proportion of Slaves is, however, now diminishing, owing partly to the anti-Slavery measures recently instituted, which have had the effect of sensibly decreasing their number, and partly owing to the fact, that every endeavour is being made to introduce a system of free paid labour among the Natives in the interior.

"The average of the wages paid to all hands, including headmen, askarie (or "soldiers), porters, servants, etc., comes to about Rs 12 per head per month. "Their posho (or rations) amounts to another Rs. 6 approximately."

(5) "The annexation of a large country to the British dominions with the *consent of the people*, healthy, fertile, suitable for residence and colonization of Europeans." It is situated on the Equator: that great astronomical line in its course round the globe traverses Sumatra, Borneo, and the Celebes in Asia; Ecuador, and North Brazil, in South America; the Gabún territory on the West coast of Africa, Albert and Victoria Nyanza, in Central Africa: one of the Missionaries describes East Equatorial Africa as the "country of graves": if we had a list of the French and English Missionaries, who have succumbed during the last fifteen years, we should be appalled: no European woman has yet penetrated to this country, so infant-life has never come into existence: Captain Lugard is light-hearted enough to certify the fitness of the country for European civilization. He describes it as an elevated table-land offering all the conditions for a prosperous European settlement: he quotes freely "everybody, who knows the country." But who does know it? His letter reads like that of a prospectus-writer of a Company: he has a foregone conclusion: he has repeated it to so many ignorant people at so many meetings, that he is beginning to believe it himself: he wants somebody to provide the money, and entrust him with the spending: the morality of the transaction, the possible failure, and the danger, are all kept in the background.

It is a field, he says, for emigrants, for the localization of European colonists: he specially recommends the Highlands of Kikúyu: they are several hundred miles East of U-Ganda; they afford a climate healthy and bracing; the temperature is that of Europe, and the nights and days very often are cold indeed. He does not state the season of the year, during which he paid his visit. Then he suggests immigration into these Regions of the Hindu from British India: why not try the Arab from Arabia, and the Sudáni, Abyssinian, and Somáli, to join the happy family in these blessed Regions, which another writer describes as entirely void of all inhabitants?

I quote lines from *The Times* with regard to the Regions of Nýasa and Blantyre, far to the South of U-Ganda, with a far better climate:

"Mr. Thompson is far too cautious, and much too well-informed, to maintain, that on this splendid plateau (Blantyre) Europeans can settle as colonists, as they do in Canada and the Cape."

Then as to the consent of the people: did any of them ever know of the arrangement? Mr. Carl Peters, the German adventurer, had, *with the help of the French Priests*, only a short time before, made similar arrangements: is it the least likely that the

Mahometans and Pagans, and the men who aspire to authority, approved of it? Without asking for a regular plebiscite some proof is required before the consent of the people, an African people, is put forward. If we do occupy the country, it will be by brute force, by having at our command rifles and Maxim-guns, by the service of the Sudán troops left behind by Emin Pasha, described by Mr. Horace Waller, in his address to Lord Rosebery, as "versed in all acts of atrocity: no men despise Human life more than they do." In the war with our colonies in North America last century the great Earl Chatham denounced the employment of the Red Indian in our wars: we shall appear to have fallen lower in "our moral continuity," if we employ the black Sudáni in the work of enslaving the Wa-Ganda.

(6) "The risk of another Power stepping in." The very fact, that in this argument the Portuguese are mentioned, who cannot occupy their own hinter-land, shows the absurdity: the Germans and Italians are bound by treaty to their own limits, and will be taxed to the utmost of their strength to fulfil their task, and are more afraid of us than we of them: as for the French, their name is merely added by way of aggravation. The whole of the Kongo Independent State intervenes between the French and U-Ganda: Lake Chad is the object of French fond aspirations: the case for annexation was so weak, that a grain of old Gallophobia was thrown in to rouse public feeling more effectually, a little more yeast to make the bread rise.

In the pages of *The Record* I find extreme jealousy expressed at the very notion of French influence appearing in Abeokúta or Yáriba-land, on the West coast, as it would jeopardize the work of the British Protestant Mission there: really, if the British work has taken such little root, not much will be lost: centuries of English domination have never extinguished the Roman Church in Ireland. In the same leader I find objection to the occupation of East Africa by the Germans, and the possibility of the Bishop of the Universities-Mission having to teach German in his Mission Schools. In fact, British Insularity and Superciliousness wish to have its own way East and West, and to get rid of all other Nations.

(7) "The prospect of tropical products, stores of ivory, mineral wealth of all kinds." No one can say that in a country, of which we know so little, such things may not exist, or *be made to exist*. At one of the public Meetings Mr. Alfred Spicer, a not very sanguine speaker, remarked, that such good things might not be available *now*, but that *our great grandchildren* would have the advantage of them. When it is recollected, that the first and main motive is the Missionary question, that the chief promoters of the movement are the Missionary Societies, when one comes to tea, coffee, sugar, and banánas, one is irresistibly reminded of the well-known cry of the sellers of fruit at Smyrna:

“ In the name of the Prophet Figs.”

(8) “The awful consequence to the Wa-Ganda of the British Nation abandoning a country, into which they had without rhyme or reason entered.” I really can find no evidence of this danger: before Mr. Jackson and Captain Lugard arrived, the British and French factions had coalesced, had restored the King Mwanga to his throne, and divided among themselves all the high offices: Captain Lugard writes distinctly, that on his arrival he found that a feud existed between the French and British parties, *headed by their Missionaries*: he took sides with the British, and we know the consequences. We are not responsible for the consequences of feuds among the inhabitants of Lake Tanganyika, Lake Albert, Lake Victoria, or Lake Chad: who made us rulers and arbitrators among these independent people? The Picts and Scots, the British and the Norsemen, the Normans and the English, had their time of fighting, when the Romans left England. We can leave this pretence of interference with an easy conscience. Ever since we left Afghanistan the tribes have been fighting with each other. Things are much worse in the Sudán: why do we not interfere there from Cairo and Suákim as our two bases? we have the very real shame of Khartúm to wipe out, and an access by water all the way, which we have already traversed.

(9) “Free course to the peaceful work of the Missionaries of the Protestant Churches and the Church of Rome.” Let us think for a moment what could have happened to the Missionaries, who now cry out like children, that have been hurt owing to their own misconduct, if they had belonged to any other Nation but Great Britain or France. The American citizens of the United States must have made the best of it, as it is the fixed policy of the States to have no political entanglements East of the Atlantic. The American Government does indeed send warships to bully the Natives of Mikronesia, in the South Sea Islands, but nothing beyond. The Emperor of Austria has submitted to the sad imprisonment of his poor Monks and Nuns at Khartúm and El Obed in the Sudán. Italy and Spain would not have ventured on such an expedition, even if the Pope himself, the poor prisoner of the Vatican, had got into a real prison in U-Ganda. Russia would have left her Greek Priests to stew in their own juice: we very much doubt whether Protestant Germany would have been induced to send an expedition to extricate German Missionaries, who went without leave, and against advice and warning. As for Holland, Belgium, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Denmark, all which countries are represented in the African Mission-field, they would have patiently suffered hardship like good soldiers, have put up with the spoiling of their goods, and died at their post, as British and French Missionaries also

have been in the habit of doing in other countries and past decades : their cry has always been :

“ Do anything rather than avenge my death ! do anything rather than invade
 “ with military forces my adopted country ! do not shed innocent blood, and
 “ place a free people under hated foreign domination, on the pretence of
 “ preaching the Gospel of Peace, putting an end to domestic Slavery, and opening
 “ a new market for spirits and Manchester goods, and introducing European bad
 “ habits worse than barbarism.”

Such would be the cry of the real Missionaries, and such has been until the present lamentable occurrence the practice : if the British and French Missionaries remain at U-Ganda, will the memory of the Maxim-gun, and the slaughter of Africans, be forgotten ? If Augustine had landed in Kent and acted in this way, should we have ever forgotten it ? It is distressing to think, how much the prejudice against foreign Missions among so many classes of the British Community, and which is so painfully evident, will be increased by the exhibition of the fighting tendencies, and annexation-appetites, of the Evangelical Section of the Church during the last three months : the noise of Religious and quasi-Religious Meetings can only be compared to the barking of dogs at night, who bark when they hear other dogs bark : they know not why : it means nothing : secular political meetings mean something very real, but demonstrations of semi-Religious matters from the platform and pulpit read more like the scolding of women. If attempts to evangelize a non-Christian Nation are to be the first step to, and closely connected with, annexation of Provinces, enslaving of free nationalities, destroying them with artillery, burning their houses down ; if Arnott, when he penetrated to Garenganze, is but the herald, and forerunner, of gallant Captains, better far that the attempts should not be made : all the froth about civilization is cant and hypocrisy : if a Mahometan had done it, no condemnation would be considered too severe ; if Roman Catholics attempted it, as they did in the days of Charles Martel, and the Teutonic Knights, the censure of Protestants would be unlimited ; but here we have Pulpit, Platform, and Evangelical Press, hounding on an unwilling Government to assume the Protectorate of thousands of naked savages, seven hundred miles from the nearest seaport at an altitude of 4,000 feet above the level of the sea, with still loftier Ranges to be crossed to get to the sea, and no means of transport except actual or technical slaves, supplied by the Arab Slave-holders at Zanzibár.

(10) “ Protection of Native Christian Churches in the country from the intolerance of the Mahometan and Pagan.” Is King Mwanga a Christian ? He was baptized by the Roman Catholics, and we read, that he attends a State Divine Service in the Protestant Church : Captain Lugard tells us in *The Fortnightly*

of November, 1892, that this King is a man of singularly abandoned morals, and he confirms in so many printed words what was only whispered before, that these numerous page-boys, of which we hear so much in Missionary Reports, and some of whom are ranked among Protestant, and Roman Catholic, Martyrs (for both parties have long lists of Martyrs), were the victims of their Sovereign's lust, and in fact members of his male harem. Mr. Ashe, a Missionary, in his letter to *The Times*, July 26, of the year 1892, writes about *political* Protestants. Captain Lugard takes credit for having introduced the use of the term "Protestant," and Mr. Ashe remarks, "that it was unknown, when he left U-Ganda in 1886, and that it was used now to denote the party, who support the English occupation": upon this *The Times* remarks:

"It has probably always been felt by careful Students, that the extraordinary theological zeal of the Natives of U-Ganda for different forms of the Christian Religion stood somewhat in need of explanation. Mr. Ashe, with a candour, which is not too common, tells us that the explanation is 'largely rifles.' Protestants and Catholics in his view are mainly rival claimants for political power, and both are keenly alive to the fact, that power is apt to belong to big battalions armed with good weapons. He was not unfamiliar four years ago with the scramble for rifles, but he finds, that it has become far more keen in the interval, and that a brisk trade has ended in furnishing U-Ganda and the Regions round about with a formidable number of these weapons (Capt. Lugard says 6,000).

"We may take it, that the feverish desire for books and knowledge, which Mr. Ashe describes, would not long survive a general letting loose of all the worse passions of man. Happily the reduction of the theological motive to its proper importance gives some assurance, that the task of maintaining order will not be very heavy. These interesting sectaries are quite prepared to bow to accomplished facts, and to accept the rule of strength. The great mass of lukewarm Catholics have already become supporters of the party in power, which will doubtless further increase its following by remaining powerful. Even legitimate rule may be easily compassed at no distant date, since King Mwanga, apart from the probability that he too will worship strength, is a man of weakly constitution. In a country where rules of succession are vague, it will be strange, if a new ruler does not work cordially with *de facto* holders of power."

We can hardly get up an interest in such a Church, which is mongrel in every sense: "Ce sang était il si pur?"

What was most remarkable was the divided action of the Committee of the Missionary Society as a whole, and the members of that Committee as individuals. The Committee resolved "to leave the matter absolutely with God, and to have recourse to Prayer." The members of the Committee appealed to Man: I adjoin a specimen:

To the Editor of "The Record."

"SIR, The time is short; the crisis is great. The future of U-Ganda may depend in large measure upon the degree of our efforts to educate and awaken public opinion within the next few months. What shall we do?"

- “ 1. Let there be one or more great public meetings held in Exeter Hall; and not only there, but in different parts of the Metropolis, North, South, East, and West.
- “ 2. Let similar meetings be promoted throughout all the larger towns in the Provinces.
- “ 3. Set apart a Sunday on which, simultaneously throughout the Kingdom, Clergymen may be asked to call the attention of their congregations to the work of the C.M.S. in U-Ganda, and to the consequences of its evacuation.
- “ 4. Let the Gleaners' Union and the other C.M. Unions betake themselves very specially to prayer, and make it, as it were, the very object of their existence to instruct the less instructed, and to awaken their sympathy.
- “ Sir, as friends of the C.M.S., we cannot be too energetic at this moment, and we cannot bring too much pressure to bear on the Committee, if that be necessary, that for some time to come they should make the *awakening* of interest on all sides and amongst all classes the *first object* of their deliberations. We have been assured on all hands, by those who see and know most clearly, that evacuation means the destruction of our work, the dispersion or massacre of our Converts and Missionaries, a widespread reign of anarchy, and the revival of the Slave-Trade. Now, suppose a telegram were received to this effect in six or eight months, could it be to us other than a perpetual shame and humiliation, that we had not strained every nerve and used every means to avert so unspeakable a calamity, when we had been warned again and again in the most emphatic manner of the certainty of its approach in the event of evacuation? Frequently it has been said to me that ‘God would not allow so great a work as the C.M.S. work in U-Ganda to be brought to nought’; *but God never acts but by means*. God helps those only who *help themselves*. I therefore plead with you that during the next six months not a copy of *The Record* will issue but that you will *sound therein a trumpet-call* to redoubled energy.”—ALPHA.

October 4.

It is worthy of remark that the friends of “Alpha,” whose words he quotes, pretend to a most presumptuous acquaintance with the secret councils of the Most High, who is supposed to make use of *The Record* Newspaper as He once did of the hallowed utterances of Isaiah and Jeremiah.

(11) “The establishment of a Protestant Government.” The Rev. Cyril Gordon, a Protestant Missionary, spoke as follows:

“England had been led to the country in the providence of God, and if England remained there, there was every encouragement. There was hope for the men, for the women, for the countries around, in U-Soga, for instance, in Sagalla, and elsewhere. But if this country was left to itself there was one hope, because the Missionaries had been able to give to the Nation the Word of Life in their own tongue. To prevent, however, any such disaster as would occur to the Missionaries and Christians, if England gave up, we must remember that the country was ours by right of discovery, *by right of Evangelization*, by the labour of the Missionaries, by the deaths of those who had laid down their lives for it; it was ours by the prayers and labours of Mackay, and therefore it was our duty to keep the country in the hands of those people who are now *Protestants*. We ought to interest all whom we meet in the question, and give ourselves to diligent prayer to God for this now Protestant country.”

Now, if a Roman Catholic European Power had got possession of the land, and one of their Priests had spoken in this way, there

would have been outcry against his Intolerance. The same gentleman shows, that his object is Annexation very clearly in a letter to *The Record*:

"The country would be in danger of falling back into the cruel hands of the wicked Heathen Natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the terrible Slave-raiding Mahometan Natives, or it would be in danger of falling into the hands of the Roman Catholic converts, into a dreaded Slavery of the mind to the power of Rome. The chief danger to the Protestant converts would come from the hostility of the Roman Catholic Natives, who are far more numerous than the Mahometan Natives. The Roman Catholics, remembering the late war, would not spare the Protestant Natives, nor yet the lives of the Missionaries. For the Missionaries would not desert their converts. The danger would be very real to all. The true Protestant converts are not a very large body. These noble and true-hearted Christians, of whom there are many, would come forward to beg the Missionaries to leave the country. For they would be unwilling, that their beloved friends their Teachers, should perish in the wretched fighting and slaughter which would take place. Therefore, if the Company are obliged to withdraw, they must make a way of escape for the Missionaries, the Christian converts, with all the women and the children of the same. But the Missionaries and the Native Christians look to Christian England to shelter them from these very terrible dangers, and expect Christian England to take measures to prevent the occurrence of such deeds as will certainly take place if British Influence is withdrawn. The shelter and protection will be given, if the treaty that has been made with Protestant U-Ganda is kept by England."

He is fresh from the field, and we gather from his utterances the Spirit of the Mission: it wishes for Religion and political supremacy by the help of British Military Power. No wonder that the Editor of the *Vossische Zeitung* of July 28 of this year writes as follows:

"To carry the Bible in one hand and preach the Religion of Love, while with the other they sell rifles to be used in expelling their unwelcome rivals, may correspond well enough with British Ideas of the duty of a Missionary, but there is no trace in such conduct of Christianity, European culture, or civilization. This is but a small edition of what has been practised on a large scale in U-Ganda."

Such assertions can be repelled with indignation in other Mission-fields, but Mr. Gordon's utterances are clear; at any rate, that is the view, which Germans and French take of the case.

(12) "The maintenance of sacred treaties." What possible authority had Captain Lugard, a mere Captain of an armed force, to make a treaty in the Queen's name? Has any member of the past and present Government come forward to justify it? Would a Captain of Infantry in India be allowed to bind the Viceroy without previous authority and confirmation afterwards? It might have contained dishonourable terms under threat of personal violence to the British representative, as happened not long ago in Bhután in India. In a petty matter, affecting the Commercial

interests of the Company, or the necessities of frontier police regulations, a treaty might have been made, but such a document as was signed by Captain Lugard on the 30th March, 1892, cannot be treated as a serious document until confirmed by the Government, published in a blue-book, and submitted to Parliament after debate. Mr. Walker, another Missionary, tells us, that Mwanga was originally opposed to the Christian Religion, because he believed, that the Missionaries were the agents of European Governments, which would come later on and take his country: the Arabs encouraged these suspicions, and, when this treaty was forced upon him, they proved too true. However, let Captain Lugard tell his own story: he seems to think that the British taxpayer is bound for ever by his erring judgment:

"He was sent to U-ganda, not on his own hook, but as the agent, duly accredited, acting with the *full knowledge and consent of the Crown*. He concluded treaties, and those treaties were submitted by him to his directors, who in their turn submitted them to the *Foreign Office, to Lord Salisbury and to Lord Rosebery*. Those treaties have been accepted and approved. Some details as to words were checked, but as regarded the right he had to conclude the treaties no exception whatever had been taken. He thought, when they considered the question from the first to the last, it would be found, that it was impossible to repudiate the pledges, which had been given, and say that they were given by irresponsible persons."

This is another instance, which the foreign European Press will not forget, of the *divine right asserted by the British Nation* to lay hold of anything that comes to hand. Lord Salisbury remarked, that the Spheres of Influence had been imposed on Native populations by rival European Nations, who busied themselves in giving away territories, that did not belong to them; the aged Earl Grey inquires, what were the grounds, on which the European States considered themselves entitled to Spheres of Influence, in violation of all Native Rights to their independence and their country. First comes the Sphere of Influence; then the Protectorate, based on a treaty forced upon a weak, vacillating, Native Chief; then follows the actual Annexation. Up to this time the British have shed no Mahometan or Pagan, only Roman Catholic, blood in these Spheres, while the Germans have shot and hung the Natives pretty freely. The occupation of U-Ganda cannot fail to eventuate in bloodshed, rebellions, burning of villages, loss of European life, and *cui bono*? Why not leave the poor people alone?

(13) "The occupation of the Head-waters of the Nile." No greater snare was ever put forward than this obscure phrase: old gentlemen shake their heads, when they talk of the Head-waters of the Nile: it sounds important and historical, and geographical. In one of Dickens' novels a Mrs. Pipchin gained importance by alluding to her shares in Peruvian mines. U-Ganda is also called "the key to the Countries of Central Africa": one writer, not

very accurate in his Geography, connects it with Stevenson's road from the Nyása Lake to Tanganyika Lake, many hundred miles to the South. The fact is always omitted, that the Nile waters are not navigable till considerably to the North of Lake Albert: of course, it is written in our destiny to occupy that Lake also. It is a pity that we did not leave Emin Pasha at Wadelai. Missionaries ought to be sent on at once to form a nucleus for future Protectorates. And surely the head-waters of the Rivers Kongo, and Niger, and Senegál, and Zambési are worth looking after: they are also the keys of great positions. It is not exactly clear what an invader of England would take by occupying the head-waters of the Thames, the Severn, and the Tweed; but the Nile has a certain reputation, and it sounds plausible.

(14) "The whole New Testament has been translated into the Language of U-Ganda." Can this really be put forward as a reason for annexation? The idea has the merit of novelty: on inquiry, it is found, that the New Testament has been translated into 290 Languages. Merciful Heavens! Have we by this literary manœuvre established an initiatory claim to interfere in, invade, annex, and slay the people of, 290 countries where these translations are used? We shall have tribes petitioning, that translations of the New Testament in their Language be not made. There was some years ago a good joke at St. Petersburg, that when Professor Dorn published his *Pastu Grammar* in Russian, a thrill of anguish passed through the people of Afghanistan, as they felt that their day was coming: the New Testament must have a severer effect, because it inculcates love to your neighbours, peace and good-will, and yet it is quoted by a Missionary Society, as an incidental argument for a hostile occupation of an independent people. The books of Joshua and Judges would have been more appropriate to the temper of the U-Ganda political Protestants, and of the Missionary Society.

(15) The last reason is a sad one, but none the less true: we have only to reflect upon the last twenty-five years of African history. The Slave-Trade of last century seems more tolerable: the Africans deported to America are forming a great and powerful Nation. In every part of Africa the great Races are being destroyed, or politically enslaved by European States, cut down ruthlessly by European Explorers, or poisoned by European liquor-dealers: and all in the name of Christian Civilization, and Christian Missionary Societies are not backward to urge the Government to ruthless and shameful annexation.

One or two incidental considerations occur to me: what possible relation can the British fleet, which cruises off the coasts of Zanzibár, the German Protectorate, and the Portuguese colony of Mozambik, with a view of intercepting the departing by Sea to Arabia of Africans brought down by the well-known Slave-routes

from Lake Tanganyika and Lake Nyása, many degrees South of the Equator, have with the proposed Railroad from Mombása to the shores of the Lake North of the Equator: there is no regular Slave-route through the Masai country, and Captain Lugard confirms the assertion of Mr. Horace Waller, that the whole argument is mythical: the individuals, who have rushed into this controversy, have not studied their Maps, and are not familiar with the history of the last quarter of a century. They condemn what they do not understand.

Then, again, the shame of withdrawing from a country occupied less than two years by three European officers is dwelt upon: is it not the fact that twice during Her Majesty's reign the Government has been hounded on by public opinion to occupy Afghanistan, the Pearl of Asia, the key to the countries beyond, the Head-waters of the River Indus, hounded on by treaties forced on their Rulers under the influence of the bugbear of Russian intrigue, a new opening for commerce, a blessing to a few oppressed people, oppressed by Mahometans? Is it not true, that twice that country has been occupied, and twice abandoned, after the expenditure of Millions and loss of hundreds of lives, and the prestige of European wisdom and generosity, leaving behind an enduring feeling of hate stored up against us, as unprovoked invaders? Can we never take warning from past failures?

But if we occupy U-Ganda, it is but the beginning of further annexations: the appetite comes with eating: the kingdom of U-Nyoro, Albert Nyanza, Wadelai, and beyond: Captain Lugard and his Sudán troops must be on the move. Here we have the programme of the Army and Church Militant:

"But are we to stop here, when the enterprise of Captain Lugard has already established military stations all the way between Lake Victoria and Lake Albert Edward? the principal ones being (1) in Singo, on the U-Nyoro border, and (2) Fort Edward, in Toru, under Mount Ruwenzori; each to be garrisoned by two European officers and a company of 120 Native soldiers. The Church Militant must not let itself be outstripped, but should proceed at once to locate two of its officers at each of these posts, and thus complete the Mission-chain throughout the British Protectorate." (Is it a Protectorate, or only a Sphere of Influence?)

But this is nothing, when Britannia Africana is on the war-path: nothing is gained until Lake Chad is won. Here we have that policy looming in the distance:

"There need be no alarm on account of British interests in the Lake Chad Region from the fact that the enterprising French Traveller, Captain Monteil, has succeeded in entering Bornu, and making friends with the Sultan at Kuka on the Lake. The Anglo-French arrangement is perfectly explicit: Bornu is entirely South of the line from Say to Burrawa, beyond which France has

"pledged herself not to interfere. Captain Monteil will have done a service to the Royal Niger Company, if he has induced the Sultan of Bornu to be more amenable to European influence; at the same time it is to be hoped, that the French Traveller has not attempted to poison the Sultan's mind against the British."

Here the Royal Niger Company will come into evidence: at any rate, they have a waterway up the Niger and Binué Rivers: they have Missionaries quite ready to start forward. To save possible massacre of the poor Natives, who for many centuries have taken care of themselves, a man of Captain Lugard's stamp must be put forward with a Maxim-gun: there are German spheres of influence on one side at the Kamerún, and French spheres of influence to the North. Some Church dignitary, a Bishop if possible, must be killed; some youthful converts of doubtful antecedents must be burnt by the Mahometans; and then the same thrill of anguish will pass through Evangelical circles in England. Why not try Timbuktu? It is, alas! in the French Sphere of Influence: when once the Tenth Commandment is broken, and we commence to covet the land of our neighbours, there is no limit but our power and our opportunity, for all Moral feeling has disappeared. The very existence of the great African Lakes is very imperfectly known to the middle-aged clergy, who make up a Missionary Committee, and they have no conception of the vast distances to be traversed. An old gentleman was overheard at the Anti-Slavery Deputation to the Foreign Office asking a neighbour on which side of the Red Sea was U-Ganda, for, as he naïvely added, one likes to know. Surely this is not the class to settle the foreign policy of this great Kingdom.

I thank Captain Lugard for one thing: he is the only Englishman, who has said a word in favour of the French Missionaries, the citizens of a friendly State: we differ essentially from their doctrine, but we admire their devotion. They have no wives, and families, and salaries, and comfortable homes; no furloughs and pensions: while they live, they work; when they can work no longer, they die: they somehow give us a better idea of an apostle, though now and then the Protestants have apostles like Mackay, Hannington, and Parker. The French have as much right to be at U-Ganda as the English have: it is under a strange misapprehension, that Captain Lugard remarked in *The Fortnightly* of November, 1892, that under a Missionary etiquette the Roman Catholics had no right to intrude two years later into a Protestant Preserve. Such a comity exists among Protestant Missions, but not between Protestant and Roman Catholic; otherwise how are Protestants in India, China, and Japan, in localities occupied centuries earlier by Roman Catholic Missionaries? With the French Missionary difficulties are experienced, which are not

felt with other Nationalities, certainly not with British Roman Catholics. I give a quotation :

“ Bishop Hedley, speaking last night at the annual soirée in aid of St. Mary’s Roman Catholic Schools, Walsall, referred to the U-Ganda question. He thought, and he said it with sorrow, that in the future, wherever the power of Protestantism and Catholicism met in Equatorial Africa, it would be necessary to divide them into different spheres, not because he imagined there would be any difficulty about educated gentlemen, not to say Christian gentlemen, living in Peace, but because there was the danger of half-educated followers coming into conflict.”

The Protestant Missionary at U-Ganda expresses himself very differently : what he wants is political ascendancy, and this is just what no form of Religion whatever ought to have :

“ The Roman Catholic party is the one most likely to feel aggrieved and jealous of the others. It is true that they have Budu, a very fertile District, but the Chief of Budu never had the position and honour that many other Chiefs had. This party has lately lost the most, and is therefore the most likely to feel dissatisfied. They would submit to be ruled by representatives of the British Government, or of a company if the Europeans could carry their own in U-Ganda ; but if they felt that they were virtually being governed by the Protestant party in U-Ganda, I do not think they would submit to it. In all they do they will be entirely guided by their ‘ Fathers,’ who exercise absolute authority over them. I think that you can well judge what would be the consequence, if the British control were withdrawn. The first scene of the new act would be all parties flying at the Protestant Christians. Then the Mahometans would seize all the Roman Catholic converts and their followers, and would open a Slave-market at once.”

Not one word has been said about the feelings of the Taxpayers, except jaunty remarks such as the following :

“ *Is there any justification for the assumption that the taxpayers of this country would disapprove of the cost of its retention?* Every taxpayer, who has given the Subject any attention, knows that in a merely selfish or pecuniary sense it is of the highest importance to retain U-Ganda, the pearl of Africa, and the key to two Million square miles of territory, which by international agreement are at the present time under our protection. The markets of the world are being more and more closed against us, and it is surely the act of a Nation gone mad to wilfully throw away the glorious prospects, which the development of the rich Lake Districts of Central Africa would open to our trade.”

This is just bunkum, and the writer knows that it is, for he in his next sentence appeals to other passions, Religion and Chauvinism :

“ Are we going to desert our fellow-Christians in U-Ganda? Are we going to give up to massacre those friendly tribes who, trusting in our promises of protection, have given us their assistance? And are we going to give up that immense and fertile region, pregnant with mineral and other wealth, to another Nation? If we are true to our God, to our country, and to ourselves, the crime of deserting U-Ganda will not rest upon us.”

It is quite clear, that, if the Railway is guaranteed, there will be an annual heavy charge on our resources; however, fanatics never think of this: this very month some of this class have proposed to the Secretary of State for India arbitrarily to destroy the cultivation of the Poppy, a great industry of the People of India, amounting to at least eight Millions annually, and some have gone so far as to propose to make a proportionate grant to the Indian Exchequer. The proposition was too ridiculous to entertain. Empires cannot be governed by fanatics. We are far too ready to be indulgent, when we have other people's purses to draw on, when we can dip into the State Treasury. With the overwhelming demands upon us of the Pauper Population of our cities, are we justified in flinging away annual thousands in Central Africa?

An international question has already arisen with France about the treatment of French Missionaries by Captain Lugard. It comes with a bad grace from the Government of a Republic, which has ejected English Missionaries from the Loyalty Islands, and threatens to do the same in Algeria and Tunisia. Still the facts as admitted have an ugly appearance. Captain Lugard in *The Fortnightly* of November, 1892, disposes of the charge in a jaunty way by the assertion, that English Officers are incapable of such things, but we know how English Officers acted in the expedition to relieve Emin Pasha, and committed acts of Murder and Rapine right across Africa. I really am reluctant to describe what took place at the Island of Sesse in my own words, for fear of being charged with exaggeration. I quote those of an entire stranger, the Rev. Edward Conybeare, in his letter to *The Guardian*, October 22, 1892:

"5. The Roman Catholics, thus defeated, took refuge from the bullets of these British rifles on an inaccessible island, whence the King continued to defy our authorities.

"6. And now comes the horror. To bring this obstinate heretic to his senses, Captain Lugard sent against him a gun-boat, flying presumably the British flag, and under the command, certainly, of a British Officer, Captain Williams. On the approach of this formidable foe, the Catholics abandoned all notion of further resistance, and thought only of escape. They crowded into their canoes for flight, *men, women, and children*. The King effected his escape; but of his unhappy followers boat-load after boat-load were sent to the bottom by the murderous volleys of our Maxim-gun. On the computation, I wish I could say the admission, of our Protestant informants, several hundreds of defenceless fugitives, chiefly non-combatants, were thus massacred. And this, he it remarked, was not done by unloosed savages, but by the latest weapons of civilization, and by the orders of a British Officer.

"Now, sir, can we hope for God's blessing on our doings in U-Ganda while we allow such a deed to pass unrepented? I do not wish to blame Captain Lugard, who, doubtless, felt the fearful course he adopted an unavoidable necessity. Nor do I wish to defend the U-Ganda Roman Catholics, who, possibly, provoked their own doom. But, to whatever extent the slaughter may be justified, the fact remains, that we were the slaughterers; and we may

“ be very sure, that such wholesale shedding of Christian blood is no light thing
 “ in God's sight. At our hand He will require it; at the hand of the British
 “ Nation, and above all of the English Church, unless by contrition we turn
 “ away His anger from us. Hitherto, alas! we have rather made ourselves
 “ partakers of the deed. Will none of our Bishops give expression to what we
 “ ought to feel? ”

And again in a second letter, under date November 11, he gives his authority for these statements, the Rev. Mr. Collins, one of the British Missionaries, whose Report I have before me, and which bears out Mr. Conybeare's independent outcry:

“ The extent, to which here at home we have shut our eyes to the horrors in
 “ U-Ganda, is shown by the letter of Bishop Smythies in your current issue. My
 “ account of what took place seems to him almost incredible, too ghastly to be
 “ true. But, as I mentioned, I took care to say nothing which was not from
 “ our own British and Protestant sources. Had I gone to the other side, yet
 “ more fearful tales would be brought forward, tales of the outrage and torture
 “ of Catholic women for refusing to deny their faith. These charges are brought
 “ against us by Monsignor Hirth, and have never, so far as I have seen, been
 “ contradicted. But as our side have said nothing about them, I have said
 “ nothing about them either, confining myself to the Reports of our own autho-
 “ rities, civil and ecclesiastical. In these Reports the account of the massacre
 “ is to be found only too plainly; given sometimes *with scarcely veiled glee*,
 “ sometimes barely narrated, never with *one word of pity for the victims or*
 “ *regret* at so deep a stain of Christian blood on our cause. The last of them
 “ was that of Mr. Collins, which appeared in the same number of *The Guardian*
 “ as my letter (October 26). ”

“ And this is where the disgrace to our boasted Christianity lies, not nearly so
 “ much in the deed itself (horrible though it was) as in the spirit with which we
 “ have greeted the tidings. Captain Williams was but carrying out relentlessly
 “ the relentless order of his superior Officer to make the Roman Catholics submit
 “ at all costs. Captain Lugard is far too brave a man to attempt to evade his
 “ responsibility for those orders. He boldly avouches it; and, relentless as they
 “ were, such awful deeds are sometimes an awful necessity in warfare. When once
 “ he had begun to fight he could scarcely stop till the foe surrendered; and his
 “ beginning he justifies (and the voice of the English Church unanimously accepts
 “ the justification) on the same plea which was put forth for the Massacre of
 “ St. Bartholomew, viz., that if the slaughterers had not struck the first blow,
 “ they would themselves have been slaughtered. But Captain Lugard alone
 “ speaks of the proceedings as deplorable. No Diocesan Conference, no Church
 “ Newspaper, echoes that word. No, the murdered women and children were
 “ connected with ‘the Italian Mission,’ and, therefore, beyond the pale of
 “ Anglican sympathy. No wonder the Roman Catholics say we have shown
 “ what reality we attach to our claim to be Catholics also. Even the Israelites,
 “ at the most barbarous period of their history, knew better. When they had
 “ slaughtered down the Benjamites (richly deserved as the slaughter was), they
 “ felt the horror of the deed, and prayed for forgiveness. We seem not even to
 “ feel, that we need pardon for our brethren's blood. We do not ask for it, and
 “ we shall not get it.”

It is unnecessary to say, that in the French Missionary periodicals the story is told with large amplifications, and the hatred of the people of France against “les Anglais” is roused: this is most lamentable. I quote this to show, that the rule of

U-Ganda will not be conducted in rose-water: we shall hear of constant massacres of this kind, assassinations, and outrage: is this the kind of protection which the benevolent people of England and the Missionaries wish to supply? I am not blaming Captain Lugard: he certainly does not value black life much: an official in British India could never have done such things, and no Governor would have tolerated it: this incident shows, that Captain Lugard did not possess the least elementary knowledge of ruling Native Races: the people who were killed were nominal Christians, though of a different Church, and this renders the incident more deplorable. Reverse the position, and imagine a French Officer having treated Protestant baptized converts in this fashion. Had Captain Lugard had any experience of a District in a Rebellion during the Indian Mutiny of 1857, or of a great city like Banáras, stirred to its depth of Religious fanaticism by the unlucky death by violence of a Brahmini Bull in the streets, or a sacred monkey being shot by a casual English loafer, or winter visitor, he would have known how to handle ignorant crowds without the use of artillery and rifles: at any rate, a Protestant should have done anything rather than shoot down Roman Catholic converts: nothing of the kind has ever happened in British India: it is very true, that there are very few French Roman Catholic Missionaries in India, and the British, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, German, Roman Catholics never give any trouble: the French Missionary, whether Protestant or Roman Catholic, has always *La France* on his brain: his own co-religionists deplore his egregious Chauvinism.

The decision of the Government to send out a Commissioner to make a local inquiry and report, does not satisfy the Religious Press: where, they say, can more competent witnesses be found than Captain Lugard, and the British Missionaries? Is the evidence of Bishop Hirth, and his French colleagues, not to be taken? are they to be treated like the Irish landlords during the investigation into the eviction of tenants? All sense of equity seems to disappear under the presence of a confused mass of denominational Religion, spurious Nationality, and spread-eagle Imperialism. Mr. Gladstone made one frightful mistake in bombarding Alexandria, and sending Gordon to Khartúm: he is older and wiser now: but, says the Missionaries' advocate, "until the decision is finally made, the people will not settle down": let us hope that practically it is made. "The British Missionaries cannot feel the confidence they should in the future of the country": it is not the Missionary's business to meddle with such matters: let him preach the Gospel, attend to his schools, and eschew politics, and the people will love him, and cherish his memory: it is a wrong departure to have what Mr. Ashe calls "political Protestants."

With regard to the French scare I add the following :

“ There is evidently much misconception as to the exact application of the terms of the Berlin Act to the present case. The Act is clear enough. It stipulates that, when any Power takes possession of any part of the coast of Africa it must intimate the same to other Powers, in case there may be pre-existing claims. And, again, that no act of Annexation will be regarded as *valid, unless steps are taken to establish an effective jurisdiction.* All this applies only to the coast. As to the interior, the convenient category of ‘ Spheres of Influence ’ was established. It has, therefore, been considered internationally convenient, that when a Power has, in agreement with other Powers, declared a certain area to be within its ‘ Sphere of Influence,’ reasonable time should be given her to establish herself effectively in the territory. The British East Africa Sphere, extending over a Million square miles, has been defined in agreement with Germany and Italy. Though neither France nor the Kongo Free State is a direct party to it, it would not only be an act of extreme unfriendliness for either to take advantage of the immensity of the Sphere and slip in by a back-door, as it were, but it would introduce an element of discord into the partition of Africa, which it was the object of the Berlin Conference to obviate. Both France and the Free State possess enormous areas in Africa within their ‘ Spheres,’ *which are as yet entirely unoccupied,* and which are, therefore, as open to Annexation by other Powers as the remoter parts of British East Africa.”

The most extraordinary literature has appeared indicating the colour of the waters, which have been stirred: perhaps the most astounding is “ The U-Ganda Catechism,” by an Oxford Doctor of Divinity: a more foolish paper, and one more replete with inexact statements, we have rarely seen. Whether this Catechism is to take the place of the Church-Catechism in the U-Ganda Sunday-Schools, or to be taught, as an extra, to the children of the poor in England, it is not stated: it is printed and published at the expense of the Missionary Society: the price is not given: it would be dear at a penny. I only allude to it, as it indicates neatly the electoral tactics now applied to Missionary desires.

Question 36. What can individuals do to prevent such a lamentable catastrophe (as the withdrawal of the officials of the Company)?

Answer (1). They can commit the whole question to the King of Kings in believing prayer.

(So far we are with the Catechist and his Catechumens.)

Answer (2). They can do much in conversation, etc., to arouse public interest in what threatens to become a national disgrace.

Answer (3). They can write letters to their representative in Parliament, which will interest him in the subject, and lead him to help in averting the impending disaster: (in fact, threaten him against the next Election).

Answer (4). They can unite in memorializing Government either with the definite proposals, which the Anti-Slavery Society has adopted, or in more general terms such as the Missionary Society, a non-political organization, felt constrained to use.

Question 37. Is there anything further that can be suggested in connection with this subject?

Answer. Yes : That thou doest do quickly, for the night cometh, when no man can work.

The learned Doctor has omitted from his list of measures : "Thunder from the Pulpit" ; "pass resolutions in Diocesan Conferences" : it has not yet come to "Denounce from the Altar," but the younger members of this generation may live to hear that also. When once clerics meddle in political matters, they brook no opposition, and hesitate at no measures : it has been the bane of the Church of Rome from its earliest day : up to this day the Church of England has abstained from indulgence in Imperial appetites. It is to be hoped that the U-Ganda fever will burn itself out.

The methods used are not new, nor unique. The Americans set us the example : a fair description of their methods covers the case for annexation of U-Ganda :

"It strives to bolster them up by the arguments, true and false, which seem most likely to appeal to the prejudices and the credulity of the greatest number ; and it endeavours to prove the soundness of those arguments by a number of good stout assertions upon matters of fact. The whole is, of course, larded with a pungent criticism of Democratic shortcomings, and garnished with elaborate dissertations, to show, that America owes all her prosperity, moral and material, to the disinterested services done her by the great Republican party."

December 1, 1892.

III.

THE ETHICS OF AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL EXPLORY.

WHEN the British Public takes up and trots out a particular hero, and the united Press chaunts his praise, and coughs down the doubting remarks of surprised bystanders, it is useless seriously to discuss either the merits of the hero, or the mode, in which his enterprise was carried out. But, when a new hobby seizes the public mind, the hero of the year before last is forgotten, and the books, which he published, repose on public library-shelves, or find their way to the lining of trunks. Such is the position of the great enterprise for the discovery, and rescue, of the late Emin Pasha, Mahometan Governor of the Egyptian Sudán.

It may fairly be asked, why the attempt was made, in what spirit it was carried out, whether it succeeded, and whether it was worthy of success. My object, however, is to show the methods and the spirit, in which it was carried out as regards the poor Africans, through whose territories the Expedition passed like a tornado, and to consider, whether the slaughter of un-offending men and women, the burning of villages, and the other concomitants of war, were worthy of the British Nation. Emin Pasha is reported to have returned voluntarily to the Region, from which he was rescued, and to have died there. No new highway to commerce and civilization from the River Kongo to the River Nile has been thrown open. A cloud has fallen on the Region of the Albert Nyanza. The Mahometan Slave-dealers, who were transported in honour from the East coast at Zanzibár, up the basin of the Kongo to the Region of the Stanley Falls, there to prosecute their abominable trade with impunity, were in 1892 reported to be in open rebellion against the Kongo-State. The last state of affairs in the Regions traversed seems to be infinitely worse than before the Expedition to rescue Emin Pasha started. Let that pass. The object of these lines is to protect

the unhappy Races in Central Equatorial Africa from similar treatment in future at the hands of such Buccaneers and Land-Pirates, as those who, under the specious warlike terms of Advance-Guard and Rear-Guard, without commission from any Sovereign, European or African, made their way by a process of Plunder, Murder, and outrageous Violence, from the basin of the Kongo to the shores of Albert Nyanza in the basin of the Nile.

A warlike expedition through a country must always be a curse to the poor helpless inhabitants. When an Army is commissioned by a Sovereign-State, care is taken to limit, as much as possible, the misery caused; and such *wanton* acts, as capturing the women of a peaceful tribe with a view of selling them back to their husbands in exchange for provisions, would exceed even military license. We must not hastily assert, that Geographical Discovery necessarily entails rapine and murder. The story is fresh in our memory, of expeditions conducted in Equatorial Regions of Africa by Burton, Grant, Livingstone, Thompson, Johnston, Cameron, and others, without Sacrifice of life of the Natives, or destruction of their homesteads. It may be stated emphatically that, if the Geographical Societies of the different countries of Europe cannot extend our knowledge of the Globe without the commission of frightful crimes upon an innocent population, Geographical Expeditions should not be made. But we know well, by experience of the last thirty years, that one leader, and one only, of British Scientific Expeditions has left a course across the Continent from the East to the West, and from the West to the East, dyed with blood. No further evidence of this fact is required than the pages of his own Works. We do not venture to sit in judgment on the past: one day the blood thus shed will have to be avenged. Our object is to state plain facts by quotations from recognised Works, in order to prevent the possibility of such atrocities happening again. I myself proposed in the Council of the Royal Geographical Society of Great Britain, that in future no grant should be made of the Funds of that Society, unless an agreement be taken from the leader, that, save in the desperate position of protecting the lives of himself and party, no blood should be shed; and that rapine, plundering, and kidnapping of women, should be absolutely abstained from. My proposition dropped, but it will no doubt have the desired effect, and such expeditions, as the one to rescue Emin Pasha, will never be undertaken again without proper safeguards.

I have been familiar with Military Expeditions from my earliest youth, have been present in the tremendous battles on the North-West frontier of India, have had to aid in conquering and reconquering vast Districts, teeming with warlike populations, and in middle life had to restore order after the great Military Mutinies in Northern India in 1857-58. I know from terrible experience

of a long series of years what judicial executions mean; but I unhesitatingly say, that no Military Officer and no Christian Administrator, could have lent themselves to such proceedings as are recorded in the published Works of the members of a private expedition, who acted under no authority of Sovereign, or State, or Parliament, with no precedent but that of the Pirates and Buccaneers of past centuries. It is not squeamishness that prompts me, but positive horror and disgust.

In the centre of Africa there is no possibility of collecting corroborating evidence: the actors in these scenes evidently were not aware, that their proceedings were questionable; their consciences were in a state of torpor; we can see no suspicion of concealment, or fabrication, or softening down, of details. Their story is told by themselves in a straightforward, manly way, and published by themselves. I have collected quotations, giving in each case the reference. I have not intentionally altered a word: there was no occasion to do so: if I have made mistakes, I withdraw them.

"The Kongo-State (Belgian) beheaded the Chief of a village, burnt the village, and the people fled elsewhere: the village is now covered with tall grass, and its fruit trees are choked with reeds."—"Darkest Africa," vol. i, p. 82. It may safely be said, that during all the wars, rebellions, and tumults of British India during the last half century such a brutal act as beheading the Chief of a village, and laying waste the village, has never taken place.

"I hoped to occupy Yambúya temporarily with the goodwill of the Natives by fair purchase; if not, by force. We approached the village of Yankunde: the inhabitants gesticulated to us not to enter: arrows were discharged: a volley was returned, and the town was fired: very many paid, I fear, the penalty of their foolish challenge."—*Ibid.*, p. 138. If this is not Criminal Assault and Murder, it is difficult to define those crimes.

"I sent two hundred men to the empty village to procure each a load of manioc."—*Ibid.*, p. 140. This is Robbery.

"Bukuadu has been abandoned: the village and fields of manioc were at our disposal: we refurnished ourselves with provisions: there was food for ten days."—*Ibid.*, pp. 145, 162. Robbery.

"A number of villages were searched, but the people do not appear to possess a sufficiency of food: we collected Indian corn, goats, fowls, plantains."—*Ibid.*, p. 166. Robbery, with the additional crime of knowingly leaving the poor Native proprietors to starve.

"Three deserters were brought in by Ugavirma: they were condemned to death: a noose was hung round the neck of one, and the man was hoisted up; before the last struggle was over the Expedition had filed out."—*Ibid.*, p. 203. Murder.

"We found a large clearing full of plantains: we secured them: in each hut we found Indian corn."—*Ibid.*, p. 253. Robbery.

"The suddenness of our descent provided us with rich stores of fowls, sugar-cane, and banánas (plantains)."—*Ibid.*, p. 279. Robbery.

"Go right to their villages, and bring away every cow, sheep, or goat that you can find."—*Ibid.*, p. 322. Abetment of Robbery before the fact.

"The Doctor returned without further incident than the burning of two small villages, and firing a few shots at distant parties."—*Ibid.*, p. 397. Arson, and attempt to Murder.

"The Doctor fired his rifle and dropped a Madi, one of the deserters, dead."—*Ibid.*, p. 405. Murder.

"After witnessing the shooting of the man, who shot Barttelot, and the body tossed into the Kongo, Jamieson started for Bangála" (where he died on landing).—*Ibid.*, p. 492.

"The people of Kakúri said that, if we burned the town of Katwe, they would accept it as a proof, that we were not Wara Sara: accordingly the villages were burnt."—*Ibid.*, vol. ii, p. 317. Arson.

"One of the (Baptist) Missionaries was going to the coast to be married, so he refused to lend the 'Henry Reed' (the Mission Steamer): he considered the whole matter *over with God, even to the third watch*, and would not lend it."—*Story of Rear Column, Jamieson*, pp. 27, 28. So they seized the Mission Steamer by violence: an act of Piracy.

"I asked Tippu Tib to put Bartholomew and Msa (two young Christian converts), who had stolen *my* fowls, into irons, and the two *gentlemen* are now in irons."—*Ibid.*, p. 129. False imprisonment, accompanied with theft.

"Barttelot sent Bonny to catch some of the women, and he caught eight and a baby: they were ransomed by restoring a gun, and supplying thirteen fowls, and a lot of fish."—*Ibid.*, p. 133. Kidnapping and Robbery.

"The man, who stole my tortoise, was flogged this morning before all the men."—*Ibid.*, p. 139. Violent assault.

"One of the captive women was ransomed by eight fowls and a lot of fish."—*Ibid.*, p. 139. Kidnapping and Robbery.

"This morning justice was meted out to Bartholomew and Msa (Christian converts), the deserters and thieves: one hundred and fifty lashes to one, and one hundred the other."—*Ibid.*, p. 142. Violent assault.

"Bengázi Mahomet, who stole the meat out of Ward's house (the meat had been plundered), and who had been in chains ever since, and had escaped with a rifle and cartridges, and was caught, was tied to a flogging-post, and shot by a firing party: *this was according to Military law on active service.*"—*Ibid.*, p. 207. Murder.

"I am sick of flogging, but it took place."—*Ibid.*, p. 162. Violent assault.

"I got my rifle, and sat down, and fired several shots at the canoe, and hit two or three men in it: it gave them a lesson."—*Ibid.*, p. 245. Murder.

"The picture of the River was a bright one: women in gay dresses interspersed among the *chained* men, who were being taken to be porters of the Expedition."—*Ibid.*, p. 288. Kidnapping and False imprisonment.

Here follows the story of the girl killed and eaten by cannibals at the cost of six pocket-handkerchiefs. I dare not quote this story.—*Ibid.*, p. 291. Abetment of Murder before the fact.

"There was an amusing scene to-day: a grand hunt after Natives trying to escape."—*Ibid.*, p. 300.

"A man was brought in, who had run away with his rifle: I put him in chains."—*Ibid.*, p. 309. False imprisonment.

Here follows the remark that "shooting Barttelot was an act of deliberate murder."—*Ibid.*, p. 338: but, when the white man shoots the black man in his own home and village, defending his own wife and property, is not that Murder also?

"One tin of milk, and corned beef, were missing: we gave him one hundred lashes, and put him in irons."—*Ibid.*, p. 332. Violent assault and False imprisonment.

"Four bullets hit the offender: two in the right side of the head, one in the knee, one in the throat, besides the two in the head from the revolver: the look he gave us was the most horrible I ever saw in a man's face: *we then had lunch.*"—*Ibid.*, pp. 362-366. Murder.

"One scoundrel tried to cut a hole in one of the water-bags: I pulled him away: when he hit me with his weighted stick, I shot him dead."—(*Kosseir*) *Barttelot's Diaries*, p. 36. Murder.

"John Henry (a carrier, presumably a Christian) bolted with my revolver: I caught him, and told him that he should be shot to-morrow. Bonny persuaded me not to shoot him, so I had him flogged: *he died soon after*: I am certain, that he must have been shot, or hung, sooner or later, for he was a monstrous bad character."—*Ibid.*, pp. 228, 229, 331. Violent assault, possibly Murder: the writer was himself shot a short time afterwards!

"Dollars were found in Abdullah's bag: he was the thief: I ordered him to be flogged, and he received one hundred and fifty lashes without uttering a sound" (he was an excellent man).—(*Jephson*) *Emin Pacha*, p. 282. Violent assault.

"Our men had the run of a large field of manioc planted by the Natives before they left Yambúya: from there they got their daily food."—(*Troup*) *With the Rear Column*, p. 148. Robbery.

"Barttelot made the Arabs a present of two canoes, which the Natives had left in their flight, when the Expedition first came to Yambúya."—*Ibid.*, p. 155. Robbery.

"Jamieson had brought two tortoises: they were stolen: a

deliberate theft! the culprits were found out: Barttelot decided to flog them." (Were there no other deliberate thefts committed?)—*Ibid.*, p. 159. Violent assault.

"The case of the Sudánese deserter came up for discussion after luncheon: it was argued that, like the Zanzibári, who had deserted, he should be flogged; but a majority of one out of the five officers decided that the Sudánese were engaged *as soldiers under Military discipline*, and he was shot."—*Ibid.*, p. 203. Murder.

"John Henry (probably a Christian), who had deserted, received three hundred lashes: from my hut I heard what was going on, and I was much disturbed by it, as I did not approve so severe a punishment." (He died two days after the flogging.)—*Ibid.*, p. 248. Violent assault, possibly Murder.

Here follows a remark that in the opinion of Dr. Schweinfurth, the Missionary Societies in England would subscribe a certain amount to the expenses of the Expedition (of which the leading features were Murder, Robbery, Kidnapping, Violent assault, and Arson!).—*Ibid.*, p. 526. Dr. Schweinfurth is very much mistaken in his conception of a Missionary Society.

I have made no comment, but merely given to each transaction the name, which it bears under the Indian Penal Code, which allows no distinction between the criminality of a white man or a black man. I have tried a British soldier for killing a Native in a quarrel about a sheep while out on a shooting-party, sent him 1,200 miles to Calcutta, where he was sentenced to death by one of Her Majesty's Judges and hanged. I have handed over a young Officer of the Engineers to a Court-Martial, by which he was dismissed the Service and imprisoned four years, for flogging to death his table-servant about a missing silver spoon. If any party on a Geographical Expedition had plundered and murdered its way through the wilder Regions of British India, such as the slopes of the Himaláya, the leaders of that Expedition would have found their way into the common gaol, to be tried and sentenced for Felony, and would have been cashiered for conduct unworthy of gentlemen.

Under what Act of Parliament can private individuals be permitted to flog, imprison, kidnap, burn down dwellings, take away life in Central Africa, more than in the dominions of Her Majesty?

And then we read in public Journals such phrases as these: "The popular imagination has been touched by the varied story of the Dark Continent to an unprecedented extent. It has been a story, which has appealed in trumpet tones to the *philanthropist* as well as to the mere lover of adventure, to the merchant as well as to the Geographer, and to the Christian Missionary eager for the spread of Christ's Kingdom as well as to the patriotic politician anxious for his Nation's aggrandisement."

"*Frightful wrongs to be wiped out*, deeds of high surprise to be

"achieved, virgin countries to be commercially exploited, valuable scientific Discoveries to be made, myriads of people steeped in the grossest Idolatry, and Regions more or less capable of colonization, where no civilized flag floats: these are some of the varied elements, which have thrown a glamour and fascination over Africa, and taken men's minds captive."

What were the opinions of the celebrated Traveller, the late Dr. Wilhelm Junker? In a conversation the Vienna correspondent of *The Standard* had with him, he said: "It is not necessary for an African Explorer to kill people, right and left, like a conqueror in an enemy's land. I never killed anyone, and mostly travelled without a weapon, and still achieved what I wanted." The same may be said of all the other noble band of British Explorers of Central Africa, whose names I have already recorded.

Evil examples spread: I now quote from a later Work the account of another Expedition to find Emin Pasha, which started from the East coast of Africa within the Sphere of British Influence, in spite of the prohibition of the British Admiral, and was led by a German, who knew that he was breaking the law, and invading a peaceful territory.

"I could not meet fraud effectively at Witu, because the only possible means against the fraudulent, that of putting suspected men in chains, and punishing deserters with the most rigorous severity, could not, *from political considerations*, be put into practice."—Peters' "New Light on Dark Africa," p. 56.

"I began my march without articles of barter, and could not pay my way, as Thompson and other people were accustomed to, by giving tribute to the Native Chiefs."—*Ibid.*, p. 57.

"I had even to introduce for my Somáli (soldiers) corporal punishment, and to inflict it rigorously."—*Ibid.*, p. 58. "I identified a porter, who had left his load and fled, and I had him laid in chains, and flogged before all the people."—*Ibid.*, p. 62. Violent assault.

"Continual hindrances compelled me to meet extremities with extremities, and, when I found people refusing to let me purchase what they possessed, I fell back upon the right of self-preservation, and the right of arms, which is everywhere acknowledged in Africa, and to take what I required." "I took possession of two boats."—*Ibid.*, p. 88. Robbery.

"I made up my mind to chain up every doubtful character among them."—*Ibid.*, p. 89. Violent assault.

"We marched along with herds of thousands of oxen, the prize of war."—*Ibid.*, p. 93. Robbery.

"I sent my Assistant to get boats: he came back with two: the last had cost a few lives, as the Wa-Pokómo, goaded by the Arabs, refused to let us have one." "Not only they assaulted my Assistant, but, when he went away with the boat, they shot at

him, and he was *obliged to return their fire in self-defence*, on which occasion four of the Wa-Pokómo fell."—*Ibid.*, p. 94. Murder and Robbery.

"I despatched six Somáli (soldiers) down the River Tana to capture the Porters, who would make their way there by land, or to shoot them down, and as the Porters would not stand, they shot two, and threw their bodies into the River."—*Ibid.*, p. 105. Murder.

"We discovered a rice-store, declared it to be prize of war, and my people revelled in plenty."—*Ibid.*, p. 107. Robbery.

"To prevent my people suffering hunger, I was obliged to supply myself on my own account from the ripening maize-fields. When my men made use of the permission, the Wa-Pokómo (the lawful owners) sought to *drive them away by force*, and two of them were wounded by my people."—*Ibid.*, p. 110. Robbery and Wounding.

"I was sufficiently acquainted with the *cowardly* tactics of the Wa-Pokómo, to take all three Chiefs into custody and to detain them until sufficient corn should be brought in for the column."—*Ibid.*, p. 116. Robbery and False imprisonment.

"As soon as I saw they could not procure other guides, I was compelled to put these guides into chains, and carry them over the steppe."—*Ibid.*, p. 117. Kidnapping.

"I had been obliged to put into practice the expedient of chaining the Sultan of the Galla, when he paid his visit, or otherwise my column would have run the risk of starving."—*Ibid.*, p. 123. Violent assault.

"We fired six volleys, and the Sultan and seven of his Chiefs were laid low."—*Ibid.*, p. 141. Murder.

"I had all the women of the kraal, twenty-three in number, brought out of their houses, to carry (the stores) into my camp, and some men also as prisoners of war. I took all the stores I could find."—*Ibid.*, p. 142. Kidnapping and Robbery.

"One of my men enjoyed *my* guinea-fowl. I gave him an emetic to make him give up the stolen (!) goods, and gave him twenty-five lashes in presence of all, and as a warning to the whole community."—*Ibid.*, p. 171. Violent assault.

"I at once had the Sultan knocked down and fettered: I took him by the ears and shoved him on in front as a kind of shield towards his tribe: I announced to them, that I would release the Sultan, if they brought me five sheep and four donkeys: the treaty was sealed by my spitting several times at the Sultan, while he spat at me: when the cattle arrived, I gave them red clothing material, and dismissed them."—*Ibid.*, p. 172. Robbery.

"I ordered the Somáli to go to the dry ford, and at a trumpet signal from me to drive as many head of cattle as they could together into our camp; I ordered my people to get up a fence for the cattle *that Heaven was going to send them*, and some sheep and

goats came in a crowd, and we began slaughtering. I felt myself morally entirely in the right in the measures I had put in action: the people believed, that the Devil himself had appeared in the land, and vanished."—*Ibid.*, p. 177. Robbery.

"Their intention of paying no respect to *our right of Property* was so apparent, that I determined to take vigorous measures, and by 4.30 p.m. we had six hundred sheep, and sixty oxen, in the enclosures: I gave them a serious lesson before the night came on: the village was deserted: I ordered everything of value to be taken out, and set six houses on fire: it was necessary to make the people understand: *c'est la guerre*."—*Ibid.*, p. 188. Robbery and Arson.

"I arranged, that every attempt at Robbery (on the part of the Kikúyu) should be visited with capital punishment, and a number suffered for indulging their thievish proclivities."—*Ibid.*, p. 214. Murder: and who was the real robber and thief?

"I had endeavoured to engage fifteen fresh Kikúyu porters: the impudent fellows used to go off with the stuffs paid in advance: they were at once laid low by bullets, and we secured eleven, and compelled them to undertake the march into Masai-land, which they detested."—*Ibid.*, p. 216. Murder and Kidnapping.

"The only one thing that makes an impression on the Masai is a bullet from a revolver, or double-barrelled gun."—*Ibid.*, p. 222. Murder.

"We made an attack on the kraal: I was opposed at the gate by the elder, with whom I had negotiated on the previous day. My third bullet crashed through his temples: we killed seven in all."—*Ibid.*, p. 236. "We found forty-three Masai corpses, all killed by bullets in the front, but their loss must have been three times that number: they had mutilated those (of our party) who had fallen, so we made reprisals, and cut the heads off the Masai corpses, and hurled them among their countrymen below."—*Ibid.*, p. 239. Murder.

"When they tried to take forcible possession of the tribute, which they demanded, and seized some of *my* (their) cattle, three of them were shot down in the act of Robbery, and by this means peace was restored to the land."—*Ibid.*, p. 263. Murder. Who was the Robber?

"In the Nera country the Chief demanded Hongo (the usual Transit-duty): they endeavoured to intimidate our Expedition: we fired among them, and I killed three, and my companions one. Four paid for their folly with their lives."—*Ibid.*, p. 497. Murder (within the German Sphere of Influence).

"The Wa-Gogo fled in all directions: burning brands were flung into their houses: by 4.30 p.m. two villages were burnt down: I was not in a position, for want of men, to seize their herds."—*Ibid.*, p. 529. Arson.

"We succeeded in seizing two or three hundred head, knocking over those of the herdsmen who did not flee."—*Ibid.*, p. 529. Robbery and Murder.

It is said of the great African Forests, that tranquil as they appear, Murder is going on in every branch of every tree, one animal preying upon another: at every moment a little atom of life is being extinguished to satisfy the crave of an organization a little stronger, who a few minutes later will have to surrender his poor carcase to feed one still larger and stronger. Is this procession of Murder and Rapine to be the form of so-called Christianity, which Christian men are to introduce into Africa? I am not the first to notice this feature. Mr. Bosworth Smith some years back wrote: "Now that we (British and Germans) have declared something like a fifth of Africa to be subject to our influence, it is one of the most urgent of Imperial questions whether the influence at work is to be that of — and — or of men who managed to travel through large parts of Africa, or — and — who spent their lives there without doing any deeds, over which it would be well to draw a veil. As it is, not a few British (and Germans also) feel, that they would gladly give up all that has been revealed to the world by the Emin Pasha Expedition, if they could also wipe out the foul deeds which were done by Britons (and Germans also) upon it."

I have avoided mention of all names, except so far as it was necessary to identify the books quoted. Let the dead bury the dead: let the past be effaced from our memory, except so far as the experiences gained determine us never to allow the same to occur again. What has happened was expected to happen. Read the conclusions of a Parliamentary Committee, of which the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone is the only surviving member: it thus summed up its lengthy report, supported by voluminous evidence, June 1837:

"It is not too much to say, that the intercourse of Europeans in general, without any exemption in favour of the Subjects of Great Britain, has been, unless when attended by Missionary exertions, a source of many calamities to uncivilized Nations.

"Too often their territory has been usurped, their property seized, their numbers diminished, their character debased, the spread of civilization impeded. European vices and diseases have been introduced amongst them, and they have been familiarized with the use of our most potent instruments for the subtle or the violent destruction of Human life, viz. brandy and gunpowder. . . .

"It might be presumed, that the Native inhabitants of any land have an incontrovertible Right to their own soil; a plain and sacred Right, however, which seems not to have been understood. Europeans have entered their borders uninvited, and, when there,

"have not only acted as if they were undoubted lords of the soil, but have punished the Natives as aggressors, if they have evinced a disposition to live in their own country. . . . From very large tracts we have, it appears, succeeded in eradicating them; and, though from some parts their ejection has not been so apparently violent as from others, it has been equally complete, through our taking possession of their hunting-grounds, whereby we have despoiled them of the means of existence. . . .

"The result to ourselves has been as contrary to our interests as to our duty; our system has not only incurred a vast load of crime, but a vast expenditure of money and amount of loss. On the other hand, we trust it will not be difficult to show that, setting aside all considerations of duty, a line of policy more friendly and just towards the Natives would materially contribute to promote the civil and Commercial interests of Great Britain."

The remarks of Sir William Harcourt in the House of Commons, 1892, are noteworthy: "The fact that a territory came within the Sphere of Influence of this country conferred no Rights or power on us over such territory or over its inhabitants beyond what we might obtain by means of treaties entered into with particular Chiefs. Every act of force which we committed against Natives in territories within our Sphere of Influence was unlawful. If we took an acre of land from them we committed a robbery, and if we killed a Native we committed a murder, because we had no Right or authority over these men or their land. That was the result of our having a Sphere of Influence."

The feeling comes over me as I write, that we may be on the eve of another Gordon and Khartúm business in U-Ganda at the beginning of next year, 1893. The British Public should keep their eyes open in time.

The Murders and Assaults committed were not only on the poor Natives of unknown Central Equatorial Africa, the Region lying betwixt the basins of the Kongo and the Nile, but Sudán Subjects of the Khedive of Egypt, Somáli and Galla of the Region North of the British Protectorate, and Slave-porters hired at Zanzibár. The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, through its Council, of which I am a Member, in vain protests against the system prevailing in Zanzibár of recruiting Slave-porters. I quote their late indignant words:

"The vast stimulus given to exploration in Africa, scientific and Commercial, has caused a constantly increasing demand for porters in a country where there are no beasts of burden, and every load has to be carried on men's heads. Agents are not wanting to meet the demand for Human labour, and the Slave-Trade has become stimulated in order to keep up the supply.

"Testimony exists in abundance, from Dr. Livingstone down to

“ Mr. Stanley’s latest reports, to show, that the Zanzibári Slave has gone through a process of deterioration and degradation, which reduces him almost to the level of the beast of burden, whose place he has to supply. So little are his rights of humanity respected, that, if he throws down his load and runs away, it is considered perfectly lawful to shoot him, and in many cases it is acknowledged, that he has to be kept chained up to prevent his absconding.

“ The effect of introducing into a country, where free labour is the rule, thanks to the enlightened policy of high-minded Englishmen, an army of Slaves, who are only working by compulsion in order that their masters in Zanzibár may be enriched, must not only contaminate the Native mind, but will fill it with strange ideas and doubts as to the consistency of our professed love of Human freedom. It may easily be imagined, that where the Anti-Slavery policy of England has been loudly proclaimed by employers of free labour, the Native must be perplexed, when he sees British Officers bring into his country, as labourers, men, who were possibly kidnapped from that Region years before, and who return as the hired Slaves of Englishmen.

“ The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society would, therefore, maintain that the *hiring* of Slaves, and especially the *carrying them away* from their domicile, as stated in the foregoing memorandum, is not only in contravention of the policy so long pursued by Great Britain, but is against the spirit of the Acts, that have been passed at various times for the extinction of the Slave-Trade, and is consequently a retrograde movement.”

Lastly comes the consideration: is the life of a white man more precious in the sight of God than that of a black man? I have lived too long in India to have a doubt about my reply to that question. The sanctity of home; the respect due to the weaker sex by all, who claim to be treated themselves as gentlemen; the rights of property; the right of freedom of the person, and the right even to Life itself, are all brushed aside by associations of Land-Pirates, and free Buccaneers, called a Geographical Expedition, who seek for purposes of their own, to force their way from one part of Africa to another, and being beyond the limits of civilized jurisdiction to commit with impunity felonies, such as Murder, Arson, Violent Assault, and Kidnapping. I appeal to the tribunal of the Public Conscience of Civilized Man, and to the Ruler of the Universe.

It is time for a Protest. In Central Africa there is no pretence of European colonization, or of peaceful white settlers, who wish to make such a country as South Africa and Australia their home: but I quote from a book of great merit, “ The Colonial Reformer,” the following passages: “ Was it absolutely necessary to put the Australian aboriginal to death?” asked Ernest.

"It was necessary," he replied, "to punish (by death) any black, who raised his hands with intent to slay any white man, for without such a penalty the country would become uninhabitable" (by the white settler: but the country belonged to the black).—p. 200.

Can we be surprised, if every white man is killed for the same reason, when the black has a chance?

And again: "If each individual white man were not merely one of the units, composing a vast system of Usurpation, called from time immemorial by the specious name of Progress, one could afford to sympathize with a savage for smiting his oppressor. But the world will be very old, when that most ancient of laws ceases to have force: 'The strongest shall possess.' We preach the law of Right, but the older natural doctrine of Might has always prevailed, so long as one brute, animal or Human, is stronger than his fellow."—*Ibid.*, p. 209.

Imperial and Asiatic Review, 1892.

LA MORALE DES EXPLORATIONS GÉOGRAPHIQUES AFRICAINES.

Lorsque le public anglais port aux nues certain héros, que la presse est unanime à chanter ses louanges et à étouffer les remarques sceptiques des spectateurs surpris, il est inutile de discuter sérieusement les mérites de ce héros ou la méthode qu'il a employée pour effectuer son entreprise. Mais lorsqu'une nouvelle marotte s'est emparée de l'esprit du public, le héros de l'année précédente tombe dans l'oubli et les œuvres, qu'il a publiées dorment sur les rayons des bibliothèques publiques, ou prennent le chemin de la maculature. C'est ce qui est devenu de la grande entreprise pour la recherche et la délivrance d'Emin-Pacha.

Il est permis de se demander pourquoi cette tentative fut faite, dans quel esprit elle a été exécutée, si elle a réussi, et si elle était digne de succès. Mon but actuel, toutefois, est de montrer la manière et l'esprit, dans lesquels elle fut effectuée par rapport aux pauvres africains, dont elle traversa les territoires, pareille à un ouragan dévastateur, et d'examiner si le massacre d'hommes et de femmes inoffensifs, l'incendie des villages et autres faits de guerre, étaient dignes du peuple anglais. Emin est retourné, de son plein gré, dit-on, dans le pays d'où on l'avait arraché. Aucune nouvelle route n'a été ouverte au commerce et à la civilisation entre le Congo et le Nil. Un rideau est tombé sur le pays de l'Albert-Nyanza. Les marchands d'esclaves mahométans, transportés en grande pompe de Zanzibar aux Stanley-Falls pour y poursuivre

impunément leur abominable trafic, sont maintenant, dit-on, en révolte ouverte contre l'État du Congo. L'état des choses dans les contrées traversées par l'expédition à la recherche d'Émin-Pacha, paraît être infiniment plus fâcheux qu'il ne l'était avant le passage de la dite expédition. Passons là-dessus. Le but de ces lignes est de garantir à l'avenir les malheureuses races de l'Afrique centrale équatoriale contre un traitement semblable, de la part de pirates et d'écumeurs de mer, comme ceux qui, sous les dénominations spécieuses d'avant-garde et d'arrière-garde, sans mission d'aucun souverain européen ou africain, ont pénétré en pillant, tuant, et commettant des outrages, du bassin du Congo jusqu'aux rives de l'Albert-Nyanza.

Une expédition guerrière est toujours un fléau pour les habitants sans défense dont elle traverse le territoire. Lorsqu'une armée est envoyée en mission par un État souverain, celui-ci prend des mesures pour diminuer autant que possible les maux qu'elle cause ; et des actes accomplis de gaieté de cœur, tels que la capture de femmes d'une tribu paisible en vue de les revendre à leurs maris en échange d'approvisionnements, de tels actes, disons-nous, dépasseraient même les prérogatives militaires. Ne nous hâtons pas d'affirmer, que les découvertes géographiques imposent nécessairement la rapine et le meurtre. Nous avons la mémoire encore fraîche de récits d'expéditions faites dans l'Afrique équatoriale par Burton, Grant, Livingstone, Thompson, Johnston, Cameron, et autres, sans qu'ils aient sacrifié des vies d'indigènes, ni détruit leurs demeures. On peut affirmer que, si les Sociétés de géographie des divers pays d'Europe ne pouvaient étendre nos connaissances géographiques sans commettre des crimes effroyables à l'égard de populations innocentes, il ne faudrait pas faire d'expéditions géographiques. Mais nous savons par les expériences faites dans le cours des trente dernières années, qu'un chef d'une expédition scientifique anglaise, un seul, s'est frayé une route sanglante au travers du continent africain de l'est à l'ouest, et de l'ouest à l'est. Pour prouver ce fait, il n'est pas besoin d'autres témoignages que ceux, qui sont renfermés dans les œuvres mêmes de cet explorateur. Nous n'essayerons pas de juger le passé ; le sang versé ainsi sera vengé un jour. Notre but est d'exposer simplement les faits au moyen de citations prises dans des ouvrages autorisés, afin de prévenir le renouvellement de semblables atrocités. Dans un séance de la Société royale de géographie de la Grande-Bretagne, j'ai proposé, que cette Société renoncât à accorder aucune subvention, à moins que le chef de l'exploration ne prit l'engagement de ne pas répandre de sang, sauf en cas de force majeure pour protéger sa vie et celle de ses hommes, et de s'abstenir d'une façon absolue de toute rapine, pillage, et enlèvement de femmes. Ma proposition ne fut pas appuyée, mais elle aura sans doute l'effet désiré, et l'on n'entreprendra plus sans garanties convenables des

expéditions comme celle, qui avait pour but la délivrance d'Émin-Pacha.

Dès ma première jeunesse j'ai connu de près les expéditions militaires; j'ai assisté aux terribles batailles livrées sur la frontière nord-ouest de l'Inde; j'ai aidé à conquérir et à reconquérir de vastes districts fourmillant de populations belliqueuses; plus tard j'ai contribué au rétablissement de l'ordre dans l'Inde septentrionale après les grandes insurrections militaires de 1857-58. Je sais, par l'expérience terrible d'une longue série d'années, ce que signifient les exécutions judiciaires, mais j'affirme sans hésiter qu'aucun officier, aucun administrateur chrétien ne se fût prêté à des procédés tels que ceux qui sont rapportés dans les ouvrages publiés par les membres d'une expédition privée ne relevant d'aucune autorité de Souverain, d'État, ou de Parlement, et dont la manière d'agir n'a pas de précédent si ce n'est celui des pirates et des écumeurs de mer des siècles passés. Ce n'est pas une délicatesse exagérée qui me fait parler, mais une horreur et un dégoût profonds.

Il n'est pas possible de recueillir des preuves à l'appui au centre de l'Afrique. Les acteurs de ces scènes-là ne se doutaient évidemment pas, que leurs procédés pussent être mis en question; leurs consciences étaient plongées dans une sorte de torpeur; nous n'apercevons aucune trace de dissimulation, nul effort pour adoucir ou atténuer les détails qu'ils racontent. Leur histoire est narrée par eux-mêmes, d'une manière franche et virile, et ce sont eux qui la livrent à la publicité. J'ai rassemblé des citations et indiqué la provenance de chacune d'elles. Je n'en ai pas altéré un seul mot, à dessein: il n'y avait pas lieu de le faire.

"L'État du Congo (belge) fit décapiter le chef d'un village, brûla celui-ci, et la population s'enfuit: l'emplacement du village est maintenant recouvert d'une herbe touffue, et les arbres fruitiers sont étouffés par les roseaux."—*Dans les ténèbres de l'Afrique*, vol. i. p. 78. On peut affirmer que pendant toutes les guerres et insurrections, qui ont agité l'Inde durant les cinquante dernières années, il n'a jamais été commis actes aussi brutaux que la décapitation d'un chef et la dévastation de son village.

"J'espérais occuper Yambouya temporairement du plein gré des indigènes, par transaction loyale, si non, par la force. Nous approchâmes du village de Yankunde: les habitants nous engageaient par gestes à ne pas entrer: des flèches furent lancées, une fusillade y répondit et la ville fut incendiée: beaucoup je le crains, payèrent de leur vie, leur imprudent défi."—*Id.*, p. 129. Si ce ne sont pas là des voies de fait criminelles et des meurtres, il est difficile de définir ces crimes.

"J'ai envoyé deux centes hommes au village évacué pour que chacun d'eux s'y pourvût d'une charge de manioc."—*Id.*, p. 132. Ceci est un vol à main armée.

"Boukanda avait été abandonné: le village et les champs de

manioc étaient à notre disposition : nous nous sommes repourvus de vivres : il y eut des provisions pour dix jours."—*Id.*, pp. 138, 156. Vol à main armée.

"Des perquisitions furent faites dans un certain nombre de villages, mais leurs habitants ne paraissent pas posséder des *aliments en suffisance*. Nous avons pris du blé indien, des chèvres, des volailles, du plantain."—*Id.*, p. 162. Vol à main armée, avec le crime additionnel de laisser mourir de faim, le sachant et le voulant, les pauvres propriétaires indigènes.

"Trois déserteurs furent amenés par Ougarrououé : ils furent condamnés à mort : on passa un nœud coulant autour du cou de l'un d'eux et on le pendit ; avant que l'agonie fût terminée l'expédition avait quitté la place."—*Id.*, p. 197. Meurtre.

"Nous arrivâmes à une vaste clairière remplie de plantain : nous nous en assurâmes la possession : dans chaque hutte nous trouvâmes du blé indien."—*Id.*, p. 247. Vol à main armée.

"La rapidité de notre descente nous valut de riches provisions de volailles, de cannes à sucre, et de bananes (plantain)."—*Id.*, p. 274. Vol à main armée.

"Marchez sur leurs villages, et ramenez-en toutes les vaches, les moutons, ou les chèvres que vous pourrez trouver."—*Id.*, p. 318. Encouragement au vol à main armée avant le fait.

"Le Docteur est revenu sans autre incident que l'incendie de deux petits villages et quelques coups de feu tirés à distance sur quelques individus."—*Id.*, p. 389. Incendie par malveillance, et tentative de meurtre.

"Le Docteur fit feu avec sa carabine et tua un Madi, un des déserteurs."—*Id.*, p. 396. Meurtre.

"Après avoir vu fusiller l'homme, qui tua Barttelot et fait jeter son corps dans le Congo, Jamieson partit pour Bangala" (où il mourut en débarquant).—*Id.*, p. 479.

"Les gens de Kakouri dirent, que si nous incendiions la ville de Katoué, ils envisageraient cet acte comme une preuve que nous n'étions pas Wara-Sara : en conséquence les villages furent livrés aux flammes."—*Id.*, vol. ii, p. 317. Incendie par malveillance.

"Un des missionnaires (baptistes) se rendait à la côte pour se marier, de sorte qu'il refusa de prêter le *Henry Reed* (bateau à vapeur de la mission) : il considéra toute l'affaire sous le regard de Dieu jusqu'à la troisième veille de la nuit, et ne voulut pas le prêter."—*Histoire de la colonne d'arrière-garde, Jamieson*, pp. 27, 28. Ils saisirent donc de force le steamer de la mission : acte de piraterie.

"J'ai demandé à Tipo-Tipo de mettre aux fers Barthélemy et Msa (deux jeunes chrétiens), qui avaient volé *mes* poules, et ces deux *messieurs* sont maintenant dans les fers."—*Id.*, p. 129. Emprisonnement illégal accompagné de vol.

"Barttelot chargea Bonny de capturer quelques-unes des

femmes : il en saisit huit et un petit enfant, qui furent ensuite rendus contre une rançon se composant d'un fusil restitué, de treize poules, et d'une certaine quantité de poissons."—*Id.*, p. 133. Enlèvement et vol à main armée.

"L'homme, qui me vola ma tortue, fut fouetté ce matin devant toute la troupe."—*Id.*, p. 139. Voies de fait.

"Une des femmes prisonnières fut relâchée moyennant une rançon de huit poules et d'un certain nombre de poissons."—*Id.*, p. 139. Enlèvement et vol à main armée.

"Ce matin justice a été faite de Barthélemy et de Msa, (chrétiens) déserteurs et voleurs : cent-cinquante coups de fouet à l'un et cent à l'autre."—*Id.*, p. 142. Voies de fait.

"Bengazi Mahamed, qui avait volé de la viande dans la demeure de Ward (cette viande provenait d'un pillage), avait été dans les chaînes, puis s'était échappé emportant une carabine et des cartouches. Il fut repris, attaché à un poteau de fustigation, et fusillé : ceci conformément à la loi militaire en temps de service actif."—*Id.*, p. 207. Meurtre.

"Je suis las de donner le fouet, mais cela a eu lieu."—*Id.*, p. 162. Voies de fait.

"Je saisis ma carabine, m'assis, tirai plusieurs coups sur le canot, et y blessai deux ou trois hommes : cela leur servit de leçon."—*Id.*, p. 245. Meurtre.

"La rivière présentait un brillant tableau : des femmes aux vêtements clairs mêlées avec les hommes enchaînés, dont on allait faire des porteurs pour l'expédition."—*Id.*, p. 288. Enlèvement et emprisonnement illégal.

Ici se place l'histoire de la jeune fille tuée et mangée par les cannibales pour le prix de six mouchoirs de poche. Je n'ose pas citer cette histoire.—*Id.*, p. 291. Encouragement au meurtre avant le fait.

"Nous avons eu une scène amusante aujourd'hui : une grande chasse aux indigènes qui cherchaient à s'échapper."—*Id.*, p. 300.

"On m'amena un homme, qui s'était sauvé avec sa carabine. Je le fis mettre dans les chaînes."—*Id.*, p. 309. Emprisonnement illégal.

Ici, je trouve cette remarque : "tirer sur Barttelot fut un meurtre sans doute."—*Id.*, p. 338. Mais lorsque un blanc tire sur un noir qui, dans son village, dans sa maison, défend sa femme et ses biens, n'est-ce pas aussi un meurtre ?

"Il manquait une boîte de lait, et du bœuf salé : nous lui donnâmes cent coups de fouet et le mîmes aux fers."—*Id.*, p. 332. Voies de fait et emprisonnement illégal.

"Quatre balles atteignirent le coupable : deux au côté droit de la tête, une au genou, une à la gorge ; il reçut de plus deux balles de revolver dans la tête. Le regard qu'il nous lança fut le plus horrible, que j'aie jamais vu sur un visage humain : ensuite nous déjeunâmes."—*Id.*, pp. 362-366. Meurtre.

“Un coquin essayait de faire une entaille dans une des outres; je l'en arrachai, il me frappa alors avec son bâton. Je le tuai d'un coup de feu.”—(*Kosseir*) *Journal de Barttelot*, p. 36.

“John Henry (porteur, probablement chrétien) prenait la clef des champs avec mon revolver: je le rattrapai, et lui dis qu'il serait fusillé le lendemain. Bonny me persuada de ne pas le fusiller, en sorte que je le fis fouetter: *il mourut bientôt après*. Je suis convaincu, qu'il aurait dû être pendu tôt ou tard, car il avait un très mauvais caractère (monstrueusement mauvais).”—*Id.*, pp. 228, 229, 331. Voies de fait, peut-être meurtre: l'auteur lui-même fut tué peu de temps après.

“On trouva des dollars dans le sac d'Abdullah: il était le voleur. J'ordonnai qu'il fût fustigé, et il reçut cent-cinquante coups de fouet sans proférer une plainte.” (C'était un excellent homme.)—(*Jephson*) *Emin Pacha*, p. 282. Voies de fait.

“Nos hommes avaient à leur disposition un vaste champ de manioc, planté par les indigènes avant qu'ils quittassent Yambouya. C'est de là qu'ils tiraient leur nourriture quotidienne.”—(*Troup*) *Avec la colonne d'arrière-garde*, p. 148. Vol à main armée.

“Barttelot fit présent aux Arabes de deux canots, que les indigènes avaient abandonnés dans leur fuite, lorsque l'expédition arriva pour la première fois à Yambouya.”—*Id.*, p. 155. Vol à main armée.

“Jamieson avait apporté deux tortues: on les lui vola: c'était un vol sans doute! Les coupables furent découverts. Barttelot décida de leur faire donner le fouet.” (N'y eut-il pas d'autres vols?)—*Id.*, p. 159. Voies de fait.

“Le cas du déserteur soudanais fut discuté après le déjeuner: on soutint qu'il devait être fustigé comme les Zanzibarites, qui avaient déserté; mais une majorité de un sur les cinq officiers décida que les Soudanais étaient engagés *comme soldats, soumis à la discipline militaire*: il fut fusillé.”—*Id.*, p. 203. Meurtre.

“John Henry (probablement chrétien), qui avait déserté, reçut trois cents coups de fouet. De ma hutte j'entendis ce qui se passait, et j'en fus très troublé, car je n'approuvais pas un châtiment aussi sévère.” (Il mourut deux jours après la fustigation.)—*Id.*, p. 248. Voies de fait, peut-être meurtre.

Puis l'auteur fait remarquer que, d'après l'opinion du Dr. Schweinfurth, les sociétés missionnaires d'Angleterre devraient souscrire une certaine somme pour contribuer aux frais de l'expédition (dont les traits caractéristiques furent le meurtre, le brigandage, l'enlèvement, les voies de fait, l'incendie). Le Dr. Schweinfurth s'est grandement trompé dans sa façon de comprendre une société missionnaire.—*Id.*, p. 326.

Je ne fais aucun commentaire, et me borne à donner à chaque acte le nom, qu'il porte d'après le code pénal indien, qui n'admet aucune distinction entre la culpabilité d'un blanc et celle d'un noir

J'ai traduit en justice un soldat anglais coupable d'avoir tué un indigène dans une rixe qui s'était élevée au sujet d'un mouton pendant une partie de chasse; il fut envoyé à Calcutta, à 1900 kilom. de distance, où il fut condamné à mort par un des juges de Sa Majesté, et pendu. J'ai fait passer un jeune officier du génie devant une cour martiale, qui le destitua et le fit mettre en prison pour quatre ans, et cela parce qu'il avait fouetté jusqu'à ce que mort s'en suivit un domestique à propos de la disparition d'une cuiller d'argent. Si une expédition géographique quelconque se fût introduite en pillant et tuant à travers les contrées sauvages de l'Inde anglaise, par exemple sur les pentes de l'Himalaya, les chefs de cette expédition eussent été envoyés à la prison commune pour être jugés et condamnés pour crime capital, et déclassés pour leur conduite indigne de gentilshommes.

En vertu de quel Acte du Parlement, des particuliers peuvent-ils se permettre de fustiger, d'emprisonner, d'enlever des femmes, d'incendier des habitations, d'ôter la vie, dans l'Afrique centrale plu tôt que dans les États de Sa Majesté ?

Après cela nous lisons dans les journaux des phrases comme celles-ci : " L'imagination populaire a été frappée par les récits variés contenus dans le '*Continent mystérieux*' à un degré qui n'avait pas été atteint jusque-là. Ces récits ont été un appel retentissant pour le philanthrope aussi bien que pour le simple amateur d'aventures, pour le marchand aussi bien que pour le géographe, pour le missionnaire chrétien empressé à étendre le royaume de Christ aussi bien que pour l'homme d'État désireux de voir sa patrie s'agrandir."

" Des injustices criantes à faire disparaître, des actions d'éclat à accomplir, des contrées vierges à livrer à l'exploitation commerciale, d'importantes découvertes scientifiques à faire, des millions d'hommes plongés dans l'idolâtrie la plus grossière, des pays plus ou moins susceptibles de colonisation et où ne flotte encore aucune bannière de peuple civilisé : tels sont quelques-uns des divers éléments qui ont répandu un vif éclat et une sorte de fascination sur l'Afrique et captivé l'esprit du public."

Quelles étaient les opinions de feu le Dr. Wilhelm Junker, le célèbre voyageur ? Dans une conversation que le correspondant du *Standard* à Vienne, eut avec lui, il dit : " Il n'est pas nécessaire pour un explorateur africain de tuer les gens, à droite et à gauche, comme un conquérant dans un pays ennemi. Je n'ai jamais tué personne ; généralement je voyageais sans armes et cependant j'ai accompli ce que je me proposais." On peut dire la même chose de toute cette noble escouade d'explorateurs anglais en Afrique dont j'ai déjà rappelé les noms.

Les mauvais exemples se propagent. J'extrais maintenant d'un ouvrage plus récent le récit d'une autre expédition à la recherche d'Emin-Pacha, qui partit de la côte orientale d'Afrique, d'un

territoire soumis à l'influence britannique, malgré la défense de l'amiral anglais. Elle était conduite par un Allemand, qui savait bien qu'il violait la loi en envahissant un territoire paisible.

"À Witou, je ne pus pas réprimer les fraudes d'une manière utile, parce que les seules mesures efficaces à l'égard des fraudeurs, mettre les hommes suspects dans les chaînes et punir les déserteurs avec la plus rigoureuse sévérité, ne pouvaient être mises en pratique *par suite de considérations politiques*."—Peters' "New Light on Dark Africa," p. 56.

"Je m'étais mis en marche sans articles d'échange et ne pus pas payer mon passage, en donnant un tribut aux chefs indigènes, comme Thompson et d'autres avaient coutume de le faire."—*Id.*, p. 57.

"Je dus même introduire pour mes Somáli (soldats) les punitions corporelles, et les infliger rigoureusement."—*Id.*, p. 58. "Je constatai l'identité d'un porteur, qui avait abandonné sa charge et s'était enfui, je le fis mettre dans les chaînes et fouetter devant toute la troupe."—*Id.*, p. 62. Voies de fait.

"Des obstacles continuels me forçaient à répondre à la violence par la violence, et quand je trouvais des gens qui refusaient de me vendre ce qu'ils possédaient, je me rabattais sur le droit de conservation personnelle et le droit des armes, qui est reconnu partout en Afrique, et je prenais ce dont j'avais besoin. Je pris possession de deux bateaux."—*Id.*, p. 88. Vol à main armée.

"Je pris la résolution d'enchaîner tous les individus suspects qui se trouvaient parmi eux."—*Id.*, p. 89. Voies de fait.

"Nous poursuivîmes notre marche avec des troupeaux de milliers de bœufs, prise de guerre."—*Id.*, p. 93. Vol à main armée.

"J'envoyai mon compagnon chercher des bateaux : il en ramena deux : le dernier avait coûté quelques vies d'hommes, car les Wa-Pokómo, excités par les Arabes, refusèrent de nous en livrer un. Non seulement ils attaquèrent mon compagnon, mais encore, lorsqu'il partit avec le bateau, ils tirèrent sur lui, et il fut *obligé de répondre à leur feu* pour sa défense personnelle : en cette occasion quatre Wa-Pokómo furent tués."—*Id.*, p. 94. Meurtre et vol à main armée.

"J'envoyai six Somáli (soldats) sur la rivière Tana, pour capturer ou fusiller les porteurs qui s'y rendraient par terre ; et comme les porteurs ne voulurent pas faire halte, ils en tuèrent deux et jetèrent leurs corps dans la rivière."—*Id.*, p. 105. Meurtre.

"Nous découvrîmes une provision de riz, nous la déclarâmes prise de guerre et mes gens, dans l'abondance, se livrèrent à la joie."—*Id.*, p. 107. Vol à main armée.

"Pour empêcher mes hommes de mourir de faim, je fus obligé de me pourvoir pour mon propre compte dans les champs de maïs. Quand mes hommes voulurent faire usage de la permission, les Wa-Pokómo (possesseurs légitimes) cherchèrent à les chasser de force,

et deux d'entre eux furent blessés par mes gens."—*Id.*, p. 110. Vol à main armée et blessures.

"Je connaissais assez la tactique *poltronne* des Wa-Pokómo pour pouvoir emprisonner les trois chefs et les retenir jusqu'à ce qu'on eût apporté suffisamment de blé pour notre détachement."—*Id.*, p. 110. Vol à main armée et emprisonnement illégal.

"Dès que je vis qu'ils ne pouvaient nous procurer d'autres guides, je fus forcé de mettre ceux-ci aux fers et de les transporter au delà de la steppe."—*Id.*, p. 117. Enlèvement.

"J'ai été obligé d'employer un expédient en enchaînant le sultan des Galla, lorsqu'il vint me faire visite, sans cela ma colonne eût couru le risque de mourir de faim."—*Id.*, p. 129. Voies de fait.

"Nous tirâmes six décharges : le sultan et sept de ses chefs furent atteints."—*Id.*, p. 141. Meurtre.

"Je fis sortir de leurs maisons toutes les femmes du kraal, au nombre de vingt-trois, pour porter les provisions dans mon campement, ainsi que quelques hommes comme prisonniers de guerre. Je m'emparai de toutes les provisions que je pus trouver."—*Id.*, p. 142. Enlèvement et vol à main armée.

"Un de mes hommes s'était régalé de ma poule de Guinée. Je lui donnai un émétique pour lui faire rendre la marchandise volée (!) et vingt-cinq coups de fouet en présence de tous comme avertissement à toute la communauté."—*Id.*, p. 171. Voies de fait.

"Sur-le-champ, je fis mettre aux fers le sultan ; je le pris par les oreilles et le poussai devant nous en guise de bouclier contre sa tribu ; j'annonçai à ses gens que je relâcherais le sultan, s'ils m'amenaient cinq moutons et quatre ânes ; le traité fut conclu de cette façon : je crachai plusieurs fois sur le sultan pendant qu'il me crachait dessus. Quand le bétail arriva, je leur donnai de l'étoffe rouge pour vêtements et les renvoyai."—*Id.*, p. 172. Vol à main armée.

"J'ordonnai aux Somáli de se rendre au gué, et sur un signal de trompette, que je leur donnerais, d'amener dans notre camp autant de têtes de bétail qu'ils le pourraient. Je donnai l'ordre à mes gens de dresser une clôture pour enfermer le bétail *que le ciel allait leur envoyer* ; des moutons et des chèvres arrivèrent pêle-mêle, et nous commençâmes à les tuer. Je me sentais, moralement parlant, parfaitement dans mon droit quant aux mesures que j'avais employées ; ces gens croyaient que le diable en personne était apparu dans le pays et s'était ensuite évanoui."—*Id.*, p. 177. Vol à main armée.

"Leur intention de ne pas respecter *notre droit de propriété* était si évidente, que je me décidai à prendre des mesures vigoureuses, et à 4 h. 30 m. du matin nous avions six-cents moutons et soixante bœufs dans notre enclos. Avant la nuit, je leur donnai une sérieuse leçon : le village était désert : j'ordonnai d'emporter tous les objets de valeur qui s'y trouvaient et mis le feu à six maisons : il était

nécessaire de faire comprendre à ces gens que 'c'était la guerre.'"
—*Id.*, p. 188. Vol à main armée et incendie par malveillance.

"Je pris des mesures pour que toute tentative de pillage (de la part des gens du Kikouyou) fût punie de la peine capitale, et un certain nombre d'hommes la subirent pour s'être abandonnés à leur penchant au vol."—*Id.*, p. 214. Meurtre : et qui était le vrai voleur ?

"J'avais cherché à engager quinze nouveaux porteurs Kikouyou ; ces impudents coquins s'en allaient avec les marchandises qui leur avaient été données d'avance comme paiement ; aussitôt on leur tira dessus, nous en saisismes onze et les forçâmes à marcher contre le pays des Masaï, qu'ils détestaient."—*Id.*, p. 216. Meurtre et enlèvement.

"La seule chose qui fasse impression sur les Masaï c'est une balle de revolver ou un fusil à deux coups."—*Id.*, p. 222. Meurtre.

"Nous dirigeâmes une attaque contre le kraal ; à la porte, je rencontrai de l'opposition de la part de l'ancien, avec lequel j'avais négocié le jour précédent. Ma troisième balle lui traversa les tempes ; nous en tuâmes sept en tout."—*Id.*, p. 236. "Nous trouvâmes quarante-trois cadavres de Masaï, tous tués par des balles reçues par devant, mais leurs pertes doivent avoir été trois fois aussi considérables ; ils avaient mutilé ceux de notre camp qui étaient tombés, en sorte que par représailles nous coupâmes les têtes des cadavres des Masaï et nous les lançâmes au-dessous de nous parmi leurs compatriotes."—*Id.*, p. 239. Meurtre.

"Lorsqu'ils essayèrent de prendre de force possession du tribut qu'ils demandaient, et qu'ils saisirent quelques-unes de *mes* vaches (leurs vaches) trois d'entre eux furent tués au moment où ils exécutaient leur pillage ; et par ce moyen la paix fut rétablie dans le pays."—*Id.*, p. 263. Meurtre : Qui était le voleur ?

"Dans le pays de Nera, le chef réclama le hongo (droit de transit habituel) ; ils cherchèrent à intimider notre expédition : nous leurs tirâmes dessus. J'en tuai trois et mes compagnons un ; ainsi quatre d'entre eux payèrent leur folie de leur vie."—*Id.*, p. 497. Meurtre (dans la sphère d'influence allemande).

"Les Wa-Gogo s'enfuirent dans toutes les directions : des tisons enflammés furent jetés dans leurs maisons : à 4 h. 30 m. de l'après-midi deux villages étaient brûlés. Faute d'hommes, je n'étais pas en position de m'emparer de leurs troupeaux."—*Id.*, p. 529. Incendie par malveillance.

"Nous réussîmes à saisir deux ou trois centes têtes de bétail, frappant ceux des pâtres qui ne voulaient pas s'enfuir."—*Id.*, p. 529. Pillage et meurtre.

On dit en parlant des grandes forêts africaines, que si paisibles qu'elles paraissent, des meurtres s'accomplissent sans cesse sur chaque branche d'arbre, un animal faisant sa proie d'un autre animal ; à chaque instant, un être vivant est anéanti pour satis-

faire aux désirs d'une créature un peu plus forte, qui, quelques minutes plus tard, devra livrer sa misérable carcasse pour en nourrir une plus grosse et plus forte encore. Cette succession de meurtres et de rapines sera-t-elle la forme du soit-disant christianisme que des chrétiens vont introduire en Afrique? Je ne suis pas le premier à remarquer ce trait caractéristique. Il y a quelques années M. Bosworth Smith écrivait :

“ Maintenant que nous (Anglais et Allemands) avons déclaré “ soumis à notre influence un cinquième environ de l'Afrique, une “ des questions les plus urgentes est de savoir si l'influence à “ exercer doit être celle de M. M. X. et Co., ou celle d'hommes “ qui ont voyagé à travers de vastes régions de l'Afrique, ou celle “ de gens qui y ont passé leur vie sans commettre aucun de ces “ actes sur lesquels il est bon de jeter un voile. Dans l'état où “ sont les choses, un grand nombre d'Anglais (et d'Allemands “ aussi) seraient heureux de renoncer à tout ce que l'expédition “ Émin-Pacha a révélé au monde, s'ils pouvaient en même temps “ effacer les actes honteux commis par des Anglais (et aussi par “ des Allemands) dans la dite expédition.”

J'ai évité de mentionner aucun nom, sauf dans le cas où cela était nécessaire pour établir l'identité des livres cités. Laissons les morts ensevelir les morts; que le souvenir du passé s'efface de notre mémoire, mais que les expériences acquises nous décident à ne jamais permettre la répétition de choses semblables. Ce qui est arrivé était prévu. Lisez les conclusions d'un comité du Parlement dont le grand politique Gladstone est le seul membre survivant; il résumait ainsi un long rapport, appuyé de nombreuses preuves, en juin 1837 :

“ Ce n'est pas aller trop loin que de dire, que les rapports avec “ les Européens en général, sans en excepter aucunement les sujets “ de la Grande Bretagne, ont été la source de bien des calamités “ pour les nations non civilisées, à moins que ces rapports ne “ fussent accompagnés de tentatives missionnaires.

“ Trop souvent leur territoire a été usurpé, leur propriété saisie, “ leur nombre diminué, leur caractère avili, l'extension de la “ civilisation empêchée. Les vices et les maladies des Européens “ ont été introduits parmi eux, et ils se sont familiarisés avec “ l'usage de nos agents les plus actifs pour la destruction insensible “ ou violente de la vie humaine, c'est-à-dire l'eau-de-vie et la “ poudre

“ Il est à présumer que les indigènes de quelque pays que ce “ soit ont un droit incontestable sur leur propre sol, un droit positif “ et sacré; cependant, on ne semble pas l'avoir compris. Les “ Européens ont franchi leurs frontières sans y être invités, et une “ fois là, non seulement ils ont agi comme s'ils étaient les posses- “ seurs incontestables du sol, mais en outre ils ont puni les natifs “ comme des agresseurs, lorsque ceux-ci manifestaient l'intention de

“ vivre dans leur propre pays. . . . Il paraît que nous avons réussi à
 “ les extirper sur de très vastes étendues ; et quoique leur expulsion
 “ n'ait pas été aussi violente en apparence dans certaines contrées
 “ que dans d'autres, elle a été tout aussi complète, lorsqu'en pre-
 “ nant possession de leurs territoires de chasse nous les avons par
 “ celà même privés de leurs moyens d'existence. . . .

“ Le résultat obtenu pour nous-mêmes a été aussi contraire à
 “ nos intérêts qu'à notre devoir ; notre système a créé non seule-
 “ ment une grande accumulation de crimes, mais encore une grande
 “ dépense d'argent et des pertes de toute nature. D'autre part, il
 “ ne sera pas difficile, croyons-nous, de prouver que, mettant de
 “ côté toute considération de devoir, une politique plus amicale
 “ et plus juste envers les indigènes contribuerait matériellement
 “ à favoriser les intérêts civils et commerciaux de la Grande
 “ Bretagne.”

Les remarques suivantes présentées, en 1892, par Sir William Harcourt à la Chambre des Communes sont dignes d'attention :
 “ Le fait qu'un territoire était réservé à l'influence de notre pays
 “ ne nous conférait ni droit ni pouvoir sur ce territoire ni sur ses
 “ habitants, au delà de ce que nous pouvions obtenir au moyen de
 “ traités conclus avec certains chefs indigènes. Tout acte de
 “ violence commis par nous contre les indigènes, dans les territoires
 “ compris dans notre sphère d'influence, était illégal. Quand nous
 “ leur prenions une acre de terre, nous commettions un vol à main
 “ armée, et quand nous tuions un indigène, nous commettions un
 “ meurtre, car nous n'avions ni droit ni autorité sur ces hommes ni
 “ sur leur pays. Voilà quel a été pour nous le résultat du fait
 “ d'avoir une sphère d'influence.”

Tout en écrivant, j'ai le sentiment, que nous pourrions être à la veille de voir se renouveler l'année prochaine, en 1893, dans l'Ou-Ganda, une affaire analogue à celle de Gordon à Khartoum. Le public anglais ferait bien d'ouvrir les yeux pendant qu'il en est encore temps.

Les victimes de ces voies de fait et de ces meurtres étaient non seulement de pauvres indigènes de l'Afrique centrale équatoriale, territoire encore inconnu situé entre les bassins du Congo et du Nil, mais aussi des Soudanais, sujets du Khédive, des Somâli et des Galla de la partie septentrionale du protectorat britannique, et des esclaves engagés comme porteurs à Zanzibar. La Société anti-esclavagiste britannique et étrangère, par l'intermédiaire de son comité, dont je suis membre, proteste vainement contre le système en vigueur à Zanzibar, qui consiste à recruter des esclaves comme porteurs. Je cite ici les derniers mots de sa protestation indignée :

“ Le grand élan donné aux explorations africaines scientifiques
 “ et commerciales fait que le nombre des porteurs demandés
 “ s'accroît incessamment, dans un pays où il n'y a point de bêtes de
 “ somme, et où toute charge doit être portée à dos d'homme. Il ne

“ manque pas d'agents qui se chargent de répondre à ces demandes
 “ et le trafic des esclaves a reçu une nouvelle impulsion afin de
 “ subvenir constamment à l'approvisionnement.

“ Depuis le Dr. Livingstone jusqu'aux derniers rapports de Stanley,
 “ il existe de nombreux témoignages montrant que l'esclave zanzi-
 “ barite a subi une succession de détériorations qui le font presque
 “ descendre au niveau de la bête de somme dont il doit tenir lieu.
 “ Ses droits humains sont si peu respectés que s'il jette sa charge et
 “ s'enfuit, on envisage comme parfaitement légal de lui tirer dessus,
 “ et dans bien des cas il est admis qu'il faut le tenir enchaîné pour
 “ l'empêcher de se soustraire aux poursuites de la justice.

“ Introduire dans un pays où le travail libre est de règle (grâce
 “ à la politique éclairée d'Anglais à l'esprit élevé) une armée
 “ d'esclaves, ne travaillant que par contrainte, pour enrichir leurs
 “ maîtres de Zanzibar, doit non seulement corrompre l'esprit des
 “ indigènes, mais encore le remplir d'idées étranges et de doutes au
 “ sujet de la réalité de l'amour que nous professons pour la liberté
 “ humaine. Il est facile de comprendre que là où la politique
 “ anti-esclavagiste de l'Angleterre a été proclamée à grand bruit,
 “ l'indigène soit surpris lorsqu'il voit des fonctionnaires anglais
 “ amener dans son pays des hommes qui furent peut-être enlevés
 “ du dit pays quelques années auparavant et qui y reviennent en
 “ qualité d'esclaves engagés par des Anglais.

“ La Société anti-esclavagiste britannique et étrangère affirme
 “ donc que *louer* des esclaves, et surtout *les emmener de leur domicile*,
 “ c'est agir non seulement contrairement à la politique si longtemps
 “ suivie par l'Angleterre, mais encore contrairement à l'esprit des
 “ Actes passés à diverses reprises pour l'extinction du trafic des
 “ esclaves ; par conséquent c'est un mouvement rétrograde.”

En dernier lieu se présente la considération suivante : la vie d'un blanc est-elle plus précieuse aux yeux de Dieu que celle d'un noir ? J'ai vécu trop longtemps aux Indes pour avoir un doute au sujet de la réponse que je ferais à cette question. La sainteté du foyer, le respect dû au sexe faible par tous ceux qui prétendent être traités comme des gentlemen, les droits de propriété, le droit de liberté individuelle, et le droit de vie même, sont tous violés par des associations de pirates de terre et de mer, que l'on nomme expéditions géographiques dont les chefs cherchent, pour atteindre quelque but personnel, à se frayer une route au travers de l'Afrique et qui, se trouvant au-delà des limites de toute juridiction civilisée, commettent avec impunité des crimes comme le meurtre, l'incendie, les voies de fait, l'enlèvement. J'en appelle au tribunal de la conscience publique de l'homme civilisé, et au Maître de l'univers.

Il est temps de protester. Dans l'Afrique centrale n'existe pas le prétexte d'une colonisation européenne ni celui de paisibles colons blancs désireux de se créer une patrie dans des pays tels que l'Australie ou l'Afrique méridionale ; mais j'extrais les passages

suivants d'un ouvrage de grand mérite, "le Réformateur des Colonies" :

Était-il absolument nécessaire de mettre à mort les aborigènes d'Australie ? demanda Ernest.

"Il était nécessaire," répondit-il, "de punir (de mort) tout noir, qui levait la main dans l'intention de tuer un blanc, car sans de telles mesures le pays serait devenu inhabitable" (pour le colon blanc : mais le pays appartenait au noir).—p. 200

Pouvons-nous nous étonner si pour la même raison tout homme blanc est tué, quand le noir a la chance pour lui ?

Et plus loin : "Si chaque blanc n'était pas simplement une des unités qui composent le vaste système d'usurpation, désigné de temps immémorial sous le nom spécieux de *Progrès*, l'on pourrait se permettre de sympathiser avec le sauvage qui frappe son oppresseur. Mais il faudra que le monde devienne bien vieux pour que cette très ancienne loi ne soit plus en vigueur : 'Ce sera le plus fort qui possédera.' Nous prêchons la loi de la justice, mais la vieille doctrine naturelle de la force prévaudra toujours tant qu'il y aura des brutes, animales ou humaines, plus fortes que leurs semblables."—*Id.*, p. 209.

Afrique Explorée et Civilisée, 1893.

IV.

L'OCCUPATION DE L'AFRIQUE PAR LES MISSIONNAIRES CHRÉTIENS.

CHAPITRE I.

REMARQUES PRÉLIMINAIRES.

DANS les premiers siècles de l'histoire du monde, l'Afrique était le "corpus vile" de l'Asie; au temps des Grecs et des Romains et pendant les périodes subséquentes, elle devint le "corpus vile" de l'Europe. Autrefois, les Européens avaient coutume de voler les Africains à l'Afrique; maintenant, ils essayent de voler l'Afrique aux Africains.

C'est une soif de posséder des territoires dont on ne pourra jamais tirer parti, un désir de dominer sur des tribus barbares, que le souverain ne sait comment gouverner et qui ne lui procureront jamais ni profit ni crédit, une sorte de démangeaison de prendre possession de toutes choses, comme si le Créateur lorsqu' Il fit le monde n'avait songé qu'à l'Europe. L'ignorance prétendue ou l'orgueil d'avoir une marine puissante ne justifieront guère l'indifférence nationale au sujet de la violation des droits, et du sacrifice des vies de populations innocentes et inoffensives.

Il y a un siècle, dans son accusation contre Warren Hastings, Burke s'exprimait ainsi: "Animés de toute la cupidité de la vieillesse et de l'impétuosité de la jeunesse, les Anglais se sont déversés sur les Indes en flots successifs, et aux yeux des Hindous ne s'offrait qu'un seul tableau de vols d'oiseaux de proie toujours renouvelés, l'appétit sans cesse excité pour une nourriture qui faisait sans cesse défaut. Nous nous vantons de vivre à une époque où les consciences sont plus délicates et où règne un plus grand respect des droits du prochain que par le passé. J'espère que notre conduite, en tant que nation, à l'égard des Indes, peut justifier cette prétention."

Lord Palmerston écrivit, dit-on, ce qui suit à Napoléon III :
" Quelle combinaison pourrions-nous imaginer pour devenir agresseurs sans être provoqués, pour imiter, en Afrique, le partage de la Pologne par la conquête du Maroc pour la France, de Tunis pour l'Italie, de l'Egypte pour l'Angleterre, et comment l'Angleterre et la France, qui ont garanti l'intégrité de l'empire turc, pourraient-elles faire volte-face et enlever l'Egypte au sultan ? Nous n'avons pas besoin de l'Egypte, il nous faut pouvoir passer par l'Egypte."

Il fut un temps dans l'histoire du grand empire romain, où des sages conseillers recommandaient que les limites de l'empire fussent restreintes au Danube, au désert de Lybie et à l'Euphrate, et qu'aucune nouvelle adjonction n'y fût faite de crainte que la superstructure de l'édifice ne devînt trop vaste pour sa base. Les gouvernements européens ne prennent pas de telles précautions. La lutte pour l'Afrique, au point de vue politique, commercial et religieux, par la voie des annexions, de l'importation des spiritueux et des instruments de guerre, et par les prédicateurs de l'Evangile de paix, est un des phénomènes les plus marquants de la dernière partie du dix-neuvième siècle. Le partage politique de l'Afrique a déjà été suffisamment décrit ; le partage commercial pourrait faire le sujet d'une étude intéressante et profitable. Aujourd'hui, je me bornerai à " l'occupation missionnaire de l'Afrique " pendant les dix dernières années de ce siècle.

Je ne m'occupe pas des événements du passé, et je n'entreprends pas non plus de spéculer sur l'avenir. Une exactitude complète est impossible : le kaleïdoscope est sans cesse en mouvement et forme de nouvelles combinaisons. Toutes les îles comprises dans la soi-disant Afrique des géographes sont exclues. La religion chrétienne est envisagée dans le sens le plus étendu des agents de recensement. Pour le but que se propose cette étude, l'œuvre du missionnaire n'est envisagée qu'au point de vue de son influence *civilisatrice* sur les éléments temporels de ce monde. On admet que l'Islam possède la majorité de la population de l'Afrique avec une tendance à s'accroître en vertu de sa force propre et de sa facilité d'adaptation à l'Afrique païenne, et il est reconnu comme l'adversaire déclaré de la civilisation apportée d'outre-mer par les missionnaires chrétiens.

Il est admis en fait, qu'il existe de grandes différences dans les dogmes et les méthodes des divers régiments de cette armée envahissante, mais tous ses membres appartiennent à la catégorie des philanthropes à l'esprit élevé, bons, honnêtes, amis de la paix, bienveillants ; comme preuve de leur dévouement, un grand nombre sont morts à leur poste et cependant de nouvelles recrues arrivent sans cesse. Les écoles, les hôpitaux et les imprimeries, qui doivent l'existence à leurs efforts sont autant de bornes indiquant les étapes du progrès, mais la seule présence d'un missionnaire

élève le niveau moral de tous ceux qui entrent en contact avec lui, ou qui sont simplement les témoins de sa vie journalière. Le spectacle d'une vie sainte, tempérante, pure, bienfaisante, et laborieuse est un phénomène qui étonne, attire, et subjugué peu à peu les volontés obstinées mais pas nécessairement mauvaises de ces races dont l'intelligence n'a pas été faussée. N'être ni pillé, ni maltraité, ni dépouillé de sa femme et de ses enfants par quelqu'un qui aurait certainement la puissance matérielle de vous nuire éveille de nouveaux sentiments. Le travail libre dans les stations missionnaires cause une nouvelle surprise, car au lieu de violences, d'un travail forcé et du fouet, le noir reçoit un salaire quotidien, de bonnes paroles, des sourires et des soins attentifs dans les cas de maladies ou d'accidents. Ajoutez à cela le respect pour la vieillesse, la tendresse envers le sexe faible et la bonté envers les enfants; tout cela ne compterait pour rien en pays chrétien, mais ouvre de nouveaux horizons aux barbares; c'est un Evangile vivant, agissant et parlant, présenté à leur intelligence et à leur cœur. Que personne ne déprécie l'influence civilisatrice d'un homme tempérant, de culture européenne, au milieu d'une population africaine.

Nous devrions nous défaire de nos préjugés nationaux européens et considérer ce qui vaut le mieux pour les populations des régions annexées. Les Anglais ont une habitude ridiculement invétérée de s'imaginer, que toutes les contrées qui ont quelque valeur doivent passer sous la domination de l'Angleterre. Toutes les soi-disant colonies françaises reposent sur le principe, que la colonie doit être sacrifiée à la mère-patrie, avec un système exclusif de monopole commercial, et l'usage exclusif de la langue française dans les affaires et l'éducation. Les Allemands se sont mis en quête de colonies sans calculer les frais et sans posséder ces aptitudes pour le gouvernement colonial, qu'une longue expérience a données aux Anglais et aux Français. Avec un cynisme brutal, ils se sont emparés de ce qu'ils pouvaient prendre sans s'inquiéter des sentiments du peuple, et sans penser au jour où il faudra rendre compte, et qui viendra certainement.

S'il est vrai qu'on ait l'intention de tenter la terrible expérience du travail forcé, des plantations et du servage localisé, que la population indigène doive être forcée de travailler et que le missionnaire doive surveiller des écoles industrielles pour lui enseigner comment il faut travailler, la fin peut ne pas être bien éloignée; les Espagnols ont exterminé la population caraïbe des petites îles des Indes occidentales, mais les races de l'Afrique au sud de l'Equateur sont plus vigoureuses et ont de vastes régions centrales où elles peuvent se retirer. Le règne de la force peut remplacer le règne de la loi et de l'équité pendant un court espace de temps, mais au dix-neuvième siècle il est impossible de pousser jusqu'à sa limite la plus extrême la brutalité qui, au neuvième,

caractérisa la politique de Charlemagne dans ses procédés à l'égard des Saxons.

S'il est une raison qui, plus que toute autre m'ait encouragé à faire ce travail, c'est le désir d'empêcher l'intrusion des agents d'une mission dans un territoire occupé par une autre.

Certes, en ce qui concerne l'Afrique, on peut dire : "il y a encore de la place." Les chrétiens sont tenus de faire l'œuvre chrétienne d'une manière chrétienne, et ce n'est pas agir en bon chrétien que de fomenteur des difficultés dans les Églises naissantes en provoquant des contestations au sujet de noms et de coutumes. Quelque tentante, que puisse être la chance du succès, et quelque pressante, que puisse être l'invitation, le missionnaire chrétien doit s'imposer une grande réserve ; il va sans dire que les villes d'une étendue considérable telles que le Cap, Sierra Léone, Lagos, Zanzibar, Alger, Tunis, Tanger, le Caire, sont la propriété commune de toutes les Églises. Une société de peu d'importance ne devrait pas jouer le rôle du chien devant sa mangeoire, et tandis qu'elle ne ferait rien elle-même essayer d'écarter les autres sociétés. Les autorités rivales dans la mère-patrie, devraient maintenir ce principe et agir les unes envers les autres dans la paix et la tolérance chrétienne. On dit des catholiques romains qu'ils s'établissent à côté des missionnaires protestants dans le dessein de détruire l'œuvre de ces derniers. Ceci n'est pas littéralement vrai. Nombres de missions catholiques romaines sont actuellement sur un sol vierge, ou étaient en possession de certains pays avant l'arrivée des protestants. Le cardinal Lavigerie m'a dit à Tunis, en 1882, qu'il avait donné des ordres positifs pour que ses agents ne fondassent aucune station à moins d'une certaine distance d'une mission protestante ; cette politique sage et prévoyante devrait être celle de tous ceux qui dirigent les missions. Dans l'Inde anglaise il n'y a jamais eu de difficulté de ce côté. Des erreurs dues à l'ignorance peuvent avoir été commises dans les années précédentes : à l'avenir, après l'examen de notre exposé, cette excuse ne pourra plus être mise en avant.

Admettons franchement que les nations maritimes de l'Europe occidentale ont été pendant bien des siècles irrésistiblement attirées par la politique de colonisation ; elles colonisaient sans avoir une perception bien nette de ce que seraient les résultats de leurs efforts ; il ne s'y mêlait pas l'effronterie des récentes annexions germaniques, les soi-disant traités avec les chefs, les annexions nominales, puis l'application de la force. Sans doute l'empire romain fut irrésistiblement entraîné à la conquête des Gaules et de la Bretagne, qui, pendant un certain temps, furent de mauvaises acquisitions, mais le contact merveilleux de la civilisation et de la religion romaines amena la création de la France et de l'Angleterre telles que nous les connaissons. Peut-être les nations européennes feront-elles naître en Afrique de nouvelles nationalités qui gouver-

neront le monde futur. Ceci nous ramène à l'examen du devoir d'introduire une bonne administration dans ces contrées annexées, et de la responsabilité devant Dieu et les hommes, que les nations européennes ont assumée d'un cœur si léger.

Quelle devrait être la politique? 1^o Le développement des aptitudes des peuples africains pour un self-gouvernement . . . soit monarchique soit républicain. 2^o Les puissances européennes devraient pratiquer la justice et le désintéressement à l'égard de populations qui, comme un troupeau de brebis sans défense, ont été placées sous leur influence par l'emploi de la violence et de la force brutale. 3^o Les ressources du pays devraient être développées d'après une méthode qui n'eût pas pour but de détruire la population indigène. 4^o L'introduction d'un commerce légitime, à l'exclusion des spiritueux et des armes meurtrières, et des avantages de l'éducation et de la culture sociale.

Qu'en a-t-il été en pratique? L'Européen débarque sur la côte d'Afrique comme savant, commerçant, grand chasseur, ou puissant explorateur. Sans aucun égard pour les droits d'autrui, il parcourt le pays comme s'il était le propriétaire du sol; il traite des tribus qui, depuis des siècles, sont en possession légitime du pays, comme si elles rentraient dans la catégorie des bêtes sauvages, comme de simples fauves; il ne s'inquiète ni des âmes des natifs ni de leurs corps (et cependant Christ mourut sur la croix pour ces tribus aussi); il brave leurs lois sur la chasse, il enlève les fétiches de leurs foyers, les crânes et les os de leurs ancêtres de leur lieu de sépulture et souvent viole leurs femmes.

Si des vieillards à barbe grise le prient humblement de passer outre ou de se retirer, il se moque d'eux; si les jeunes gens mettent leurs lances en travers du chemin de l'envahisseur, on les tue avec des armes de précision. Le meurtre ne compte pour rien, quand l'Européen se rencontre sur le chemin de l'Africain; il sait, et eux savent qu'il sait, qu'il est le héraut et l'avant-garde des destructeurs de leur race, de leurs coutumes, et de leur religion; ils savent qu'il apporte avec lui les spiritueux, des maladies affreuses, et des armes meurtrières; qu'il est un homme de sang, un voleur d'hommes, un accapareur du sol, parfois un fort buveur, souvent un adultère; s'il lui arrive d'être blessé, il crie comme s'il était innocent et qu'on l'eût injurié; s'il est tué, ses amis comptent, que sa mort sera vengée par l'envoi d'une force armée ou d'une canonnière, et par le massacre des femmes et des enfants: il se donne le titre de prophète de la civilisation, tandis qu'il est le démon de la désolation et de la destruction; il fait la solitude et la nomme paix, puis il promène ses regards autour de lui, sourit avec complaisance et s'écrie: "Voyez le beau pays que j'ai ouvert aux Allemands, aux Anglais, et aux Français; les nouveaux débouchés, pour le commerce, les nouveaux champs de travail pour les missions, les nouveaux lieux d'habitation sous les tropiques

“ brûlants pour la population surabondante des climats plus froids !
“ N'est-ce pas là le droit divin des chrétiens ? ”

Il faut reconnaître que dans leurs procédés à l'égard des indigènes de l'Afrique, les hommes d'Etat ont complètement perdu de vue les principes du christianisme élémentaire et le respect pour le sentiment national. Personne ne cherche ce qui est bien et juste ; chacun considère son intérêt personnel au point de vue le plus étroit. Les vautours d'Europe se sont abattus sur le cadavre de l'Afrique, et sont en train de le dépecer mais avec la contenance dévote et la phraséologie pharisaïque des philanthropes chrétiens les plus avancés. Jamais on ne s'est moqué du monde d'une manière plus affreuse.

L'on a totalement oublié que les millions de noirs africains sont enfants du même Père que nous, d'un Père qui éprouve de l'amour pour tous ses enfants et un amour d'autant plus grand qu'ils sont plus dégradés. Nous ne devrions nous permettre aucune illusion : il ne sert de rien de parler d'un ton dégagé d'une civilisation et d'un christianisme, dont les seuls signes extérieurs et visibles sont la dame-jeanne de rhum et la carabine ; le contact de l'Afrique avec le commerce européen doit avoir des effets mortels ; l'entrée de l'Afrique dans les filets de la politique européenne ne peut-être que nuisible ; le seul espoir d'amélioration de cette malheureuse race repose sur le missionnaire chrétien.

Pour le but, que je me propose aujourd'hui, je divise l'Afrique en quatre régions :

I. De Souakim, sur la mer Rouge, au cap Blanc sur l'Atlantique, en suivant la ligne de côtes pour la limite septentrionale, et le vingtième degré de latitude nord pour la limite méridionale. Ceci constitue la région du nord.

II. Du cap Blanc, sur la côte occidentale, à l'embouchure de la rivière Cunéné ; les limites sont : au nord, le vingtième degré de latitude nord ; à l'ouest, l'Atlantique ; au sud, le dix-huitième degré de latitude sud ; à l'est, le vingtième degré de longitude est. Ceci constitue la région occidentale.

III. De l'embouchure de la rivière Cunéné, à l'embouchure du Zambèze ; la limite nord est formée à peu près par le dix-huitième degré de latitude sud ; à l'ouest, au sud et à l'est la limite suit la ligne de côtes. Ceci constitue la région méridionale.

IV. De l'embouchure du Zambèze, à Souakim sur la mer Rouge ; les limites sont : au nord, le vingtième degré de latitude nord ; à l'ouest, le vingtième degré de longitude est ; au sud, environ le dix-huitième degré de latitude sud ; à l'est, l'océan Indien. Ceci constitue la région orientale.

Commençant par la région septentrionale, je procéderai de l'est à l'ouest jusqu'à ce que je sois revenu à mon point de départ.

Rien n'indiquera à quelle fraction particulière de la chrétienté appartient l'auteur. Ainsi qu'il a été dit plus haut, le point de

vue adopté est celui de la civilisation et de la culture sociale, et il est parfaitement indifférent de savoir quelles peuvent être les opinions dogmatiques ou ecclésiastiques des agents qui apportent ces bienfaits, car *ces bienfaits sont apportés par tous*. Cependant il est hors de doute que la forme extérieure, sous laquelle se présente l'activité du missionnaire, est essentiellement variée, car elle emprunte sa couleur à la nation et aux opinions religieuses d'une mission particulière.

Qu'il me soit permis d'essayer d'expliquer ceci à un point de vue purement mondain. La division fondamentale est celle de l'Eglise de Rome et des Eglises protestantes. En Afrique, la grande majorité des missionnaires de la première sont Français, mais il s'y trouve aussi des représentants Anglais, Allemands, Portugais, Belges, et Italiens. Je crois être dans le vrai en disant qu'ils travaillent exclusivement en congrégations ou confréries, sous un nom religieux particulier avec une autonomie qui leur est propre, et il n'existe pas en Afrique de missionnaires envoyés par une Eglise nationale qui ne soit pas européenne. En vertu des lois de leur Eglise, ces missionnaires sont nécessairement voués au célibat, leur travail est un travail à vie, et ils se contentent des choses strictement nécessaires. Quarante livres par an suffisent à l'entretien d'un homme à la côte; les frais de transport doivent rendre la vie à l'intérieur plus coûteuse. Ils portent un costume distinctif et jouissent d'une réputation sans tache. En général, ils n'interviennent pas dans les affaires temporelles; ils encouragent l'éducation et les arts industriels et inculquent la morale sociale sous sa forme la plus élevée. Peut-être le Français est-il trop enclin à enseigner la langue française aux sauvages de l'Afrique, au lieu d'adopter lui-même l'idiome de l'endroit. Le défaut, qu'à un point de vue mondain, je trouve chez eux tous, c'est l'exclusion de la Bible dans l'idiome du pays, et l'achat *à bas prix* auprès de trafiquants d'esclaves, de garçons et de filles pour remplir leurs écoles et recruter des membres aux futures communautés chrétiennes. Ils nomment cela "rédemption" et sans doute ils agissent ainsi dans une intention pure et sainte, mais la transaction en elle-même est un trafic d'esclaves tout aussi bien de leur part que de celle des Arabes qui achètent des enfants des deux sexes pour les déshonorer en en faisant des eunuques et des concubines. Un homme pourrait racheter sa femme ou son enfant, qui auraient été emmenés par un marchand d'esclaves, mais un missionnaire européen n'a pas le droit d'acheter cette femme ou cet enfant au marchand d'esclaves uniquement dans l'intérêt de la mission, et aucun gouvernement européen ne doit tolérer cette manière d'agir.

Quant à la Bible, pardonnez ma hardiesse, c'est à Jérôme en particulier, que nous sommes redevables de la traduction latine de la Vulgate, qui a maintenu le christianisme vivant depuis l'époque où il vivait, soit 400 ans après Jésus-Christ, jusqu'au temps

d'Erasmus (en 1400). Si, dans l'Europe occidentale, la Bible était devenue un objet fossile comme dans les Eglises corrompues d'Asie, où aurait-on trouvé la connaissance divine lorsqu'à l'époque de la Renaissance l'occident se réveilla de son sommeil séculaire ? Sous le rapport matériel intellectuel et éducateur, la Bible est la base, la clé, et le chef-d'œuvre, de la littérature européenne, car les traductions de la Bible, faites au moyen âge créèrent les idiomes actuels des races teutoniques, et créent encore à l'heure qu'il est des idiomes sur toute la terre ; les sentiments de la Bible comme de brillants fils d'or tissent la trame de toute la littérature moderne, et l'harmonie de ses pensées et de ses paroles forme le thème qui s'entend à travers la symphonie de toute poésie et de toute prose modernes ; enfin la Bible est un livre, qui par lui-même est une bibliothèque contenant tous les genres de littérature et sans lequel la littérature de quelque nation que ce soit serait incomplète. Pourquoi donc la refuser au pauvre Africain, qui n'a aucune littérature indigène ? C'est la base du droit commun en Europe et en Amérique, c'est le seul livre que tous acceptent, et dont la connaissance mettra l'Africain en rapport avec les Européens et les Américains et sur le même niveau qu'eux. Si la connaissance de la Bible rend quelque dogme du moyen âge insoutenable aux yeux du simple bon sens, tant pis pour le dogme ; pareil à Dagon, il s'est brisé en mille pièces en présence de l'Arche. Jetez-le par-dessus bord. Le dogme venait de l'homme ; la Bible vient de Dieu.

Les missionnaires protestants se recrutent aux Etats-Unis, dans la Grande-Bretagne, en France, en Suisse, en Allemagne, et en Scandinavie ; ils sont envoyés par des Sociétés organisées qui, dans les pays protestants, remplacent les communautés des Eglises primitives, et dont l'organisation présente de grandes diversités. Des mariages imprudents, de nombreux enfants, les difficultés dont ils sont cause, accrues par la maladie et la mort, l'absence d'une instruction en rapport avec la vocation, le manque de discipline et d'obéissance, rendent les missions des Eglises protestantes beaucoup plus coûteuses, et leur administration beaucoup plus difficile ; c'est une consolation de savoir, que le principe de la communion fraternelle et du célibat, au moins pendant les dix premières années de travail, gagne du terrain dans l'opinion publique. En général il y a abstention totale de complications industrielles ou commerciales ; quelques missions font exception à la règle, et n'en retirent qu'un avantage douteux. Les missions protestantes ont pour elles l'éducation, la Bible en langue indigène, et l'absence d'achat de filles et de garçons pour remplir les écoles et former des communautés. Les désavantages sont le manque d'une vie consacrée, le chiffre plus élevé des dépenses, le devoir vers Dieu sacrifié aux obligations qu'impose la vie domestique, le culte de la volonté individuelle au lieu de l'obéissance absolue à un chef compétent.

Les amis des deux missions, catholique et protestante, offensent le bon goût et nuisent à leur propre cause par le ton louangeur de leurs publications et de leurs discours en chaire ou autre part ; si le sujet n'était pas si sérieux, on serait porté à en rire. Pendant nombre d'années, j'ai lu des rapports en anglais, en français, en allemand, en italien, et j'ai toujours blâmé et déploré leur style boursofflé ; jamais la moindre allusion à des insuccès, à des erreurs ou à des imperfections ; tout le récit consiste en éloges sans bornes et souvent peu mérités ; les puissances spirituelles, indépendantes des forces matérielles, sont représentées comme combattant aux côtés du missionnaire. Si le Missionnaire romain remporte l'ombre d'un succès, on l'attribue aussitôt à l'intervention d'un saint ou d'une sainte, qui travaille dans son intérêt ; si la mission protestante est en voie de prospérité, c'est une réponse directe à la prière. Mais lorsque les calamités fondent sur une mission, que les stations sont détruites, les missionnaires tués, jamais les agents de Rome n'expliquent pourquoi leurs puissants amis, les saints, n'ont pas réussi à les sauver, ni les protestants pourquoi leurs prières sont restées sans réponse. Des deux côtés l'on oublie que le Dispensateur tout-puissant des événements bénit parfois une entreprise en plaçant sur sa route un pierre d'achoppement, guide parfois ses faibles créatures en fermant les portes devant elles aussi bien qu'en les leur ouvrant, et qu'il instruit par les épreuves et le martyre tout autant que par le succès et la prospérité. Toute vanterie, toute louange personnelle, tout étalage d'épithètes, devraient être bannis d'un récit sérieux, racontant une œuvre accomplie humblement et fidèlement par des hommes dévoués dont la récompense viendra en son temps.

En outre, on peint les adversaires de la mission sous les couleurs les plus sombres ; les Africains païens et les mahométans sont présentés aux hommes de la mère patrie, qui n'ont jamais quitté leurs pénates, comme des êtres plongés dans toute espèce de débauches, de péchés révoltants, et de dégradations. J'ai visité les contrées septentrionales de l'Afrique, et je n'ai pas trouvé qu'il en fût ainsi ; un séjour d'un quart de siècle dans les Indes, où j'étais en rapport immédiat avec les païens et les mahométans, ne m'a pas amené à penser, que la religion des uns et des autres entraîne nécessairement avec elle la débauche, de honteux péchés et l'avilissement ; au contraire, j'ai trouvé parmi eux quelques-uns des plus nobles types de la race humaine, de beaucoup supérieurs à la généralité des Européens, et les rues de Londres et de Paris ne proclament elles pas la dégradation des populations soi-disant chrétiennes ?

Quant aux Africains, la première chose à faire c'est de mettre à leurs portes le christianisme, la civilisation chrétienne et la culture sociale, et même alors un gouvernement chrétien très ferme sera nécessaire pour donner chance de réussite aux nouveaux éléments,

car le caractère de la race est étonnamment mobile; les races équatoriales ne peuvent pas se maintenir au même niveau moral que les habitants de climats plus froids, en tout cas elles ne l'ont jamais fait. Pendant bien des générations les croyances et les usages des païens se conserveront sous le vêtement chrétien ou mahométan. Il y a plus : dans les contrées tropicales le colon européen dégénérera sans aucun doute, comme l'on fait les immigrants asiatiques des contrées orientales; ses descendants perdront quelques-unes des vertus de leurs ancêtres et acquerront quelques-uns des vices locaux; la question est complexe et ne laisse pas grand espoir.

Je vais maintenant procéder à la description des quatre régions susmentionnées par un court récit.

CHAPITRE II.

RÉGION DU NORD.

Subdivisions : I. Souákim. — II. Egypte. — III. Tripolitaine. — IV. Tunisie. — V. Sahara. — VI. Algérie. — VII. Maroc.

Cette région est en grande partie composée d'Etats organisés, et la question missionnaire s'y présente tout autrement que dans les autres régions. Si les facilités s'y sont accrues, il en est de même des difficultés. Le contact avec l'Europe lui a été fatal; les complications politiques lui sont préjudiciables; la présence de colonies israélites y crée de nouveaux problèmes; l'islamisme est la religion dominante de toute la région, mais l'influence chrétienne en réprime les tendances persécutrices. En fait, la position de cette région du nord ressemble plus à celle de l'Asie qu'à l'Afrique proprement dite. L'Europe est grandement redevable à cette région septentrionale africaine; l'alphabet dont nous nous servons est originaire d'Egypte; les premières traductions grecques et latines de la Bible nous sont venues d'Afrique; c'est à des hommes, qui vécurent et moururent en Afrique, que l'on peut faire remonter une grande partie de la mythologie du monde païen et de la théologie du monde chrétien. De tous temps l'Europe a pillé les Egyptiens, elle le fait encore aujourd'hui.

I. Souákim sur la mer Rouge fait, au point de vue politique, partie de l'Egypte; c'est le port, d'où avant qu'il soit longtemps, l'on atteindra Berber et Khartoum sur le Haut-Nil. Un médecin attaché à la mission de l'Eglise anglicane y a passé quelque temps en 1890, mais il a été rappelé. Il y a quelques années, deux

prêtres de l'institut de Vérone y furent envoyés et ils s'y sont fixés d'une manière permanente ; les habitants sont des nomades sauvages de race chamite, ils parlent un idiome, qui n'a aucun rapport avec l'Arabe ; ils sont mahométans.

II. L'Egypte est le théâtre de nombreuses entreprises ; la population indigène est composée de coptes et de mahométans, tous parlent l'arabe. La mission la plus importante est celle de l'Eglise presbytérienne (unie) d'Amérique ; ses stations s'étendent jusqu'à Louqsor ; la mission de l'Eglise anglicane a une modeste station au Caire ; c'est aussi dans cette ville que se trouvent l'hôpital et les écoles Whately, et le collège Gordon destiné à l'éducation supérieure. Des établissements de diaconesses de Kaiserswerth près Dusseldorf existent aussi au Caire et à Alexandrie. Les missions susmentionnées accomplissent leur œuvre au milieu de la population, sans distinction de races. Au Caire et à Alexandrie, il y a deux missions anglaises spécialement destinées aux juifs. L'Eglise romaine est représentée dans différentes parties de l'Egypte par des congrégations de Franciscains, par les missions africaines de Lyon, par des Lazaristes et des Frères de la doctrine chrétienne. Les Sociétés bibliques d'Angleterre et d'Amérique fournissent des exemplaires de l'Ecriture sainte dans les diverses langues du pays.

III. La Tripolitaine est une province turque. La Société anglaise de l'Afrique du nord a une station à Tripoli ; la population est musulmane et parle l'arabe. La Société biblique britannique pourvoit à la vente de l'Ecriture sainte. L'Eglise de Rome est représentée par des Franciscains.

IV. La Tunisie est une colonie française. A Tunis et à Sfax existent des stations de la Société anglaise de l'Afrique du nord. La Société de Londres a une mission pour les juifs à Tunis, et la Société biblique britannique y a un dépôt pour la vente des Ecritures. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par l'ordre des Capucins, les Frères de la doctrine chrétienne et la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique. La population se compose de mahométans qui parlent l'arabe.

V. Le Sahara est une contrée imparfaitement connue, indépendante, et peu peuplée, qui s'étend au sud de la Tripolitaine, de la Tunisie et de l'Algérie. L'Eglise romaine y est représentée par la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique. Des stations y sont maintenant occupées par l'ordre armé des Frères du Sahara, en vue de protéger les missionnaires. Les habitants sont de race chamite ; ils parlent l'arabe et le touareg.

VI. L'Algérie est une colonie française. La Société anglaise de l'Afrique du nord y a plusieurs stations ; la mission évangélique de Paris y en a aussi une, et la Société biblique britannique y entretient plusieurs dépôts. La population est mahométane, mais de deux races différentes, les Kabyles, qui sont de race chamite et parlent le kabyle, et les Arabes, qui sont sémites et parlent l'arabe.

On y fait grand usage du français. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par les Jésuites, les Trappistes, et la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.

VII. Le Maroc est un royaume indépendant dans le plus triste état de dégradation politique. La Société anglaise de l'Afrique du nord y a plusieurs stations ; la Société de Londres a un agent pour les Juifs à Mogador. La Société presbytérienne unie d'Ecosse possède une station à Rabat. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des Franciscains et par des prêtres espagnols. La Société biblique britannique y a un dépôt. La population se compose d'Arabes, de Berbères, de Juifs, et d'esclaves nègres du Soudan ; les Arabes et les Berbères sont mahométans ; les langues usitées sont un arabe dégénéré, le shilha et un dialecte nègre.

CHAPITRE III.

RÉGION OCCIDENTALE.

Subdivisions : I. Sénégalie.—II. Sierra-Leone.—III. Libéria.—IV. Côte d'Or.—V. Côte des Esclaves.—VI. Bassin du Niger.—VII. Cameroun.—VIII. Gabon.—IX. Bassin du Congo.—X. Angola.

I. Poursuivant ma route le long de la côte occidentale, à partir de la frontière sud du Maroc jusqu'à la rive septentrionale de la rivière Cunéné, j'entre dans la subdivision de la Sénégalie que, pour faciliter cette étude, j'envisagerai comme s'étendant jusqu'à la rivière Scarcies, qui la séparera de la subdivision de Sierra-Leone. Dans ces limites sont comprises : la colonie française de Sénégal et ses dépendances, la colonie anglaise de Gambie et la colonie portugaise.

A l'intérieur, jusqu'au bassin du Niger supérieur, et au delà dans le Soudan, se trouve une région mahométane totalement dépourvue de missions chrétiennes. Par suite de la difficulté causée par le système français d'administration coloniale, qui n'admet d'autre éducation que celle en langue française, il n'y a dans cette région ni missions anglaises ni missions américaines. La Société évangélique de Paris a une mission à Saint-Louis sur le Sénégal. Plus au sud, il y a une mission anglaise wesleyenne à Bathurst sur la rivière Gambie et une église épiscopale indigène. Sur le Rio Pongo se trouvent les deux stations de Domingia et de Fallangia, occupées par l'association de l'Eglise épiscopale d'Angleterre aux Indes occidentales.

Sur différents points de cette circonscription, l'Eglise de Rome

est représentée par la congrégation française du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie, et par les Frères de la doctrine chrétienne. Dans la colonie portugaise, il y a des prêtres portugais.

II. La colonie anglaise de Sierra-Leone jouit non seulement d'une tolérance religieuse complète, mais d'une absence tout aussi complète de toute intervention dans l'éducation missionnaire, ce dont les prêtres français ont lieu d'être reconnaissants. La majeure partie de la population de Freetown est composée de descendants d'esclaves noirs libérés, appartenant à des races très diverses, mais, à l'heure qu'il est, parlant tous l'anglais, et élevés dans la civilisation anglaise ; dans les contrées avoisinantes se trouvent des tribus païennes et mahométanes, qui parlent les langues de Temné, Bullom, et Mendé. L'Eglise anglicane épiscopale est indépendante et s'entretient elle-même, mais la mission de l'Eglise anglicane soutient un collège, des écoles et quelques stations missionnaires disséminées çà et là. La Société missionnaire wesleyenne, "Lady Huntingdon's Connection," et l'Eglise libre des méthodistes unis ont aussi des représentants. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par la congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

Les missionnaires américains de la Société des "Frères unis" d'Ohio sont à l'œuvre dans les villages au milieu de la population Mendé de Sherbro et dans les régions de l'intérieur ; au delà de Freetown, une autre mission américaine du Kansas, essaye d'atteindre les habitants du Soudan.

III. Au delà de la frontière de la colonie anglaise de Sierra-Leone et de ses dépendances, se trouve la république de Libéria, qui s'étend le long de la côte, du cap Mount, jusqu'au cap Palmas.

Tout ce qui s'y fait est l'œuvre de citoyens des Etats-Unis, et les Eglises suivantes y sont représentées : l'Eglise américaine épiscopale, l'Eglise méthodiste épiscopale, l'Eglise presbytérienne, l'Union baptiste du nord, celle des luthériens évangéliques, et la mission de l'évêque Taylor. L'Eglise de Rome est représentée par la congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

Si la civilisation et les opinions religieuses des nations de l'Europe et de l'Amérique du nord devaient exercer une influence prédominante sur les peuples de l'Afrique, inférieurs en civilisation et dépourvus de toute croyance religieuse fixe et intelligente, on aurait pu s'attendre à trouver, après un demi-siècle, quelque preuve évidente de cette bienfaisante influence dans la colonie anglaise de Sierra-Leone et dans la république américaine de Libéria ; mais il n'en est pas ainsi. Aucune impression religieuse, morale, ou sociale, n'a été produite par les noirs instruits de ces deux Etats sur les hommes de couleur avec lesquels ils sont en rapports, qu'ils appartiennent à la même race africaine ou à une race analogue. Ce fait rend douteuses les prévisions au sujet de l'amélioration des peuples de l'Afrique.

IV. La subdivision suivante est celle de la Côte d'Or, du cap

Palmas au cap Saint-Paul. Il s'y trouve une certaine étendue de territoire côtier encore libre et une colonie anglaise, celle de Cape Coast Castle. La Société missionnaire wesleyenne y a une mission parmi les Fanti; celle de Bâle en a une parmi les Ashanti, et la mission de Brémen, une parmi les Akra et les habitants du royaume de Dahomey qui parlent l'Ewé; L'Eglise romaine est représentée dans cette région par les missions africaines de Lyon. Il est à remarquer que dans ces trois dernières circonscriptions aucune tentative n'a été faite pour pénétrer bien avant dans l'intérieur, et que l'enseignement des missionnaires y rencontre des obstacles provenant des mauvaises mœurs et des importations commerciales des soi-disant chrétiens.

V. La circonscription suivante, celle de la Côte des Esclaves, s'étend de la frontière de la région susmentionnée aux limites de l'estuaire du Niger, et le Yoruba-land qui en forme une partie va jusqu'au Quarrah, bras du Niger. Elle comprend des colonies françaises, allemandes, et anglaises, et un territoire indépendant. La "mission de l'Eglise anglicane" a occupé l'île de Lagos, près de la côte, une colonie anglaise et plusieurs stations importantes dans l'intérieur, notamment Abéokouta. La Société missionnaire wesleyenne a fondé d'autres stations sur la côte et a même pénétré dans l'intérieur jusqu'au Quarrah. L' "Association Baptiste américaine du sud" est représentée à Lagos et à Abéokouta. L'Eglise romaine l'est par les missions africaines de Lyon dans de nombreuses stations.

VI. Dans la circonscription suivante, le bassin du Niger, nous trouvons un nouvel ordre de choses: le missionnaire peut pénétrer très avant dans l'intérieur et atteindre une population, qui n'a pas été comme celles de la côte corrompue par le funeste contact avec le commerce européen. La mission de l'Eglise anglicane possède une ligne de stations importantes dans le delta du Niger et le long du cours inférieur et supérieur de ce fleuve jusqu'au royaume de Nupé sur le Quarrah. Jusqu'à l'année dernière, elles ont été dirigées uniquement par les missionnaires africains de Sierra-Leone. À une certaine époque la Société missionnaire wesleyenne pénétra à travers le Yoruba-land jusqu'à Egga sur le Quarrah. Dans la contrée avoisinante des Rivières de l'huile, l'Eglise presbytérienne unie d'Ecosse a une mission sur le vieux Calabar. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par les missions africaines de Lyon et par la congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie. Toute cette circonscription est maintenant sous le protectorat britannique; les crimes abominables perpétrés pendant la période païenne, le cannibalisme, les sacrifices humains et le massacre des jumeaux ont pris fin, la vie et la propriété y sont en sécurité, et le passage est libre pour pénétrer jusqu'au cœur même de l'Afrique, passage qui ne le cède en importance qu'à celui du bassin du Congo au sud de l'Equateur.

VII. Nous arrivons ensuite à la subdivision du Cameroun, colonie allemande, d'acquisition récente : l'intérieur est peu connu, mais des expéditions ont été envoyées pour ouvrir la route jusqu'au Bénoué, bras du Niger. L'histoire des missions dans cette circonscription est très triste : après avoir travaillé pendant bien des années au milieu de ces tribus, la Société anglaise baptiste s'est vue expulsée et remplacée par une mission allemande, pour la seule raison que le pays est une colonie allemande : c'est un cas sans précédent et il faut espérer qu'il ne se représentera pas. Dans l'Inde anglaise, peu importe la nationalité ou la dénomination d'une mission, toutes y sont bienvenues. Il est nécessaire de rappeler énergiquement, que le fait susmentionné constitue une violation honteuse des usages établis parmi les missionnaires. L'Eglise baptiste indigène conserve encore son existence indépendante, et déploie une activité vivante ; le fait important c'est qu'elle existe, quoique privée de tout appui européen. Il était entendu qu'aucun missionnaire catholique français ne pourrait s'établir dans la colonie allemande, de la côte occidentale : une mission allemande de l'Eglise romaine, nommée Pallotin ou la Pieuse Société, occupe maintenant cette région. C'est se méprendre grossièrement sur la raison d'être des missions chrétiennes que de les placer de quelque manière que ce soit, sous l'autorisation ou la dépendance de l'autorité civile ; si les missionnaires se montrent rebelles au gouvernement, qu'ils soient expulsés de la province ; mais l'histoire de l'Inde anglaise pendant la dernière moitié de ce siècle montre, que les missionnaires chrétiens, soit catholiques soit protestants, n'interviennent pas dans les questions politiques, lorsqu'on leur accorde le grand bienfait de la tolérance religieuse.

La Société biblique britannique et étrangère n'a pas d'agence dans cette région occidentale de l'Afrique, mais de nombreuses traductions ont été faites et sont distribuées par l'agence de la Mission protestante. Une littérature indigène considérable a été créée dans les différents idiomes parlés dans le pays, spécialement à Sierra-Leone et à Lagos. La Société de Londres pour l'avancement des sciences chrétiennes et la Société des Traités religieux, qui a également son siège à Londres, ont prêté aide et assistance aux Sociétés missionnaires. Maintenant que nous sommes parvenus à la limite méridionale des pays occupés par les grandes races nègres, il est bon d'exprimer une opinion au sujet de leur avenir. Elles s'assimilent la civilisation européenne et américaine d'une manière beaucoup plus prompte et plus complète que les peuples de l'Inde anglaise. J'écris ceci tout en connaissant et en admirant les deux nations.

La position de l'Africain est plus inquiétante et plus critique, car il n'a pas d'histoire dans le passé et pas de littérature indigène ; cependant ses relations avec les Africains libres des Etats du sud de la République américaine le rendent plus sensible à la domi-

nation des blancs, et l'Africain civilisé a au-dessous de lui d'immenses multitudes de compatriotes dans un état d'infériorité et de dégradation au point de vue de la civilisation que l'on ne trouve nulle part aux Indes. Ici, un Etat indigène indépendant et civilisé est une chose possible et qui existe ; en Afrique, parmi les races africaines, la chose est impossible. La république de Libéria a été un insuccès et ne peut-être regardée comme indépendante.

VIII. Je passe à la colonie française du Gabon, au sud de l'Equateur, et je me trouve au milieu de la grande race bantoue qui s'étend sur toute l'Afrique au sud de l'équateur, à l'exception des enclaves des Hottentots et des Bushmen. La petite île de Corisco, les côtes du continent et les rives du Gabon et de l'Ogôoué sont occupées par la mission presbytérienne américaine, qui est malheureusement entravée par l'usage exclusif de la langue française en matière d'éducation, usage préconçue par le système colonial français. L'Eglise romaine est représentée dans cette région par la congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie. Les sources de l'Ogôoué ne sont pas loin du bassin du Congo, mais je considère les deux régions comme distinctes.

IX. Le bassin du Congo forme la subdivision suivante, explorée en partie pendant ces quinze dernières années et offrant une route au travers de l'Afrique jusqu'aux limites extrêmes de la région occidentale. L'Union missionnaire baptiste de l'Amérique du nord, la Société baptiste anglaise et la Société baptiste du Congo, y occupent plusieurs stations et sont pourvues de bateaux à vapeur. Il s'y trouve aussi une mission suédoise. L'Alliance missionnaire évangélique d'Amérique a entrepris une œuvre sur le Congo inférieur, et la Mission évangélique de Paris se propose de fonder une station dans la colonie du Congo français. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par la congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie, dans le bassin du Congo inférieur et dans la colonie du Congo français ainsi que sur l'Oubangi. Dans le grand bassin du Congo, de Stanley-Pool aux Stanley-Falls, la mission de Scheut-lez-Bruxelles établit des stations, dont l'une est située à l'Equateur. Toutes ces missions, soit catholiques soit protestantes, sont encore dans l'enfance ; par suite du climat meurtrier, les pertes de vies précieuses doivent être considérables ; un des principes de l'Etat du Congo garanti par les grandes puissances est celui de la tolérance universelle, de cette façon aucune surveillance ou entrave en ce qui concerne l'éducation ne pourra être autorisée ; l'Etat du Congo sera aussi libre que l'Inde anglaise.

X. Passant au sud, j'arrive à la colonie portugaise d'Angola, qui s'étend le long de la côte jusqu'à la rivière Cunéné, qui est la limite sud de la région occidentale. Pendant la longue occupation portugaise dans cette subdivision rien n'avait été fait au point de vue missionnaire. Les historiens de cette période mentionnent le fait, que l'évêque avait l'habitude de baptiser, en leur versant de

l'eau sur la tête, tous les esclaves, qui montaient à bord des vaisseaux faisant le commerce des esclaves avec l'Amérique ; mais l'esprit missionnaire portugais n'est pas allé au delà de ces baptêmes et de quelque inquisitions occasionnelles. Lorsque les renforts de prêtres européens cessèrent d'arriver, ces régions, dans lesquelles des congrégations missionnaires européennes avaient établi un christianisme nominal, retombèrent dans le paganisme. Deux Sociétés américaines sont à l'œuvre dans cette région : " La Société américaine pour les missions étrangères " et la mission de l'évêque Taylor, fondateur des missions indigènes ; un certain nombre de stations ont été fondées. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par le clergé portugais, dans les principaux établissements, et par la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie. De nombreuses facilités s'offrent pour l'extension vers l'intérieur de l'Afrique, et il n'y a pas d'obstacles hormis ceux causés par le climat.

Dans la région occidentale, l'Eglise anglicane n'a que deux diocèses, Sierra-Leone, et le bassin du Niger, et l'on parle d'en former un troisième à Lagos. Les autres Eglises protestantes de la Grande-Bretagne travaillent selon des méthodes non épiscopales. L'Eglise de Rome est représentée sous une forme beaucoup plus organisée ; je cite les détails publiés dans les "*Missiones Catholicæ*" 1890.

I. Vicariat de Sénégalie, confié à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

II. Vicariat de Sierra-Leone, confié à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

III. Préfecture de la Côte d'Or, confiée aux Missions africaines de Lyon.

IV. Préfecture du Dahomey, confiée aux Missions africaines de Lyon.

V. Préfecture de Benin (Lagos), confiée aux Missions africaines de Lyon.

VI. Préfecture du Haut-Niger, confiée aux Missions africaines de Lyon.

VII. Préfecture du Bas-Niger, confiée à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

VIII. Préfecture du Cameroun, confiée à la Congrégation des Pallotins d'Allemagne.

IX. Vicariat du Gabon, confié à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

X. Vicariat du Congo belge, confié à la Congrégation de Scheut-lez-Bruxelles.

XI. Vicariat du Congo français, confié à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

XII. Vicariat du Bas-Congo portugais, confié à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

XIII. Diocèse d'Angola, confié aux prêtres portugais.

XIV. Préfecture de Cimbébasie, confiée à la Congrégation du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

CHAPITRE IV.

RÉGION MÉRIDIONALE.

Subdivisions: I. Cimbébasie, Ova-Mpo, et Damaraland. — II. Namaqualand. — III. Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance. — IV. Cafrerie. — V. Colonie de Natal et Zouloulând. — VI. Colonie portugaise. — VII. Etat libre de l'Orange et Transvaal. — VIII. Be-Chuanaland anglais, Ba-Soutolând et Griqualând. — IX. Ma-Tébélélând et Ma-Shonaland.

Ce qui distingue cette région c'est le fait, que l'intérieur du pays y est occupé par des stations missionnaires; tandis que dans les deux régions précédentes, les missionnaires, sauf quelques rares exceptions, ne se sont établis que sur les côtes. Le climat de ces contrées convient aux Européens; ils y ont fondé de grandes colonies, qui déposséderont probablement par la suite les races indigènes des Bantous, Hottentots, et Bushmen. Ici nous avons affaire avec des colons anglais, français, allemands, portugais, hollandais, et avec des immigrants des Indes anglaises, de la Chine et de la Malaisie. La religion mahométane n'est pas en période de croissance, et ne l'a jamais été. L'immigration des nègres libres des Etats-Unis n'existe pas, non plus que celle des Arabes et des Perses d'Asie.

La race bantoue est totalement distincte de la race nègre, et, dans cette région du moins, le commerce des esclaves n'a jamais été bien considérable. L'existence des deux colonies anglaises du Cap et de Natal, des deux républiques hollandaises indépendantes, d'une colonie allemande, et d'une colonie portugaise, sur chaque côte, le cadastre plus ou moins complet de toute cette région, la présence de Compagnies à chartes, et d'associations de mineurs européens, y créent de nouvelles difficultés pour les missionnaires, tout en les préservant de tout danger personnel, persécution ou expulsion. En tout cas l'importance des missionnaires, au point de vue matériel, en tant qu'instruments de civilisation et de développement, y est considérablement diminuée, et il est nécessaire, que ceux de cette région se bornent strictement à leurs fonctions spéciales, et, comme c'est le cas dans les Indes anglaises, s'abstiennent entièrement d'intervenir dans les affaires qui sont du domaine de César; car, sous le règne de la loi, ils sont soumis, comme les autres, au châtement, s'ils n'observent pas la loi. Autrefois, d'après mon expérience personnelle, parmi les centaines de missionnaires protestants et romains à l'œuvre dans Indes, il n'y en

a pas un seul, qui ait jamais suscité une difficulté quelconque à un employé de l'État ; au contraire, ils ont rendu parfois des services signalés, et ont été des objets de la protection bienveillante des autorités, de leur admiration sincère et de leur affection ; mais, à l'heure qu'il est, nous avons l'impression, et cette impression tend à s'accroître, que certains missionnaires de l'Inde anglaise, oublient leur noble vocation et leurs devoirs envers le monde païen ; ils se sont faits espions des mœurs dans les casernes des soldats anglais, dénonçant des articles de commerce, ou des règlements du fisc qui offensent leurs connaissances bornées et leurs idées étroites sur les affaires de ce monde ; le seul résultat de cette intervention maladroite et regrettable, serait l'expulsion des dits missionnaires. Pour ce qui est des missionnaires étrangers sur territoire britannique (et toutes les Indes sont plus ou moins sous l'influence anglaise), si l'on s'enquiert, de leur caractère, on saura qu'ils ont fait preuve d'une loyauté inébranlable envers le gouvernement britannique dans les circonstances les plus difficiles ; qui ni les protestants ni les catholiques romains ne se sont jamais prêtés à des intrigues politiques, qu'ils n'ont jamais désiré favoriser les intérêts de leur patrie aux dépens de la grande puissance qui les reçoit comme ses hôtes et leur accorde des subventions comme à ses propres sujets. Dans les pays de l'Afrique méridionale, il n'en a pas été tout à fait de même ; les missionnaires français du Le-Souto se sont mêlés aux affaires politiques des indigènes, et se sont montrés hostiles aux intérêts anglais. L'agent principal de cette mission a reçu la décoration de la Légion d'honneur pour le motif suivant qui paraît étrange dans une sphère d'influence anglaise :

“ Il a contribué par ses missions au développement de l'influence française dans l'Afrique australe. Titres exceptionnels.”

Ces faits sont des symptômes d'un danger possible et probable dans cette région ; il est indispensable, que le missionnaire ne se mêle pas des affaires d'autrui, qu'il n'attaque ni les autorités ni les fonctionnaires publics en paroles ou autrement, qu'il ne se fasse correspondant d'aucun journal, car il oublierait ainsi son vrai caractère de ministre de l'Evangile de paix, et l'exemple de l'apôtre Paul.

La Société anglaise pour la propagation de l'Evangile, dont l'attention se tourne vers les colons anglais aussi bien que vers le monde païen, n'est pas indiquée séparément dans l'énumération des sociétés, car, pour ce qui concerne cette région, cette Société s'identifie avec l'Eglise anglaise épiscopale, qui y est représentée dans sept diocèses et y accomplit une œuvre très considérable.

D'après la dernière édition des *Missiones catholicæ* (Rome, 1890), le nombre des représentants de l'Eglise romaine y va toujours croissant ; on y trouve :

I. La préfecture de la Cimbébasie, confiée aux missionnaires français du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.

II. Le vicariat de Natal, confié aux Oblats de Marie.

III. Le vicariat du Cap de Bonne-Espérance avec trois districts, celui de l'est, celui de l'ouest et celui du centre confiés aux Jésuites et aux Franciscains.

IV. La préfecture du fleuve Orange, confiée aux Oblats de Saint-François de Sales.

V. La préfecture de l'Etat libre de l'Orange, confiée aux Oblats de Marie.

VI. La préfecture de la république du Transvaal, confiée aux Oblats de Marie.

VII. La préfecture du Zambèze (au sud du fleuve), confiée aux Jésuites.

I. Cimbébasie, Ova-Mpo, Damaraland. L'Eglise romaine a adopté le premier de ces noms, la mission finnoise le second, et la mission rhénane le troisième. La première de ces deux missions s'étend sur les deux rives du Cunéné, et la partie située sur la rive septentrionale est comprise dans la région occidentale. Il existe des rapports en français et en latin sur cette mission. La seconde mission n'en a qu'en langue finnoise ou Suomi, et les ouvrages d'éducation sont écrits dans ce même idiome, ce qui est un exemple remarquable de l'étroitesse d'esprit des missionnaires. La mission rhénane est bien connue par ses rapports annuels publiés en allemand; la population est païenne, de race bantoue; les langues usitées sont le ndonga et le héréro.

II. Namaqualand. Continuant ma route vers le sud, j'arrive à la subdivision occupée par les Hottentots, connus sous le nom de Nama et parlant cette langue et le hollandais. La mission rhénane y occupe un grand nombre de stations, et la mission anglaise wesleyenne y est aussi représentée. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des Oblats de François de Sales.

III. Colonie du Cap. Cette importante subdivision est entièrement occupée par les missions. La population est composée d'Anglais, de Hollandais, de Hottentots, de Bushmen, et d'un certain nombre d'immigrants malais. C'est une colonie anglaise indépendante. L'Eglise anglaise épiscopale y est représentée par deux évêchés, l'un au Cap, l'autre à Grahamstown, et par un nombre considérable d'Eglises. La Société biblique britannique et étrangère y a de nombreux représentants. La mission rhénane y possède plusieurs stations. La mission de Berlin, qui travaille activement dans plusieurs subdivisions, occupe dans celle-ci la station de Stellenbosh. Il est impossible d'indiquer d'une façon détaillée les nombreuses stations de chaque Société. A Gnadenthal est la fameuse station des frères moraves allemands, qui est la plus ancienne du sud de l'Afrique et dont les membres travaillent au milieu des Hottentots. L'Eglise réformée hollandaise pourvoit au bien spirituel des colons hollandais dans cette région, et y prend

part en même temps à l'œuvre missionnaire. La mission anglaise wesleyenne y est représentée et travaille parmi les colons. Une mission spécialement destinée aux Mahométans est à l'œuvre parmi les immigrants malais. L'Eglise anglaise méthodiste primitive occupe une station avec une petite mission. J'ai entendu mentionner une Société missionnaire coloniale, mais quant à son œuvre, je n'ai rien trouvé de positif. La Société des missions de Londres a une station à Graf Reinets et d'autres ailleurs. Les Pères Cowley d'Angleterre ont des représentants à Capetown. L'Eglise romaine est représentée dans cette subdivision par des Jésuites, des Trappistes, des Franciscains, des Dominicains irlandais, et des Maristes.

IV. Me dirigeant vers l'est, j'entre dans le pays des Cafres. L'Eglise libre d'Ecosse y a la prééminence en raison de son Institut industriel de Lovedale, et l'Eglise presbytérienne unie d'Ecosse y accomplit une œuvre importante. La mission anglaise wesleyenne et la mission de Berlin y sont dignement représentées. L'Eglise anglaise épiscopale y occupe le diocèse de Saint-Jean. La Société des missions de Londres, les Moraves d'Allemagne et la Société anglaise des Quakers ont aussi des stations dans cette subdivision. L'Eglise romaine y est représentée par des Jésuites.

V. Remontant vers le nord, j'entre dans la colonie anglaise de Natal, et dans le Zouloulant indépendant. La Société américaine des missions étrangères, de Boston, l'Eglise libre d'Ecosse, l'Eglise anglaise épiscopale, la mission anglaise wesleyenne, la mission de Berlin, celle de l'Eglise de Norwège, de l'Eglise hollandaise réformée, la mission allemande de Hermannsburg, et la mission de l'Eglise suédoise, travaillent toutes à la double tâche de convertir les païens au christianisme, et d'empêcher les soi-disants chrétiens de tomber dans le paganisme. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des Trappistes et des Oblats de Marie.

VI. Au nord du Zouloulant se trouve la colonie portugaise. La Société américaine des missions étrangères de Boston y a envoyé une mission, et la mission vaudoise y a fondé plusieurs stations. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des prêtres portugais.

VII. Quittant la côte je mont sur le plateau de l'Afrique centrale méridionale, et j'entre dans la subdivision occupée par l'Etat libre de l'Orange et par le Transvaal. L'Eglise anglaise épiscopale y a deux diocèses. L'Eglise anglaise wesleyenne, la mission de Berlin, la mission allemande de Hermannsburg, et la mission vaudoise, déploient une grande activité parmi les colons et la population indigène. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des Oblats de Marie.

VIII. Plus avant dans l'intérieur, se trouve la subdivision comprenant le Be-Chuanaland anglais, le Ba-Soutoland et le Griqualand. La Société des missions de Londres a occupé pendant longtemps une position importante dans cette subdivision ; l'Eglise anglaise wesleyenne, et la mission de Berlin, y ont fondé un grand

nombre de stations. La Société évangélique de Paris a une mission importante parmi les Ba-Souto, et l'Eglise épiscopale anglaise vise à étendre son champ d'activité de la subdivision susmentionnée jusque dans le Le-Souto. L'Eglise romaine est représentée dans ce dernier pays par les Oblats de Marie, qui y ont plusieurs stations.

IX. Je passe dans la vaste région du haut plateau, borné au nord par le Zambèze, et qui est maintenant compris dans la sphère d'influence anglaise. Elle n'a pas encore de nom collectif, mais on peut dire qu'elle se compose du Ma-Tébéléland et du Ma-Shonaland, et renferme d'autres subdivisions territoriales moins bien connues et moins importantes. L'Eglise épiscopale anglaise y occupe un poste avancé, et deux évêchés sont en voie de formation. La Société des missions de Londres, l'Eglise réformée hollandaise, et la mission anglaise wesleyenne, établissent de nouvelles stations pour travailler parmi les colons et la population indigène. L'Eglise romaine est représentée par des Jésuites français, anglais, et belges.

Au bout d'un certain nombre d'années, par suite soit de la conversion, soit de l'extinction, de ces tribus païennes, faibles et dispersées, on peut s'attendre à voir cette région passer sous une influence chrétienne, chrétienne de nom si ce n'est de fait. L'influence mahométane ne s'y est jamais fait sentir, et aucune croyance païenne ne s'y est élevée jusqu'à la hauteur d'une religion écrite. Elle n'a pas dans son passé l'histoire d'une civilisation disparue ou d'un commerce éteint, ou d'une monarchie civilisée; rien ne lui fut apporté à travers l'océan par voie d'immigration jusqu'au jour où les Portugais ayant découvert la route des Indes, les Hollandais y fondèrent, fortuitement, un établissement, et les Portugais une colonie. Il n'y eut jamais pareil champ de travail pour le missionnaire chrétien, et il a peu à redouter soit sous le rapport du climat soit sous celui de la population; aucune prétention à l'héroïsme ne peut-être mise en avant par les missionnaires de cette région, si ce n'est par le morave George Schmidt, et ses antagonistes n'étaient pas des païens bantous ou hottentots, mais des chrétiens hollandais.

CHAPITRE V.

RÉGION ORIENTALE.

Subdivisions : I. Rive nord du Zambèze. Nyasaland et colonie portugaise.—II. Ile de Zanzibar et sphère continentale d'influence allemande.—III. Lac Tanganyika, Katanga, et sources du Congo.—IV. Sphère continentale d'influence anglaise, au milieu d'une population bantoue.—V. Pays des Gallas et Abyssinie.—VI. Bassin du Nil supérieur.

Je traverse le Zambèze et m'avance vers le nord : cette région diffère des trois autres : celle du nord est occupée par des royaumes indépendants ou par des colonies ; celle du sud a été pleinement explorée et, située en dehors des tropiques, elle est habitée, sur bien des points, par des colons européens ; celle de l'ouest est très peu connue au delà des côtes, avec cette exception que durant ces dix dernières années les bassins du Sénégal, du Niger, et du Congo, ont servi de route, mais simplement de route, pour s'avancer dans l'intérieur. Dans cette quatrième région nous trouvons trois grands lacs intérieurs ; elle a été traversée dans toutes les directions par de grands explorateurs, mais, comme elle est située entre le tropique du Capricorne et celui du Cancer, il n'est pas probable, qu'elle puisse offrir des emplacements favorables à la colonisation européenne ; le grand but qu'il faut y poursuivre c'est de protéger dès maintenant, contre les trafiquants d'esclaves et, par la suite, contre les planteurs européens, les populations indigènes qui, au sud de l'équateur, appartiennent à une seule race, la race bantoue, tout à fait distincte de la race nègre ; il faut les encourager à entreprendre un travail honnête et à se multiplier pour former des milliers de hameaux et des centaines de villes manufacturières et de lieux de marché. Il est vrai que, près de l'équateur, nous trouvons des montagnes élevées et dont le sommet est couvert de neige, et au nord de l'équateur une région montagneuse, mais il reste encore à savoir, si elle serait propice à l'établissement d'une colonie européenne. Au sud de l'équateur toute la région est comprise dans les sphères d'influence du Portugal, de l'Angleterre, et de l'Allemagne, à l'exception d'un territoire qui fait partie de l'Etat indépendant du Congo à l'est du 20° de long. Est. Au nord de l'équateur se trouvent des tribus indépendantes, dont le degré de civilisation est fort peu avancé, et plus au nord encore le royaume d'Abyssinie, soi-disant chrétien. La population de la

cinquième subdivision appartient aux races chamite et sémitique, mais dans le bassin du Haut-Nil, la population est de race nègre sans mélange. Les Sémites descendent évidemment d'immigrants venus d'Asie; ils ont apporté avec eux la religion de Mahomet, et une petite dose de civilisation asiatique ainsi que de commerce; ce dernier est presque entièrement entre les mains des sujets indiens de S. M. l'impératrice des Indes. Quoique le Portugal soit depuis longtemps maître de la côte, il n'a exercé aucune influence à l'intérieur; dans le fait on peut dire que cette région a été découverte pendant ces trente dernières années par les explorateurs anglais et allemands. Si l'on excepte l'Abyssinie, on ne trouve nulle part de trace d'activité missionnaire de la part de l'Eglise romaine avant le commencement du siècle; aucune mission ne remonte à plus de cinquante ans en arrière, mais l'activité déployée actuellement est très grande et l'on peut en attendre de grands résultats. Le nombre de vies de missionnaires sacrifiées jusqu'ici est déjà énorme. Nous trouvons dans cette partie du champ des missions des représentants de l'Angleterre, de la France et de l'Allemagne en quantité toujours plus considérable; les œuvres d'éducation ont été sérieuses; de nombreuses traductions des Ecritures ont été faites dans les diverses langues qui, au sud de l'équateur, appartiennent à la même famille. Dans cette région le missionnaire apparaît à son avantage; le commerce des esclaves est en bonne voie d'être anéanti, le trafic des liqueurs n'a pas encore commencé, et une tentative est faite pour l'empêcher de s'introduire; au point de vue politique, il n'y a pas d'éléments de trouble, comme il s'en est trouvé dans la seconde région de la part du roi des Ashanti, et dans la troisième région de la part du roi des Zoulous. Le missionnaire a là un champ d'activité aussi favorable qu'il peut le souhaiter, car il y règne une tolérance entière et universelle.

Les diocèses ecclésiastiques de l'Eglise épiscopale anglaise, qui existent dans cette région, ne sont pas des circonscriptions territoriales mais se rapportent à la mission particulière à laquelle l'évêque appartient.

L'Eglise romaine est représentée de la manière suivante :

- I. Préfecture du Zambéze confiée aux Jésuites.
- II. Pro-vicariat du lac Nyasa, confié aux missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.
- III. Préfecture du Zanguebar méridional, confiée aux Bénédictins allemands.
- IV. Vicariat de Zanzibar, confié aux religieux français du Saint-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie.
- V. Vicariat de l'Ou-Nya-Nwembé, confié aux missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.
- VI. Vicariat du Tanganyika, confié aux missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.

VII. Vicariat du Haut-Congo, confié aux missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.

VIII. Vicariat du Victoria-Nyanza, confié aux missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique.

IX. Vicariat du Pays des Galla, confié aux Capucins et aux Franciscains.

X. Vicariat de l'Abyssinie, confié aux Capucins et aux Lazaristes.

XI. Vicariat du Soudan égyptien, confié à l'Institut de Vérone.

L'on voit par conséquent que tout, hormis le climat, est favorable à l'œuvre des missionnaires, et qu'ils seront en bénédiction à tous égards, puisqu'il n'y a pas là de religion d'Etat, contre laquelle il y ait à lutter, et que les fonctionnaires des Etats européens intéressés, et les directeurs des grandes Compagnies à charte sont, et ont toujours été, des hommes animés d'une bienveillance éclairée, qui, sans se mêler indûment d'aucune forme particulière de propagande, reconnaissent la valeur, l'importance, et la puissance, du grand mouvement religieux qui envoie des philanthropes fonder des hôpitaux, des écoles et des chapelles pour le bien spirituel et matériel d'une population docile et jusqu'ici très malheureuse. La réserve personnelle et une abstention complète de toute usurpation de pouvoir civil, ainsi que l'obéissance aux lois civiles sont nécessaires ici, cela va sans dire, aussi bien du côté du missionnaire que de ses convertis : il ne faut pas non plus avancer la prétention absurde, que, parce qu'un indigène d'Afrique a été converti par un missionnaire français ou anglais, son état civil en soit le moins du monde affecté ; l'état civil de l'Africain chrétien est exactement le même que celui où il se trouvait avant sa conversion. Dans l'Inde anglaise, une prétention de ce genre, de la part d'un missionnaire quelconque, serait accueillie par les éclats de rire de tout fonctionnaire anglais, et sur le sol de l'Afrique les dérogations à cette règle n'amènent aucun bien. Le royaume du missionnaire n'est pas de ce monde, et il n'a pas de serviteurs pour combattre.

I. Rive septentrionale du Zambèze, Nyasaland, et colonie portugaise.

La mission qui se trouve en tête de la liste est remarquable par la foi intrépide de ses fondateurs et, à mon avis, par son manque de sagesse mondaine. La Société des missions évangéliques de Paris a une mission très importante au Le-Souto, subdivision de l'Afrique méridionale. Deux hommes courageux partis de cette station, ont traversé le désert et le Zambèze, atteint un point situé en amont des chutes Victoria et fondé une mission à Séschéké parmi les Ba-Rotsé. Ils s'y sont maintenus et se font parler en leur faveur, mais ils sont sans appui et sans communication avec la mer, ce qui semble être une nécessité aussi bien pour les opérations missionnaires que pour les opérations militaires. Peu à peu la marée

des annexions européennes s'étendra jusqu'à eux et leur position s'améliorera; la population est entièrement païenne, et parle une langue qui se rapproche du Souto. Jusqu'ici le roi du pays a été indépendant, mais il ne le sera plus bien longtemps, car quelque sphère d'influence européenne l'engloutira bientôt, que cela lui plaise ou non.

L'Eglise anglaise méthodiste primitive, qui ne possède que des ressources très limitées, tant en hommes qu'en argent, a envoyé une mission en éclaireur dans la région susmentionnée. Aucun emplacement n'a encore été désigné comme quartier-général, mais, d'après les dernières nouvelles parvenues en Europe, cette mission s'est établie parmi les Ma-Choukoulombé, sujets du roi des Ba-Rotsé.

Descendant le Zambèze jusqu'à son confluent avec le Shiré, je passe au delà de cet affluent dans une région rendue célèbre par le souvenir de deux grands héros, Livingstone et l'évêque Mackenzie, qui tous deux ont trouvé la mort dans ces contrées. Le quartier-général de la mission de l'Eglise établie d'Ecosse se trouve à Blantyre, sur le petit lac Shiroua. Les rapports annuels nous tiennent au courant de l'œuvre, qui s'accomplit parmi les tribus païennes des Yao et Ma-Nganga. L'on publie des traductions des Ecritures, et des livres d'éducation : cette mission promet beaucoup.

L'Eglise libre d'Ecosse occupe les rives occidentales du lac Nyasa, de Livingstonia au sud, jusqu'à la route Stevenson, et à la limite de la sphère d'influence allemande à l'angle nord-ouest. Bandaoué est la station principale avec une ligne de stations secondaires. Une Compagnie commerciale, qui refuse d'importer des liqueurs enivrantes, a un vapeur sur les eaux du lac. A l'ouest s'ouvre un champ d'évangélisation d'une étendue illimitée. Le travail des missionnaires a révélé une grande variété de langues, et des ouvrages, d'éducation ainsi que des traductions des Ecritures sont en voie de publication. L'Eglise réformée hollandaise travaille de concert avec cette mission. Sur la rive opposée du lac se trouve la branche méridionale de la mission anglaise des Universités dans l'Afrique orientale; le quartier-général est dans l'île de Likoma, mais il y a des stations sur terre ferme dans la sphère d'influence portugaise, la mission possède un vapeur. La population est composée de païens de race bantoue et la langue principale est le yao.

La sphère d'influence allemande s'étend jusqu'à la rive septentrionale du lac Nyasa, et la célèbre communauté des frères de l'Unité ou mission morave n'a point perdu de temps pour envoyer une mission parmi les Aouakoukoué tribu du district de Kondé; je n'ai pas encore reçu la nouvelle de leur arrivée, ni du choix d'un emplacement.

La Société missionnaire allemande qui a son centre à Berlin n'a pas tardé non plus à envoyer une mission dans la tribu voisine, celle des Awakinga; je n'ai reçu encore aucune nouvelle de leur arrivée ni du choix d'un emplacement.

L'Église romaine est représentée dans cette subdivision par des Jésuites déjà signalés dans la région méridionale, répandus dans le Zambèze inférieur, et dans la colonie portugaise, où se trouvent aussi des prêtres portugais. Il y a une station des missionnaires français de Notre-Dame d'Afrique à Mponda, sur le Shiré, sur la rive méridionale du lac Nyasa.

II. Il de Zanzibar et sphère continentale d'influence allemande.

Sans être représentée par un agent dans cette subdivision, la Société biblique britannique et étrangère y a accompli une œuvre considérable par la publication de nombreuses traductions des Ecritures.

Par suite de l'immigration qui a eu lieu pendant bien des siècles d'Arabes et de Persans du continent asiatique, et de l'existence d'un grand nombre d'individus de demi-sang, la religion mahométane est puissamment représentée dans cette subdivision, et elle s'est fait maudire à un point effrayant par le commerce des esclaves, mais comme ce pays, pour ce qui concerne le continent, a passé depuis peu dans la sphère d'influence allemande, et en ce qui concerne les îles de Zanzibar et de Pemba dans celle de la Grande-Bretagne, l'islamisme, aussi bien que l'esclavage, disparaîtra sans doute peu à peu. La célèbre mission anglaise des Universités a son quartier-général à Zanzibar, où elle est à l'œuvre depuis trente ans. Sa branche méridionale a déjà été signalée à propos de la subdivision précédente. Depuis que les Allemands ont élevé des prétentions sur l'Afrique orientale, une mission allemande spécialement destinée à l'Afrique, s'est formée à Berlin, elle est déjà à l'œuvre mais ne s'aventure pas loin des côtes. Depuis bien des années la Société des missions de l'église anglicane a des stations très avant dans l'intérieur; la plus septentrionale se trouve dans la sphère d'influence allemande, sur la rive méridionale du Victoria-Nyanza. La Société des missions de Londres a aussi ses représentants dans la partie occidentale de cette subdivision. L'Église romaine est représentée par une mission de l'ordre du St-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie qui a longtemps occupé Bagamoyo sur le continent, vis-à-vis de l'île de Zanzibar. C'est une mission française, mais le gouvernement allemand semble regarder de mauvais œil même des missionnaires français, et de même qu'au Cameroun, sur la côte occidentale, il a aussi établi ici une mission catholique allemande et une nouvelle préfecture apostolique du Zanguebar méridional est confiée aux Bénédictins de Bavière, avec Pongou comme quartier-général. Il est extrêmement regrettable, que les fonctions et les devoirs des missionnaires soient envisagés à un point de vue aussi mesquin. Dans l'Inde anglaise l'on n'a jamais jugé nécessaire de poser des questions au sujet de la nationalité d'un missionnaire. Plus avant dans l'intérieur, la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique s'est établie à Tabora dans l'Ou-Nya-Nwembé. Reste à savoir si les autorités allemandes leur per-

mettront d'y rester, surtout s'ils sont accompagnés des Frères armés du Sahara comme dans la région du Nord.

III. Je m'avance maintenant vers l'ouest à la limite extrême de la sphère d'influence allemande dans le bassin du lac Tanganyika ; dans cette subdivision, je comprends les contrées plus occidentales encore et peu connues de Katanga et de Garenganzé et, les sources du Congo, sur le territoire de l'État du Congo, mais situées à l'Est du 20° de long. Est. Depuis de longues années la Société des missions de Londres a dans cette subdivision, des stations et un vapeur. En venant par la mer, du côté sud, l'accès de ce lac est plus facile ; un court voyage par terre vous conduit au point le plus méridional le long de la route Stevenson jusqu'à Karonga sur le lac Nyasa, d'où l'on se rend par eau, en empruntant le cours du Shiré et celui du Zambèze, jusqu'à l'océan Indien. Depuis bien des années déjà l'Eglise romaine y est représentée par la mission de Notre-Dame d'Afrique et deux évêques sont morts à leur poste. J'ai trouvé heureusement des détails récents et authentiques sur cette mission dans les *Missions catholiques illustrées*, revue mensuelle anglaise publiée à Londres sous les auspices de l'évêque de Salford : " Les stations missionnaires sont construites comme des forts ; elles " sont très solidement bâties et percées de meurtrières. A Karéma, " le colonel Joubert, soldat dans l'armée papale, s'est chargé de ' la " défense armée.' Il vit seul au milieu de ses troupes indigènes " et ses attributions sont de défendre les stations missionnaires " contre les dangers qui pourraient les menacer. Le plan d'opéra- " tions des missionnaires français consiste à acheter aux Arabes, " aux chefs, aux parents, des centaines de petits garçons et de " petites filles âgés de trois à cinq ans environ. Chaque enfant " apprend à travailler et est élevé strictement comme un catholique " romain." (Juillet 1891, p. 41.) Karéma paraît être situé dans la sphère d'influence de l'Allemagne, et l'on peut se demander combien de temps les autorités allemandes toléreront ces hommes armés et ces places fortes occupées par des Français. Dans l'Inde anglaise, s'il était prouvé qu'un missionnaire, à quelque nation qu'il appartint, eût systématiquement acheté des enfants, non dans l'intention de sauver leur vie en temps de famine, mais avec le but avoué de former une congrégation chrétienne, ce missionnaire, disons-nous, se verrait mettre promptement en prison, sans que son caractère ecclésiastique lui fût d'aucune utilité. Si des enfants chrétiens, en Abyssinie, en Syrie, ou en Arménie, étaient achetés de propos délibéré par des mahométans, dans une intention analogue, et circoncis, nous pouvons nous représenter comment cette nouvelle serait accueillie en Europe. Il y a quelques années sur ce même lac Tanganyika, deux missionnaires français furent tués par les hommes d'une tribu, auxquels un marchand d'esclaves avait enlevé leurs enfants pour les vendre aux missionnaires. Je suis forcé de m'exprimer très nettement sur ce sujet. Il est à peine besoin de

dire que si quelque garçon ou quelque fille acheté par les missionnaires de l'Ou-Ganda réclamait sa liberté, le représentant de l'Angleterre la lui accorderait aussitôt.

Les débuts de la mission Arnot dans le Katanga ou Garenganzé sont obscurs ; on vient de recevoir la nouvelle de deux nouveaux missionnaires anglais, qui ont atteint la station en novembre dernier, et y ont trouvé deux autres missionnaires qui étaient encore en place. L'arrivée à Katanga d'un émissaire de la Compagnie anglo-belge, récemment constituée, a jeté du jour sur ce coin sombre de l'Afrique.

A l'ouest du Tanganyika se trouve le vicariat du Haut-Congo, que les *Missiones Catholicae* désignent sous le nom de "Congo Superior." Les missionnaires appartiennent à la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique. Tout y restera à l'état rudimentaire jusqu'à ce qu'on ait établi un service de vapeurs, de Nyangoué à Stanley-Pool, et construit un chemin de fer de là à l'océan Atlantique.

IV. La quatrième subdivision embrasse la sphère continentale d'influence anglaise sur l'équateur, aussi loin que s'étendent les tribus bantoues. Une ligne de démarcation est tirée entre les tribus Galla, de race chamite, qui sont comprises dans la subdivision suivante ainsi que leurs congénères les Somalis, et les habitants de l'Abyssinie. La Société des Missions de l'Eglise anglicane est établie à Mombas depuis bientôt cinquante ans, et possède une ligne de stations, qui s'étend jusqu'à la limite de la sphère d'influence allemande ; une station est située dans cette sphère même, à Chagga. Les autres stations comprises dans la sphère allemande ont déjà été mentionnées à propos de la subdivision II ; mais cette quatrième subdivision s'étend autour de la rive septentrionale du Victoria-Nyanza, au nord de l'équateur, et cette Société a une mission de la plus haute importance à Roubaga, capitale de l'Ou-Ganda. De temps en temps, des propositions sont faites, un peu à la légère, de placer et d'entretenir un vapeur sur le Victoria-Nyanza, à une altitude de 3800 pieds au-dessus du niveau de la mer, et de porter des matériaux à des centaines de milles du port de Zanzibar, sans autre moyen de transport que des porteurs. Il est évident que nous nous trouvons ici en présence d'un problème de la plus grande importance, et comme la durée d'un vapeur en Afrique ne dépasse guère cinq ans, et que la possibilité, pour l'ingénieur européen, de vivre sous l'équateur n'est que de trois ans en moyenne, l'envoi de vapeurs et d'ingénieurs devra être répété *toties quoties*. L'évangélisation du monde ne dépend pas des inventions humaines. Pour se rendre en Angleterre, Augustin fit la traversée dans une barque du pays ; Patrick et Colomban allèrent en Irlande et en revinrent dans un bateau de pêcheurs du pays de Galles. St.-Pierre n'avait point de vapeurs à sa disposition. Tous les secours de l'art et de la science viendront

en temps voulu, si nous avons la patience d'attendre. L'Eglise anglaise libre méthodiste (unie) a quelques stations d'une certaine importance dans le voisinage de Mombas. Deux missions allemandes se sont établies tout récemment dans le pays; l'une celle de Neukirchen, dans la Prusse rhénane, est à l'œuvre parmi les tribus bantoues des Wa-Pokomo; l'autre, celle des Eglises protestantes de Bavière, travaille parmi les tribus bantoues des Wa-Kamba. Je vois mentionné une mission suédoise sur les bords de la rivière Tana, mais je n'ai pas de données positives sur les bords de la rivière Tana, mais je n'ai pas de données positives sur cet établissement. La mission française du St.-Esprit et Sacré-Cœur de Marie, dont le quartier-général est à Bagamoyo, a fait dernièrement des reconnaissances dans la partie orientale de cette subdivision et va y établir, si elle ne l'a déjà fait, des stations; elle est la très bienvenue dans la sphère d'influence anglaise, où règne une tolérance universelle comme partout où flotte le pavillon britannique.

Dans la partie occidentale de cette subdivision, c'est-à-dire dans l'Ou-Ganda, la mission française de Notre-Dame d'Afrique a, depuis bien des années, une importante station, qui, de même que la mission protestante établie dans ce royaume, a traversé il y a quelque temps une période de grandes difficultés, mais maintenant un champ de travail paisible s'ouvre pour tous, pour peu que les missionnaires soient des hommes de bon sens et décidés à ne pas se chercher querelle les uns aux autres. Le spectacle de missionnaires français et anglais vivant en mauvaise intelligence les uns avec les autres au cœur de l'Afrique, ne peut manquer d'éveiller dans l'esprit des indigènes un doute sur la réalité de leurs principes chrétiens. Je suis heureux de constater que dans les moments d'infortune ces deux corps de chrétiens ont fait cause commune contre les païens et les mahométans.

V. M'avancant vers le nord, j'atteins la subdivision du pays des Galla et de l'Abyssinie dont la limite la plus septentrionale touche la subdivision de Souakim dans la région du nord, et ainsi le tour de l'Afrique est terminé. Comme nous l'avons déjà dit, le pays des Galla n'est séparé des territoires bantous compris dans la sphère d'influence anglaise que par une ligne de démarcation indéterminée, mais quelques tribus du sud sont établies dans les limites de cette sphère.

L'Eglise anglaise libre méthodiste (unie) a une mission parmi les Galla du sud ou Bararetta. Les Galla sont en majeure partie païens, quoique quelques-uns d'entre eux aient passé à l'islamisme. Depuis bien des années, l'Eglise de Rome est représentée chez les Galla du nord par des Capucins et des Franciscains et nombreux sont ceux qui y ont laissé leur vie. Dans le nord de l'Abyssinie, sur les anciennes frontières de l'Egypte se trouve une mission suédoise, établie à M'Kullo. En Abyssinie nous arrivons au milieu de chrétiens du caractère le

plus dégradé et de Juifs, qui ne sont ni des Hébreux ni même de race sémitique, mais des prosélytes de race chamite parlant une langue chamite. La "Société de Londres" a travaillé parmi ces Juifs jusqu'au moment, où les missionnaires européens furent expulsés, mais l'œuvre a été continuée par les indigènes. La Société biblique britannique et étrangère y travaille activement au moyen de ses traductions des Ecritures mais elle n'y a pas de dépôt. L'Eglise romaine a été représentée depuis une série d'années par les congrégations des Lazaristes et des Capucins. Des missions protestantes, qui y existaient il y a un demi-siècle, ont dû se retirer et chercher un champ d'action plus favorable.

VI. Il reste encore une subdivision, celle du bassin du Haut-Nil; ici nous avons eu pendant quelques années une mission de l'Institut de Vérone, avec une longue ligne de stations jusqu'à Gondokoro et dans la direction de l'ouest jusqu'à El-Obeïd. Durant les troubles, qui ont eu lieu en Egypte avant l'occupation anglaise, cette mission fut détruite par les mahométans, et quelques missionnaires, des deux sexes, sont encore retenus prisonniers; il est vivement à désirer que quelque grand effort soit fait pour délivrer les survivants. Le temps s'approche rapidement où, de la mer Rouge par le port de Souâkim, ou de l'Abyssinie par Kassala, ou de la sphère anglaise de l'Afrique orientale équatoriale en descendant le fleuve, ces contrées redeviendront accessibles; si ces pauvres missionnaires avaient été délivrés nous pourrions attendre. Le moment ne peut-être éloigné où, du port de Kismayou sur l'océan Indien dans la sphère d'influence anglaise, on pourra ouvrir une route directe jusqu'à Lado et Gondokoro sur le Haut-Nil, et établir des stations missionnaires avec une solide base d'opérations sur l'océan dans la sphère d'influence anglaise dans l'ancienne province d'Emin-Pacha, indépendante de la Turquie, de l'Egypte, et des Arabes du Soudan, au milieu de paisibles tribus nègres. Si les officieux d'Europe avaient bien voulu laisser Emin-Pacha où il était, l'occasion se serait présentée plus tôt.

Ceci termine l'histoire de cette région et le tour de l'Afrique.

V.

THE MA-TABÉLE SCANDAL AND ITS
CONSEQUENCES.

Hast thou killed and also taken possession? I Kings, xxi. 19.
Cave, Cæsar, ne damnum accipias.

CHAPTER I.

THE MISERABLE STORY.

THE British Tiger has tasted blood, and returns to the banquet, as usual, under the mask of the highest benevolence. Last year was distinguished by the unjustifiable conduct of the agents of the Eastern Equatorial African Company in annexing U-Ganda, and slaughtering the Roman Catholic converts of the French Mission on Victoria Nyanza: that matter is not settled yet, but the usual pretences of abolition of the Slave-Trade, expansion of British Commerce, possible colonization of white settlers in a Region under the Equator-line, and, Heaven help the mark! the assistance to Christian Missionaries to preach the Gospel of Peace, and Love, were not wanting. The scene has now shifted to a portion of Africa, South of the Tropic of Capricorn, and another Chartered Company is in the field, cutting down the Ma-Tabéle, a Section of the great Zulu Race, plundering the country, and commencing to annex it, and confiscate the land for the purpose of settling British Colonists, and protecting the poor dear injured Ma-Shóna: we all know what will be the position of such poor weak tribes, when the British settler is in possession, and has his heel down on them. The fate of the Maori, the Australian, the Tasmanian, and the Red Indian of North America, is well-known.

The British taxpayer may well cry out to Mr. Rhodes, in the words put into the mouth of Achilles by Homer:

“What cause have I to war at thy decree?
The Ma-Tabéle never injured me.”

The Ma-Tabéle may well cry out in the words of the Hebrew, who resented the interference of Moses :

“ Who made you ruler and judge over us ?
Wilt thou kill me, as thou didst the Egyptian yesterday ? ”

Unnecessary and dangerous interference in Egypt, unjustifiable invasion of Abyssinia, thoughtless and profitless annexation of U-Ganda, and now cruel and unjustifiable invasion of the Ma-Tabéle: such is the British Record on the East coast of Africa : National, Religious, and Human, Freedom has retired into the deserts of the Sudán, and there defies the British lion. The disgrace of Khartúm, and Majúba Hill, still have to be wiped out in blood. The Arab and the Boer still defy the British Soldier and colonist. On the West coast of Africa there is another Chartered Company quite ready to loose the dogs of war, if occasion offers, with a chance of booty. We read pleasant little notices, how Her Majesty's Commissioner is bombarding towns on the West coast, accompanied by the slaughter of women and children, threats to devastate the whole country, and public hanging of a Native chief: we are on the road back to the savage modes of warfare of barbarous ages. No quarter asked or given. *Vae Victis!*

If any other European State ventures to annex a Region in Asia, Africa, or Oceania, there is an outburst of pious indignation on the part of the British Public: to Great Britain alone is reserved the Right of invasion, confiscation, and annexation. The British are righteous in all their dealings; the French, Belgians, and Russians are unprincipled land-pirates. It is not unusual for Nations, as well as individuals, to be blind to their own defects, to see the mote in their neighbour's eye, but be blind to the beam in their own. Those, who for the last twenty years have watched the progress of events in “ *Africa Unveiled*,” have kept a Record of the thousands of women, children, and men, killed by the scientific Geographical Expeditions on the war-path across Africa, by the military Expeditions on the North, East, South, and West: a town destroyed here, and abandoned, a village bombarded there; a few thousands of brave, ignorant, all but naked men, mowed down with arms of precision, and Gatling-guns: behind them comes the importer of alcoholic liquors, a new engine of misery to take the place of the Slave-Trade: if Saul, the soldier, has killed his thousands, David, the Gin-Distiller, has killed his tens of thousands. The object of Great Britain is, apparently, to destroy the manhood of Africa, and we have set about it in earnest: Amurath to Amurath succeeds.

The device of Chartered Companies is an ingenious one: it is to supply a kind of buffer of crime. War is not declared in the usual way, and the Company does the work as a private concern, and

reports the butcher's bill, and the expenses, to its own Commercial constituents. The late Lord Chief Justice Ellenborough, in his famous decision, laid down clearly what was the moral position of a Company: in a suit an unfortunate defendant urged, that the plaintiff, a great Company, had *no conscience*: "Conscience," said the learned Judge, "how can a Company have a conscience, when it has no soul to be saved, and no backside to be kicked?" This is a great truth, to which the Ba-Ganda, and the Ma-Tabéle, bear unwilling testimony.

There is a kind of grim pleasantry in the transaction: while on the East of Africa we are slaying with the sword, and on the West poisoning with the demijohn of gin, up goes from Exeter Hall a sanctimonious cry for the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the conversion of the poor African to Christianity. Is this the way to recommend the Gospel of Peace? The Mahometan invaded Africa accompanied by the Slave Trade, but without the alcoholic liquor, which to him was abomination. The Christian invades Africa with the liquor-cup, and Maxim-guns, and downright slaughter, and then makes a pretence of open Bibles, Christian Schools, and Slaves set free. The British public enjoyed last month the spectacle of an Irish Bishop in Westminster Abbey encouraging the policy of slaughtering the Ma-Tabéle: it is a singular fact, that Mr. Rhodes, the great South African Napoleon, contributed largely to the Parnell-fund to set Ireland free from the British yoke, and yet is foremost in the policy of annexing new Irelands in South Africa: wiser, however, than our fathers, he kills down the indigenous Races, and confiscates their land: Queen Elizabeth was foolish enough to let the Irish live, and retain their land; so centuries afterwards we rue the consequences of this merciful policy: Bishop Alexander, of Derry, takes the opposite view, and denounces the idea of freeing Ireland from the British yoke: he still clings to the Upas-Tree of Protestant Ascendancy, and yet he has the singular boldness to urge in an English pulpit a new policy of unprovoked spoliation: and why? because he has a son-in-law among the adventurers. The wife of the Bishop of the Diocese of Ma-Shóna-land writes confidingly to *The Times* to ask for subscriptions to maintain Schools, Chapels, and Nurses, as if the whole country had not been occupied by an invading army, as if thousands of the males had not been slaughtered, leaving widows and orphans to mourn their loss, and detest the foreign invaders, who pretend to come for their good, but more particularly for their goods and chattels. The Bishop of Derry admits, that the mothers of the Ma-Tabéle are in all cases Ma-Shóna women.

Is any word printed in the Daily Newspapers, is any thought entertained by the readers of those Newspapers, of the welfare of the people of the country, of the occupants of the soil? Who made us rulers and judges of the shortcomings of the Ma-Tabéle?

Are we in these last days commissioned to kill off Native Races as vermin? It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. "Am I my brother's keeper?" said Cain: the modern Cain goes in to be the destroyer of any portion of the Human Race, that stands in his way. In the History of Britain our sympathies are with the early Britons, savages though they were, in the invasion of this Island by the Saxons, the Danes, and the Normans: we feel for King Alfred in his troubles, and there is a halo round all brave patriots, who have lived and died for their Native lands; and up to this time there has been a hatred for ruthless invaders, whether warriors, or adventurers: but public sentiment has changed now; the British lay claim to be the chartered libertines of the uncivilized world. The Sixth, and the Eighth Commandments, do not apply to Chartered Companies, or Scientific Expeditions on the war-path. But there is a day of Judgment for all that, *for all that*; and, if the House of Commons lets these kind of transactions pass, there is still a higher tribunal, to which slaughtered and expatriated Africans may appeal: their blood will cry out.

I hear from a friendly pen what is the policy. This is the style of writing in an English periodical of a "*fin du siècle*" Briton, Mr. Theodore Bent:

"Nothing but making a clean sweep of the Ma-Tabéle out of the country, and driving them across the Zambési, can settle the matter: then, if a series of forts is constructed to prevent their return, Ma-Shóna-land, and *Ma-Tabéle-land*, may hope for a time of peace and prosperity."

The Roman historian centuries ago describes a settlement of this kind in the stinging words:

"*Solitudinem faciunt, et Pacem appellant.*"

This is just how the Romans treated Spain, Gaul, Britain, Helvetia, and Germany, till the day of vengeance fell on them. The addition of the words *Ma-Tabéle-land* shows, that the protection of the poor dear Ma-Shóna would be not enough: to drive the Ma-Tabéle from their own country across the Zambési would indeed be robbing Peter to pay Paul: what would the Ba-Rotsi, and Ba-Shukulumbi, and the British Colonies on Lake Nyasa, say to such a policy? There would be continual slaughter on the Zambési, such as in far away centuries there was on the Rhine and Danube. The ingenious device of building forts for protection was adopted by our ancestors, who erected the great Roman Walls, but their object was to keep the Picts and Scots out of Britain: but the modern Briton suggests a new use for such walls: to keep the lawful owners out of their own territory, which the modern Pict and Scot have by force appropriated.

But is the game worth the candle? The same writer tells us what makes the mouth of the adventurer, the volunteer, and colonist, water. Ma-Shóna-land contains forty thousand square miles suitable to colonisation by Europeans, having an *improving* climate (whatever that may mean) and already producing all manner of vegetables, but it is not fit for horses or cattle, being infected by the tetsé fly: but it is really the gold mines, on which the future of Ma-Shóna-land depends: without gold the country may be self-supporting, but not sufficiently rich to be valuable as a SPECULATION: so after all this great scheme of benevolence, these lofty notions of protecting the poor dear Ma-Shóna, shrinks into "Auri sacra fames," an accursed thirst of gold, which led to the destruction of the inhabitants of the West Indian Islands by the Spaniard: the Ma-Shóna would find themselves hewers of wood and drawers of water, workers in the mines, serfs, slaves, and vermin, encumbrances of the soil, and they would not last long: another Mr. Rhodes would polish them off.

Mr. Rider Haggard, who dwells in a region of airy romances, and charming intellectual creations of his versatile genius, of which I am an unfeigned admirer, in his letter to *The Times*, is surprised, that educated men, as some of us claim to be, experienced in public affairs, and accustomed for the space of a quarter of a century to maintain a gentle, yet firm, rule of subject Millions in India, during periods of War, Mutiny, and Peace, should have such weakness of moral knees, *such enlargement of the political heart* (whatever that term may mean): he fears that such critics, whom he kindly describes as "agitated old ladies," have "lost their grip of every principle of common-sense, and law of Human Nature." One remarkable reason he gives for Mr. Rhodes' policy is, that it has injured the Transvaal, and that, if Mr. Rhodes had not been on the alert, the Dutch Boers and the Portuguese would have laid their hands on these auriferous districts: he remarks, that the only claim, which the Ma-Tabéle had to their territory, was that of the "spear": is not the British power founded on the "big ship, the rifle, and the cannon"? The sight of these brave men hurling their naked bodies upon the white soldiers' bullets, moved even Mr. Haggard to pity. The "New Sentiment," as he describes it, turns out to be a very old one, that the robbing of land is own brother to the picking of pockets, and that Murder is slaying one of God's creatures, whether done by a garotter in London Streets, or by a scratch pack of Police, Colonists, and adventurers, under the command, Heaven help the mark! of a Medical Man, who superintends the infliction of wounds, instead of the healing. That, which is morally wrong, can never be politically right, whether the author of that wrong is the Emperor of Russia, the President of the French Republic, or Mr. Rhodes; and it is certain, that a Nemesis will follow the commission of wrong.

The late Archbishop of Armagh remarked to me in Dublin, in 1892, that we were suffering in Ireland in this century for the wrongs inflicted on the Irish Race in the last and the preceding century: and the shadows of the slaughtered victims of the Chartered Companies in Victoria Nyanza, and Ma-Tabéle-land, will rise up against the British Nation in the hour of her peril, and decadence, which may be nearer at hand than the thoughtless now imagine.

The Society of Friends have spoken out in their memorial to the Government: their words are worthy of record: having been oppressed themselves in past centuries they feel for those, who are oppressed at the present epoch, whatever may be the colour of their skins, or the standard of their civilization. "We have been deeply pained by the information communicated in the public Press of the appalling slaughter, which has taken place in Ma-Tabéle-land by the armed forces of the Chartered Company of South Africa. We strongly feel, that such methods of prosecuting commercial enterprise are entirely incompatible with the Christian Religion, and we regard it as a disgrace to our Nation's profession of Christianity, that in this, as in so many preceding instances, the settlement of our countrymen as colonists in uncivilized lands has been accompanied by wars of extermination. We would press upon the Government the importance in any future arrangements of doing nothing to sanction, or facilitate, such military interference with the Rights and liberties of Native Races, children with ourselves of one common Father. In view of the responsibilities now devolving on our Government, we trust, that its action may be directed to insuring the treatment of the Ma-Tabéle, not in a spirit of hostility and greed, but of Justice, humanity, and mercy. We believe, that this policy of Justice and humanity is not only right in itself, but is absolutely essential, if Great Britain is to be able with any effect to exercise her influence, to prevent similar high-handed encroachment on Native Races by other civilized Powers." Mr. Gladstone's reply contains the following words: "In any case I can assure you, that we heartily share the desire of the Society of Friends, that the Ma-Tabéle should be treated with Justice, humanity, and mercy."

The International League of Arbitrators has also protested against these acts of Buccaneering, and appeals to the Queen to stop all further effusion of blood, the extermination of the poor Africans, and the Confiscation of their lands either by the Chartered Company, or by the adventurers in its service. Sir Wilfred Lawson remarked: "We are for an honest England, just and humane." There is much reason to fear, that many of the Members of the House of Commons have shares in the Company, actual or prospective. Other countries act in a different way: the Sandwich Islands are but the point of a pin in the great

Pacific, but the President of the United States remarks, that the treatment of the Government of the Queen by the American Minister was a plain violation of International Law, and he disavows it, and condemns the offending American citizens, and endeavours to restore lawful authority. Is Great Britain to sanction the policy of Mr. Rhodes? The Congregational Union has also protested against the injustice done to the Ma-Tabéle, insisting, that it is the duty of Britons to set an example of Justice and humanity in their relation with uncivilized tribes, and begging the Government to interfere and protect the rights of the Ma-Tabéle, and protect the British Nation from the shame of in any way giving way to a pack of self-seeking adventurers, who were quite indifferent to the Rights of a more feeble Nation.

The Primitive Methodists have also remonstrated. *The Christian*, a well-known Journal, remarks, "that to treat the so-called barbarous tribes, as if there were no distinction between Good and Evil, amounts to justifying all the infamous transactions, which in past centuries have disgraced mankind, and swept away all traces of many primitive races. Such a shocking policy must re-act on the moral views of the Conqueror, and efface from their ideas all value of Human life."

The Marquis of Ripon received at the Colonial Office a deputation from the Aborigines Protection Society with reference to affairs in Ma-Tabéle-land. The deputation submitted that, "even if the British South Africa Company has been allowed in its relations with the Ma-Shóna and other Subject tribes, as well as with the Ma-Tabéle, to usurp greater power, than it was entitled to under its Charter, it is competent for Her Majesty's Government to limit the Company's operations hereafter to equitable exercise of the functions marked out by its concessions, and to reserve or restore to the Crown direct and complete control over the general affairs of the vast district, which has now practically become a part of the British dominions. As it was probable, that the intervention of the rainy season and other causes will delay for at least a few months the settlement on a pacific basis of affairs in Ma-Tabéle-land, the Government should not allow the interval to be occupied in the development of arrangements prejudicial to the interests of the Natives, and it should, with the least possible delay, take upon itself the duty of actively controlling the course of events."

Lord Ripon expressed his entire sympathy with the deputation: he was opposed to the principle of Chartered Companies: the public opinion of South Africa must also be considered, though Mr. Rhodes and his Company had no Sovereign rights, and that nothing could be done as regards the settlement of the country without the sanction of Her Majesty's Government.

There is no evidence whatever, that some of the poor Africans mercilessly cut down were more than agriculturists, compelled to

join in a national defence of their country and their lives. Great sympathy has been expressed for Captain Wilson and his party, who pushed on too far, were surrounded and killed: so it happened at Majúba Hill and Khartúm; sometimes in a house in London armed intruders are killed by the infuriated householder, roused to madness to protect the lives of himself and his family, and his property. Those who fell had no commission from their Sovereign to wage war according to the manner of civilized warfare: the tigers, who leap into a fenced enclosure to get at the cattle, are killed. No one pities the tiger: shall we pity the man-tiger?

Mr. Selous in his letter on landing in Great Britain puffs up the brave men who fell, but he forgets, that it is not the dying, *but the cause for which Death is met*, that ennobles the dead. Mr. Selous has probably not studied the legacy of Hebrew, Greek, and Roman history, and the immortal songs over those, who fell fighting against Sisera, and the Ammonites, invading the land of the Hebrews, or the Greek youths, who fell at Thermopylæ to save Athens, and over the Romans, who fell fighting against Hannibal. Great Imperial Nations must have Imperial instincts; the highest self-control, an entire absence of greed and lust for gold, a pity for the wounded and slain. The Company had no such pity, or self-restraint. Gold! Gold! Gold! Pasture-land was their object: adventurers from the Mother-Country wanted to amass fortunes. Do we feel any pity for the Italian and Sicilian bandits, who are cut down by the National troops in the act of pillage and rapine?

No sooner is the fighting over than we come into scenes worthy of the camp-followers or sutlers of a great army: true soldiers would not condescend to such actions.

"The volunteers, who have served during the campaign are already selling their rights to farms, at prices varying from £40 to £60. A large number of wagons, loaded with goods, are now on their way up. Horse-sickness has broken out in that country."

"On the 22nd, at daybreak, a small force arrived with a day's rations, and we ate like wolves, the whole lot at one meal. Some of us went on patrol, and captured 600 head of cattle, and killed about a dozen Ma-Tabéle, but were too weak to do more, physically and numerically weak."

"Referring to the land settlement, Mr. Rhodes said, that after the pioneers had made their choice, 3000 morgen would be allotted to each. The Chartered Company would encourage settlers, but would sell no land under 3s. per morgen."

"The pegging out of mining claims is proceeding rapidly. Numerous old gold workings have been discovered. In a fortnight or so I shall start, viâ Tati, Palapye, Mafeking, and Vryburg, for the Cape. My syndicate has got 90,000 acres of the best

“grazing-land in the country. We are going to stock it at once, and work it later on. I have got twenty miners’ claims, which a prospector here is going to peg out for me on the main reef below Buluwáyo, as soon as possible. My ten claims in Ma-Shóna-land will be pegged out before Christmas, and all these things point to the fact, that the year has not been wasted, but that I shall have to return here, if necessary, next year, and certainly the year following.”

A special communication to *The Cape Times* from Buluwáyo states, that since the throwing open of the country to settlers on December 15, a good deal of land has been staked out for farms, amounting in the aggregate to 100,000 acres. Several promising gold-properties have also been claimed. The King’s late secretary, who had been liberated on parole, has been arrested for inciting the friendly Natives to waylay and murder the whites, who are prospecting near Buluwáyo.

I have been present in great battles, and celebrated campaigns, and annexations of great Provinces in India, but I never heard of circumstances such as these even in an enemy’s country.

It is distinctly stated by Mr. Alexander Bailey, of Johannesburg, in his letter to *The Times* of Nov. 6, 1893, that Lo-Bengúla’s men were attacked and killed at Fort Victoria on July 18, before any declaration of war, and notwithstanding this departure from all civilized precedent, Lo-Bengúla sent every white man, woman, and child, safe out of his camp: he may be a barbarian, but he is not a monster. The Bishop of the Diocese, as Church Militant, joined the invading party, and in his letter to *The Times* he calls himself the Bishop both of the invaders and invaded: at any rate, he seemed to sympathize with the invaders, and accepted a large grant of land confiscated from the other members of his diocese, “in partibus infidelium.” He appears to be a survival of the Mediæval Bishops, who converted Europe by the help of the sword, and in the hope of grants of fat acres. I conclude that the sixth and eighth commandments are no longer read in his diocese, and the Books of Judges and Joshua are the parts of Scripture most suitable for distribution to the environment: the British and Foreign Bible Society will not publish such an edition.

In December, 1893, a Missionary entertained a Religious Committee with an account of Ma-Shóna-land, from which he had lately arrived. He stated, that three thousand acres of land had been granted to his Mission by the Chartered Company: when asked by one of the Committee what authority the Company had to give away land, which by ancient custom belonged to the tribe collectively, his reply was that Lo-Bengúla had made the concession in Ma-Shóna-land: in a few weeks the king, who granted this land, was turned out by the Company, and his Kingdom annexed. The Missionary remarked, that the country round Fort Salisbury was

very unhealthy, that everybody was down with fever, and that it was quite unfit for a European colony, as all children died.

The words of the Bishop of Ma-Shóna-land are worthy of record, and are given in justice to himself. "Here at Buluwáyo," the Bishop proceeds, "a trader's house has been turned into a hospital and two rooms are full of Europeans only. Lo-Bengúla, the Ma-Tabéle king, savage as he is towards his own people and other Natives, has been most considerate in not allowing houses, belonging to Missionaries or traders, to be touched, or any European who stayed in his country, while the fighting was going on, to be injured. Even after villages were burnt by the Europeans on the line of march he made no retaliation. He says he has given his word. I have volunteered to go and see the king, and try and arrange something, that may bring Peace to the people, and I also wish to explain to him my neutral position. Before he left Buluwáyo he asked where I was. He calls me the 'Induna (captain) of the Teachers.' They told him they did not think, that I was with the white men coming into the country. He seems to have said something expressing his satisfaction. No white man has tried to get to see him yet. I thought that I could reach him, but they think, that I should be killed by the regiments round him, and so the offer that I made of going was not encouraged. But I have left it open, as I think I could explain sufficiently quickly, even to those who do not know me. I do not know, that I should be of any value to the Company by going, for I could only recommend Lo-Bengúla to accept terms, that I consider as advantageous to him as to them. I entirely and emphatically repudiate any share in the sentiment, that the sword is a necessary factor in the Christianizing of these savage Nations, or that the only road for the preaching of Christianity is cleared by destroying their power; and I here distinctly assert, that no letter written or speech made, urging on a war, has ever had any sympathy whatever from me. I hoped to the very last it would be avoided. The more rapid reception of Christianity may be the outcome of all this; but rapid reception is not always most solid. I can only trust that God will, in His good providence, overrule for good all that may be wrong." Still he does not see the gravity of the case, for he tells us that he had Church-Parade, and the Holy Communion afterwards. Did he recollect the conduct of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who refused entry into the Church to the Emperor Theodosius, whose hands were dyed in blood?

The Cape Town Times of October 18, 1893, gives a letter from one of the volunteers hired at Cape Town for the purpose of murder and spoliation :

"I am one of the Frontier-Police : there are sixty of us : we are encamped four miles from Fort Victoria : we are to receive no

“ pay after we have crossed the frontier, but to any of us, who
“ outlive the scrimmage, will be given

- “ (1) Three thousand acres of pasturage land.
- “ (2) Five shares in a gold mine.
- “ (3) A share of the plundered cattle, etc. Power of sale,
“ or hypothecation of the shares to the Company, is
“ reserved.”

This implied, that the whole country was to be parcelled out among the invading army: no one cared for the Ma-Tabéle, and at the time, that this iniquitous engagement was made, war had not been declared. The terms of the engagement carry us back to the simple time of Deborah and Barak, when the mother of Sisera expected her son's army to come back “ each with a Hebrew damsel or two.” Women in Ma-Tabéle-land do not go for much, and can always be purchased for six head of cattle. The mothers and wives of the slaughtered Ma-Tabéle were all Ma-Shóna women, so there must have been a plethora of widows in the market.

A correspondent of *The Gazette de Lausanne*, who has been settled several years in South Africa, and who apparently is not of the Company's party, and clearly has not come in for a share of the mines, or of plundered cattle, or rich pasturage, writes that at the cost of some expenditure of men and money, the Company has become absolute proprietor of Ma-Tabéle-land and Ma-Shóna-land: the Colonists will now cultivate their land without danger: the miners will dig out their gold without hindrance: the shareholders at home will touch large dividends: the influence of Great Britain, or possibly of the Afriander Republic, will become supreme in South Africa. If to attain this object it has been necessary to confiscate the land of several thousand blacks, to cut down and massacre the native soldiery, these are mere incidents of British Christian Colonial life. There will be a cry in Exeter Hall; there will be a few Newspaper-articles, and a few Pamphlets, and then no more will be thought of it; the wheels of British Christian civilization will pass over the lifeless bodies, and the incident will be forgotten. The success will be made the most of, and the means used will only be spoken of in a whisper. The black must give way to the white; the African Bántu to the European Anglo-Saxon. No one dreams of applying the maxims of the Rights of Nations to Africa. Some may think, that principles of Justice and Right should apply to all God's poor children, without reference to their colour or culture, and that a brown or black man is still made in God's image. The Company classes them among the “feræ naturæ.”

The war, and the scheme of annexation, were clearly planned long before; there was no sudden conjuncture of circumstances

compelling a desperate policy, as sometimes happens. Agents of the different Syndicates, jealous of each other, had come from London to accompany the forces, and lay hold of their shares of the "loot": the war was settled upon long before any "casus belli" was formulated, before the tender hearts of the adventurers were touched by the woes of the poor Ma-Shóna: all the friends of the Company were ready for the snatching. The British Nation has often, too often, extinguished the Sovereign Rights of Native Potentates, ex.g. the Panjáb, Oudh, and Burma, but the Subjects of the ejected Potentates have retained their private property: nothing so mean has occurred in the annals of Great Britain as this new phase of annexation. The Germans conquered the French Provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, but did not expropriate private owners.

In December, 1890, Mr. Maund, one of the Pioneers of South Africa, three years ago spoke in the following terms to the Chamber of Commerce of London; that in addition to the cultivated and pastoral land, the out-turn of gold would make Ma-Shóna-land one of the richest acquisitions of the British Empire, and that there would be a rush of immigrants in that direction without parallel in the History of Africa.

Mr. Colquhoun's utterance is as follows: "He had faith in "Ma-Shóna-land and Ma-Tabéle-land, and believed, that the Colony "founded in 1890, with settled government replacing a cruel and "despotic barbarism, was destined to be the home of hundreds of "thousands of our fellow-countrymen. This was no vulgar annexation to gratify territorial greed. The extension of our "Empire was a national and a social necessity; and wherever, "*without violating conventions or existing Rights*, we could prepare "the way for our kindred to live and spread under conditions, "which promise prosperity, it was the most urgent of all duties "to seize such opportunities as they arose. The Providence, which "had guided our destiny so far, had by the mere force of circumstances rendered our Imperial duties imperious duties. For we "were not as other Nations are. Not only were our own islands "too small for our people, but the course of our Commerce and "industry had been such, that we were increasingly dependent for "their maintenance on a trade, against which incessant war was "waged, as if we were the Ishmael of civilized Nations. As we "could not grow our own food, we must either send our people to "distant countries in search of it, or find ever new customers for "our manufactures. We, in fact, resorted to both alternatives, "but were still not able to keep pace with the national growth "of our people and the requirements of advancing civilization. "There was no object, which a British Statesman could set before "himself, comparable to the central necessity of providing for the "development of our own Race. If that were a National selfish

“ policy, might our Statesmen be saturated with such selfishness !
“ And no nobler contribution to the ways and means of such a
“ development had ever come across the National path than this
“ opening up of South Africa, which was to crown a century of
“ Imperial achievement.”

CHAPTER II.

ANGER TO GREAT BRITAIN'S EMPIRE.

There was a period in the History of the Great Roman Empire, when the wise councillors of the wise Emperor Adrian recommended, that the limits of the Empire should be fixed and surrounded by a wall of Military Posts: otherwise they saw breakers ahead, and that the great Empire “*mole ruit sua*”: thus the River Euphrates, the Danube, the Libyan Desert, the Atlantic, and Britain, were declared to be the boundaries. Let Great Britain pause and think. Take care, Cæsar, lest you suffer loss ! Large colonies are ready to break away: India is only held as a man holds a wolf by its two ears. It is well to have the strength of a Colossus, but not to use it like the Colossus of Rhodes: our sons may blush at the conduct of their sires at this epoch, for we have arrived at the parting of the ways. Francis I of France, after the battle of Pavia, wrote to his Mother that he had “lost everything but Honour”; we are in a fair way of losing all, including Honour, as well as the sense of Christian Justice betwixt Man and Man. At the time, when the hungry classes of the British Nation are looking with eager eyes at the lands, and accumulated property of the wealthier classes, we are giving them object-lessons in murder and annexation: the appropriation of other people's property is a tendency, which is attractive, and the proletariat of the twentieth century may well point to our conduct in Africa, of the disappearance of “*meum*” and “*tuum*,” and the necessity of a new distribution of material resources. What is sauce to the goose is sauce to the gander: if spoliation be legitimate in the green tree of the infantine civilization of Africa, how much more appropriate it is in the old dead tree of worn-out European Society ! Mr. Rhodes is an arch-socialist, and desires the happiness of the many, and I admit that there are strong arguments in his favour, if worked out in their entirety. We had better have left Africa alone, and not spend so much money in redeeming Slaves, if we intended to enter on a career of slaughter and spoliation by the

aid of Chartered Companies. The last state of Africa will be worse than the first.

Already the good ship "Great Britain" is overladen, and in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, a time of trial is at hand. When a Province is cut away from France, the population of that Province cannot be reconciled to the divorce: witness Lorraine and Alsace: when a colony or Province is given up by Great Britain, it gladly accepts the change: witness the Ionian Islands, the United States, and the desire of Ireland to dissolve a union of six centuries and to get away. In the case of a European war what would be our position? our interests are spread over an enormous area: our colonies are held to the Mother-Country by a thread ready to snap: British India is on a volcano, held by a vast British Army, which owing to the climate sensibly wastes every year, and has to be supplemented by drafts of fresh soldiers. Of what profit imperially, except for the purpose of boasting, are U-Ganda or Ma-Tabéle-land? will the inhabitants, who wear no clothes at present, consume our manufactures, if any inhabitants at all in the latter country survive the introduction of British colonists. Up to this time liquor has not been admitted, but the Distillers are on the march, and the arrival of the first Demijohn of Gin may soon be expected. Liquor accompanies the British colonists just as the flea accompanies the dog, and the tick accompanies the sheep: they cannot exist without each other, and the Natives fall ready victims to the new and seductive drink of the white man, so much stronger and more deadly than their own.

And yet we read what a young Settler writes home, that his parson calls the Company's Military enterprise an "Apostolic Mission," and that South African sentiment "is pretty well voiced by that reverend gentleman": we in England are hardly convinced of the justice of the shameless attack on Lo-Bengúla's kraal, though justifiable on principles of African Warfare. "First come, first kill," is scarcely apostolic, or even British, in its character. It has more of the reputed character of the Zúlu, or Ashánti, king. The periodical, from which we quote, writes "that it looks very much, as if Mr. Rhodes had made up his mind, that the Ma-Tabéle horde must be smashed, and that, since the Home Government would not let him begin the process, unless he were first attacked, he did not need or want to wait for more than formal provocation. Mr. Rhodes is represented as the very embodiment of commercial unscrupulousness, only eager to extend the domain or bolster up the fortunes, or avert the exposure, of the British South African Company, and careless what lofty purpose he simulates, or what blood he causes to be shed: on the other side he is called the apostle of civilization, the patron of Christian Missions, who is engaged

"in executing long delayed *Justice* on a murderous and treacherous "people." Perhaps the term, Political Opportunist, will suit him. We quote the above words, but do not endorse them : we care nothing for the Company, but very much for Africa.

The Hospital-Nurses at Fort Salisbury write, that Mr. Rhodes is the darling of fortune, and that blind goddess does not often select men of his stamp for the Sunday-School : this opinion is a sweet admixture of Paganism and Christianity. Some call him the Colossus of Rhodes, some the modern Napoleon, or Cortes. Some propose to give him the same title, that was granted to Scipio, and call him Africanus. Mr. Selous, the well-known traveller, is credited with the gift of "never telling a lie," which is but faint praise to a man who is a gentleman, unless Truth is a rare gift in South Africa. But of the Colossus of Rhodes himself it may be well asserted, that he does bestride this narrow world, while his friends the Doctor, the Captain, and the "great slaughterer of great game in Africa" walk under his huge legs, and annex territories with a wave of the lancet larger than France and Italy united.

One thing is clear, that the power of waging war must in future be reserved absolutely and exclusively to Her Majesty's Government, or delegated Governor, such as the Viceroy of India. The character of the Empire must not be left in the hands of such men, however fit they may be to conduct the affairs of a Commercial Company, or to bleed a Patient in the Hospital.

But it may be retorted, that these new Companies of the 19th Century are but following the steps of the Great Company of the last two Centuries, which conquered British India. The circumstances were totally different : the East India Company began as a Commercial Company : when Empire was forced upon her, she ceased to be Commercial and became Imperial : there was no land-grabbing, no mining for gold, no stealing the property of the Natives. Look round India, and point out the European Colonist, who has ousted any Indian from his land, his home, and his rights. Ask whether the population has shrunk. Does not the last Census show, that it increases thirty Millions in a decade, that all the vast waste land, which we found in the plains, are now occupied by indigenous cultivators. If there were fighting, there was the fair fighting of civilized Nations : if there were Native Chiefs, they were warned to abstain from doing such things, as we the paramount power disapproved of, before they were attacked : they were not driven across the boundary-Rivers, and their lands made over to Britons. Many of their Chiefs were sprung from the people quite as barbarous, quite as unscrupulous, quite as much at the mercy of their troops, as Lo-Bengûla is described as being, yet no such exterminating barbarous policy was adapted to them as is now proposed. Lo-Bengûla might have been talked over : the example

of Chetewáyo should have warned us : the example of Khama, once quite as great a savage as Lo-Bengúla twenty years ago, should have encouraged us : but that would not suit the colonist : his was an earth-hunger : he wanted the land itself, and its potential vegetable and mineral resources, not the Government of the country, which satisfied the East India Company.

CHAPTER III.

INJURY TO THE CHARACTER OF THE BRITISH NATION.

Character does not go for much in these days ; but still amidst all classes, as in all clubs, there is a standard, which, if transgressed, causes ostracism and expulsion.

We have to think of the effect of these proceedings on the population of these Islands : the Roman populace got accustomed to the sight of blood by the never-ending slaughter of men and beasts in the great Flavian Amphitheatre : it gave them a taste for blood : the women did not shrink from seeing a dagger thrust through the bosom of an unsuccessful gladiator, whom they might have saved by a motion of their hand : our daily papers tell us, how these volunteers slew their hundreds : Britons read in the train with a kind of wild interest, how the poor naked Africans were shot through, and their bodies left to the fowls of the air : it sounds like one of Rider Haggard's novels. It is notorious, that there is no authority from the Sovereign for these misdoings : the Premier in the House of Commons tells us, that he has no certain information of what has been done. There is a kind of solemn glory, that surrounds real war, when Nation meets Nation : we feel sure, that there will be no killing in cold blood of ambassadors ; no giving the *coup de grace* to poor wounded fellows on the field, for it must be noted, that the victorious army in South Africa is out on the war-path pure and simple : the Doctor packs away his lancet, and buckles on his sword and pistol : all this hardens the public mind. In the same issue of *The Times*, that records the slaughter of the Ma-Tabéle by the Company's agents, we have in another column the annual report of the commercial proceedings of the Company, and the dividend liquidated in blood. The name of Lo-Bengúla will go down to posterity in the same bracket with that of Boadicea, Caractacus, and the Athenians, and Romans, who died to protect

their country from the invader. It matters not on the ground of Morality, and on the unchanging law of Right and Wrong, that Lo-Bengúla was a barbarous Chief on the lowest round of human civilization, whose father Moselitatze had risen from the rank of a common Zúlu spearsman to the position of a King: Ranjit Sing, the Lion of the Panjáb, the reputed father of Dulíp Sing, did the same. It matters a great deal on the score of Morality, that this unprincipled invasion of an independent territory is made from the most sordid, and lucre-desiring, motives by the agent of a Chartered Company, assuming the authority of the Sovereign of a great, highly civilized, Christian country, which places Religion before Lust, and Justice before arbitrary Spoliation; at least, it has hitherto been supposed to do so. The throne of the Queen is based on Righteousness.

Mr. Rider Haggard attacks those, who have spoken out, such as the Editor of *Truth*, as enemies, and maligners, of their own country: but such is not the case. The House of Commons have not as yet accepted this policy of Murder and Rapine; the great director of the Company has not yet been made a Baronet, though he has qualified himself for the honour by providing himself with a bloody red hand independent of the Herald's office. It is very well for a Missionary of the London Missionary Society to state in the Newspapers, that the Ma-Tabéle are worthless and incorrigible. Are all worthless folk to be destroyed on that plea? Is it well to wade through slaughter to a gold mine? Was every possible expedient of conciliation exhausted? Should we apply such principles to the men on strike in the coal-mines, the Anarchists, and Socialists, of this country? The poor ignorant Ma-Tabéle acted in entire ignorance of the change of environment, which had happened to them: they had unconsciously passed over a great gulf of centuries as far as regards civilization.

The Times, in its issue of Nov. 24, goes too far: if Lo-Bengúla was so contemptible a power, that an M.D. with his lancet was able to dispose of him, then why all this sensational writing in its own columns? It is supposed, that the Ma-Tabéle bladder has been pricked by the lancet, and that the country is now open to the gold-digger: but we read, that the great Zúlu Race spread Northward from Zúluland, and under different names, Ma-Tabéle, A-Ngóni, Wa-Gangwára, even up to the confines of Victoria Nyanza, carried on their depredations; that the gangs were not all pure Zúlu by race, though dressed, or undressed, as Zúlu, for the youths of kindred tribes, who loved plunder rather than work, became enrolled in their ranks, so that in fact, a Zúlu camp was a cave of Adullam. We may hear more of them still. It would have been safer to have followed the example of wiser Statesmen, and have fixed some limits to the sphere of our ubiquitous interests. In *The Times* of

Nov. 23, we read, how that redoubtable chieftain, Capt. Lugard, in his new book recommends the annexation of Zanzibár, and the extinguishment of the Arab interests on the Continent. Treaties do not go for much with such filibusters. When Lt. Mizon, and the French Press, put forward analogous claims, affecting the sacred, inviolate, twenty-years-old, rights of Great Britain, and hints are made as to the rights of France to Lake Chad, how deeply indignant is the British Press, and yet, when it suits an influential personage, a monied interest, a political party, to sweep away a Nation, unhappily a black-skinned Nation, scarcely a single person is found to beg for a little delay, and a calm consideration of the consequences.

In future generations, when the conduct of Britons of this century, their brutal treatment of inferior Races and their unbounded rapacity, so shamelessly evidenced, their earth-greed, diamond-greed, gold-greed (*quòcumque modò rem*), is discussed, it will seem as nothing compared with the shameless hypocrisy of the middle classes, so-called pious, and making a pretence of benevolence, preaching peace, yet practising war, and hounding on their countrymen to plunder and rapine. There will be heard one or two voices asking, can this be right? Have Britons received a commission from their God Mammon, analogous to that, which the Hebrews received by the voice of Moses, to occupy lands belonging to others, take possession of vineyards planted by others, and slay the owners of the soil? Is it right to teach the young men, not soldiers by profession, but merely adventurers, and hunters of wild game, to whet their spears in African blood? And yet after all, when the Company has disappeared, it will be manifest, that there is a God, who judges the Earth, and the British Nation, to whom so much of material power and wealth has been granted, is required to evidence a much greater amount of self-restraint, noble abstention from blood and rapine. Can we do such great wickedness and sin against God? Some humiliation would be the just punishment of this National sin.

It is no new idea, no bran-new conception of a fertile genius, to kill out as vermin so-called inferior Races for the sake of their land and their gold. The Spaniards were before us in the career of extermination: what is Spain now? A telegraphic line from Majúba Hill to Khartúm would merely be a connecting link of shame. The Poet Horace writes nearly two thousand years ago of the

“ *juvenum recens*
 “ *Examen, Eois timendum*
 “ *Partibus, oceanoque rubro.*”

Young men commencing their career as slaughterers of game, and then rising to the glory of slaughtering naked Africans. The

English Poet Byron in his "Childe Harold" seems to have foreshadowed this, and his lines are readily parodied :

" There are the Ma-Tabéle all at play,
Butchered to make Associations pay."

If anything can be worse than killing men to make a holiday, surely it is to kill them to run up the dividends of a Commercial Company. Another English Poet, Cowper, puts into the mouth of Boudicea, the Queen of the Britons, what may apply to Great Britain now :

" Rome shall perish : write this word
" In the blood which she has spilt :
" Perish, hated, and abhorred ;
" Full of vengeance, full of guilt."

A Danish lady called a few days ago, and casually remarked on the wonderful success of the Ma-Tabéle-campaign : her hostess asked, whether she, being a foreigner, and free from National Chauvanism, had ever reflected on the criminal side of the proceedings. She naively remarked, that this view of the subject had not occurred to her : all that she knew about the matter was that she had invested all her savings in the "Rudd" portion of the South African Company, and that Mr. Rudd was a delightful man.

A lady called on another day, full of grief, because the son of a neighbour had been killed in Capt. Wilson's party : she spoke of the Ma-Tabéle-king as a murderer. Had the poor Ma-Tabéle, who were killed in hundreds, no Fathers or Mothers, or wives, or little children ? and yet they were mowed down by Gatling-guns, because they had the misfortune to tend their herds in a country with auriferous deposits.

The white man first approaches the African Chief as a cringing mendicant, and asks humbly for leave to occupy certain portions of the tribal land. The African Chief knows well enough, that he has no authority to give away an acre, yet he is tempted by pecuniary offers : he can neither read nor write : he is a helpless infant as far as legal matters : the mendicant then turns into a bully : if the Chief attempts to protect his own country, customs, and Rights, he is called a barbarian : no doubt Julius Cæsar called the ancient Britons barbarians, and treated them as such. History repeats itself. Julius Cæsar was not a Christian ; and the last century before Anno Domini cannot fairly be compared with the 19th century A.D.

Then comes the difficulty of securing immunity to ambassadors : at any rate, Lo-Bengúla has not failed here. He, however, sent ambassadors to the British camp : their fears were roused, and they

attempted to escape: the sentries shot them down: of course it was a mistake.

Tati, Jan. 10.

"The investigation made by the court of inquiry into the circumstances of the shooting of Lo-Bengúla's envoys near this place has resulted in the complete acquittal of the men concerned."

"Major Gould-Adams attributes the occurrence to the negligence of Mr. James Dawson, who was in charge of the indunas, and his omission to inform the Officials, that Sir Henry Loch has asked Lo-Bengúla to send envoys, and that they might, therefore, be expected. The evidence agrees with the account given by Ingubugubo, the King's brother."

If Lo-Bengúla had killed a white ambassador, *only by a mistake*, we should not have heard the end of it. A French Officer appears to have been killed in another of our war-paths by a mistake on the part of the British forces: every kind of excuse is offered: if Africans are cut down by the hundred, who cares a straw? If an African Chief starts on the war-path on his own account, to extend his dominion, he is called a barbarian, and an enemy of civilization; but if a British, or French, adventurer commits the same atrocity in a foreign country, specially in Africa, he is supposed to be full of benevolence, though he slay innocent thousands.

A Continental Journal asks, whether there is any reason to believe that the Jacks and Toms, who have suddenly become not only rulers of Lo-Bengúla's Kingdom, but owners of the soil of all his Subjects, will be in any degree more just and considerate towards the ousted proprietors than the Ma-Tabéle were to the Ma-Shóna in their day? Will they pay the men, who are forced to labour in their mines, and then are kept in confinement lest they should abscond? Do the enthusiastic adventurers of South Africa think, that the world was only made to serve their purposes, or, in the Poet Wordsworth's words:

"The grand old rule

"Suffices us, the simple plan,

"That they should get, who have the power,

"And they should keep who can."

The Dukes of Abercorn and Fife are full of compliments to Mr. Rhodes for enhancing the value of the shares of their Company by working the mines so cheaply. How is it done? We dare not say. Other colonists, having destroyed with their cannon the Ma-Tabéle tribe, have taken possession of the boundless pasture-grounds, their flocks, and metallic deposits, for the profit of the Company. Lucky shareholders! their shares are rising in value: they are laying up treasures, dabbled in blood, in this world: will it be well for them in the next? Perhaps they are Sadducees and Agnostics, and have no future at all, at least for them. In a few years an important

history will be written, very different from the eulogiums of Dukes, and hungry shareholders, under the title of

AURI SACRA FAMES.

No such lamentable incidents have occurred in the history of the British Nation during this century.

In the *Critias* of Plato (113 B.) the position of Great Britain seems to be described prophetically under the fable of Atlantis, an island outside the straits of Gibraltar of unrivalled greatness. Every product of the Earth was gathered to the harbours of this famous people, the proteges of Poseidon: their docks were of marble: their palaces and storehouses of stupendous size and beauty: their harbours were crowded with vessels from every quarter of the world, and filled day and night with the sound of the voices of merchants and the din of traffic. For a time they bore meekly the large measure of their prosperity. But at last the Divine element within them was overpowered by base passions: unjust aggrandizement, and lust of power, seemed to them the greatest of blessings, and they became blind to their own shame.

Vengeance fell upon them: convulsions of Nature took place, and the great Island beyond the pillars of Hercules sank beneath the Sea, and all were destroyed. They were unworthy of Liberty and Life, because they ceaselessly, for their own mean selfish objects, desired to destroy the Liberty and Life of others: they coveted other men's lands, goods, cattle, and gold, and lost their own, like great Tyre of old, and they disappeared hated and unlamented.

Let us take warning in time.

CHAPTER IV.

SURVEY OF AFRICA.

The Poet Pope, in his *Epistles* dating back nearly two hundred years, in describing the unhappy position of the North American Indians, then crushed out of existence by the white man, describes the hopes of those poor savages:

“ Some safer world in depths of woods embraced,
 “ Some happier island in the watery waste,
 “ Where slaves once more their native land behold,
 “ No fiends torment, NO CHRISTIANS THIRST FOR GOLD.”

What would the Poet Pope have thought of the rush of colonists to

secure allotments of gold-diggings, of the slaughter of the Ma-Tabéle, and the violent spoliation of a country, not by a recognised Government, but a Company of Commercial adventurers?

Years ago I visited Horace's villa near Rome, and my thoughts carried me back to one of the Poet's entertainments, when he received Mæcenæ, the Orators, Poets, and Generals, of the day. News was coming in from the Danube, the Euphrates, the African Sahara, Spain, and distant Britain: it was one continuous conversation of bloodshed, inflicted by, or suffered by, the Parthians, the Teutons, the Iberians, the Gauls, and the Britons. In their idle hours the guests solaced themselves by the spectacle of Barbarians killed in the Amphitheatres. Is it not the same now with the British Nation as regards Africa? All round the Continent the poor Africans are sustaining an unequal conflict against the colonist, the soldier, the Geographical Explorer, or the importer of deadly liquor: killing, killing, killing, is the order of the day: in former generations the Anglo-Saxons stole a few thousand Africans from Africa; in this generation they are stealing Africa from the Africans, and killing by Millions. The fight is over in Australia: there is not a Native surviving in Tasmania: in Polynesia the Natives are dwindling in number. In Melanesia the Kánaka are being sacrificed to Queensland.

In Africa we have read about the Ma-Tabéle: cross the Zam-bézi, and come upon the field of the Slaughter of Lake Nyasa. It was understood, that, when the boats were ready, signal vengeance would be taken on Makanjira for the treachery practised upon Captain Maguire. A few weeks later news was received, that Makanjira himself had been shot by his nephew, but that a second Makanjira reigned in his stead, and that the situation was in no way altered. A strong slave-raiding power, holding positions on the South and South-Eastern shores of the Lake, still defied British authority, and refused to make reparation for the massacre of Captain Maguire and his companions. The destruction of this power appears from the telegram received last month to have been accomplished. The expedition, which was commanded in person by Mr. H. H. Johnston, was composed of the Indian troops, under Major Johnson and Captain Edwards, and of the sailors of the two gunboats, under Commander Robertson and Lieutenant Villiers, and it has been a complete success. All Makanjira's positions were captured, a number of Slaves released, and a fort to be called Fort Maguire has been established on the site of Makanjira's village. The exact date of the operations is not known.

Hear the Archdeacon. "Let him be wiped out," whatever may be thought of it, is the sentiment universally expressed by the great chiefs of Yao-land. This drastic recommendation does not find favour with the Archdeacon. "It cannot be doubted, that if

Makanjira's people escape punishment, or get off with just their houses burnt down, and a hundred or so of their people killed," in another part of the letter it is written, "with only the loss of "two or three hundred men, the whole country to the East of "Lake Nyasa will be shaken in its growing belief in British force "and British resource, and will cause trouble for many years to "come. We would like to ask, if force is only to be shown on the "broad waters of the Lake and its shores?" Doubtless, away from the protection of the gun-boats and troops on the West coast of the Lake, travellers might have to take their lives in their hands, but for all that, the utterance of the Archdeacon is to be deprecated. It is consistent neither with the work of inaugurating Missions, nor with the spirit, which should preside over Christian enterprise.

More explanatory of the situation, and calmer in its terms, is the letter written by Bishop Hornby on the same day. "We certainly," says the Bishop, "seem to have arrived at a very interesting, if not a very critical, moment in the development of this part of Central Africa," and, employing similar terms to those of the Archdeacon, proceeds to describe the condition of the country. "Now, for the "first time, the tribes, which people the borders of the Lake, seem "to be awaking suddenly to the fact, that they are face to face "with an aggressive military Power, a Power that is requiring "from them a submission and obedience in forms, that are strange "to them, and must for the time seem unreasonable. The question "is, will these forces be carefully directed? There is no reason to "suppose that they will not be. But as they are now for the first "time to be put methodically into action, backed by two gun-boats now afloat, and two hundred trained Sikh soldiers, with "Native auxiliaries, we cannot help feeling anxious for the ultimate "result." "So you see we have some reason for anxiety, "but not for fear." In a very guarded way the Bishop hints, that it is advisable to maintain friendly relations with the Yao tribes, who, if driven from the Lake border, will become not only Slave-dealers, but, away in their mountain fastnesses, Slave-raiders. No doubt the position is one of extreme difficulty, which can be surmounted only by great tact, forethought, and patience.

The Missionary here has clearly no stomach for the fight, and the remark is made, that in that quarter, they have not got used to the sight of bloodshed; the Arm of the Flesh must do its work, though in doing so much may result, which the Missionary will bitterly deplore: however, the appetite comes in eating: on the Nyasa there is still a certain squeamishness: they cannot with any consistency hail the Arm of the Flesh, to which they can appeal in time of danger: at U-Ganda the Missionary, Protestant and Romish, have got over that feeling of squeamishness, and are quite ready to fight even with each other, burn each other's stations and

chapels: one Missionary actually set fire to a village, and on his return to England published a pamphlet justifying it. The so-called Arab is looked upon as a most unjustifiable intruder into Equatorial Africa, but he was there centuries before French, British, or German, and belongs to the people, being an Arabized Swahili, while the Europeans are strangers. The audacity of the Equatorial Company far exceeds that of the South African: the climate in the latter is propitious; U-Ganda is nearly under the Equator: it is to be hoped, that the British Government will be wise in time and clear out of it: its retention will be a lasting thorn: the death of the two Portals, deputed only to visit this Region, from climatic causes, ought to be an object-lesson to the Foreign Secretary: let us be wise in time, ere we read of more slaughter, more valuable lives lost. It sounds strange to those familiar with British India, and its fifty Million Mahometans, that it is proposed by some to exclude professors of Islam from U-Ganda: this is, indeed, a new departure.

In the Congo Free State there has been fighting and slaughter, and more is expected. A remarkable expression is used in one of the notices from Brussels, complaining that one African was shot instead of receiving a "traitor's" death: it is not stated, what that form of death is, and how an African fighting for his own country can be called a traitor to a petty European Sovereign, dwelling thousands of miles away? The occupation of that Region so far away from the Sea on either the East or West coasts, seems improbable. The usual mode of chastisement of an offender is to burn his villages, which of course entails destruction of female and infant life.

From West Africa reports tell us, that 200 Sofa were killed: four days previously fifty more had been killed: there is every chance of there being further slaughter. The view taken of African life is shown in the enclosed:

"Such are the black *reiters*, whom the English Soldiers are about to fight on the borders of Sierra Leone. They have perpetrated the same crimes on the territory of this colony as in French territory, and they are about to be unearthed by the English troops with the same energy that our Senegál troops have displayed against them. That is a piece of intelligence, which can only be received with the greatest satisfaction alike in France, in Senegál, and in the French Súdán. England will have deserved well of civilization and of humanity when in her turn she shall have rid the regions of the Upper Niger of this scourge, which ruins them."

Thus it is coldly determined to exterminate a Race occupying their ancestral lands, and the policy is made known to the British Nation and the World. When Dr. Pasteur proposed to exterminate rabbits, a feeble protest on the part of a small Association was heard, but no one protests against this deliberately proposed vivisection of Africans.

Lo-Bengúla fled and died: why did he not surrender? the fate of his Ambassador, as reported to him, warned him. The French have a different record. "Pursued by our troops, and by the population, which had rallied to the new King, abandoned, moreover, by all the members of the Royal Family, Behanzin, in dread of being captured, surrendered unconditionally yesterday at Ajego, North-West of Abomey. He is at present at Goho. He will be despatched according to your instructions to Senegal by the Second. The Ministers will be sent to Gabún." The *Debats* remarks that "Behanzin has certainly reckoned on our generosity, and he was right. He has fought bravely: he has defended his Kingdom with a tenacity and courage to which we have always rendered homage. He is now vanquished. We owe him honourable treatment. He will find it in Senegal."

Perhaps the Germans in the Camerúns outdo the English in their mode of dealing with the poor African. I quote the Newspaper-Report. Herr Leist's report of the mutiny in the Camerúns is now published by the official Colonial organ. It contains nothing further of interest than what is already known. There is no doubt, that he greatly misused his powers in causing the native women to be flogged. He was charged with having provoked the revolt by gross excesses. For these he had to answer before a Court of Discipline at Berlin.

The prosecutor, who was sent out by the Foreign Office to make an enquiry on the spot, charged him with undue cruelty in causing *women to be stripped and flogged; with improper conduct*, accompanied by acts of violence towards other women left in his charge as hostages; and with having thereby caused a rising against the Imperial authority. On these counts he demanded the dismissal of the defendant from the public service.

Herr Leist pleaded, that the flogging was absolutely necessary, as he had exhausted all other methods of punishment, and he claimed that it had been administered as humanely as possible under the circumstances. In the eyes of the Natives no special indignity attached to being stripped naked. In East Africa flogging was the recognised form of punishment, and Herr von Soden himself had been obliged to apply it. He acknowledged being guilty of the *improper acts*, but denied violence, and claimed that, considering the lax views of morality, which prevailed in Africa, the offence could not have excited public reprehension there. He also denied that his conduct had been the cause of the rising.

In spite of a vigorous address by the prosecutor, insisting that the flogging was unnecessary; that, as representing the Emperor, Leist could not claim to be judged by the standard of African morality; and that his conduct had brought shame and disgrace on the German name, the Court acquitted the defendant on all the counts except that of improper acts, and considered that his offence

under that head would be adequately met by his transfer to another post, with a reduction of 20 per cent. on his salary.

Further Expeditions and Murders are contemplated in the Nile Basin. Some enthusiasts write about the occupations of Lado at a considerable expense to the British Government: it is to be hoped, that the matter will be dropped. This is but another proof, that the lust of annexation is like the thirst of the confirmed drunkard:

“ Quo plus habebas, eo plus cupias.”

The strange feature is, that in all these reports, the African Patriots, who fight like Bruce and William Tell, for their hereditary land, are called “rebels,” and, if they happen to kill any of their ruthless invaders, it is called “Murder,” while the white man, who kills the African, is called a Hero: the time will soon come for carrying away scalps. This indicates how very low has fallen in certain quarters the moral opinion with regard to taking away Human life, and stealing other people's property.

CHAPTER V.

MEETINGS IN LONDON AND CAPE TOWN: THE BRITISH TAXPAYER.

The South African Commercial Companies held their periodical meetings in London. It is a strange feature to hear of slaughter and annexation, as part of the assets and profits of a Company established by Charter: yet so it is: no blame attaches to the Shareholders, but to the Directors. The Directors of some Companies err by being too *sanguine* in their operations; the Directors of these Companies err by being too *bloody*. Among other Meetings was one held of the London Chamber of Commerce, to hear a well-known globe-trotter describe Zambésia, to which he had paid a short visit: he naively describes, how the ball of annexation was set rolling. The opening of the Suez Canal in 1869, and the Brussels Conference of 1876, were among the principal causes, that led to the re-discovery and partition of South and Central Africa. It was, only when some of the European Powers, developing colonial aspirations, began to partition Africa, that Britain took steps to secure a portion of the regions rapidly being appropriated. Germans, Boers, and Portuguese being ready to lay hands on Ma-Tabéle-land, it became evident, that no time was to be lost, if Britain wished to secure the Zambési as the northern limit of her South African extension. He then referred to the treaty of amity and Peace, which was concluded with Lo-Bengúla

in 1888, and afterwards alluded to the growth of the British South Africa Company out of the concession then obtained by Mr. C. D. Rudd and others. It is just as if a burglar forced himself into a house, and then excused himself to the Magistrate on the plea, that if he had not committed the burglary some one else would have done it. Incidentally he tells us among other facts: (1) that Ma-Tabéle-land is only the first mouthful, and must lead on to advance Northwards and the conquest of all Zambésia; (2) that Ma-Tabéle-land is "a white man's country": this is not confirmed by the experience of Mr. Pelly, the Missionary quoted above. While carefully avoiding any extreme view, so far as he possibly could, he thought it his duty to state, from personal observation, that the Colonial Sentiment was one, that must be reckoned with, whether at times it were palatable in this country or not. Recent news from South Africa tended to strengthen his opinion, and it was certain, that, whatever the ultimate settlement of Ma-Tabéle-land might be, the colonists on the spot would claim the management of their own affairs. He then speaks of South Africa as the "inheritance" of the British People almost in the terms used by Moses as regards the country of the Canaanites, etc., which were given to the Hebrews. This is indeed a doctrine subversive of all Rights of Nationality, or Property, all the dictates of Religion and Justice. The superabundant population of Great Britain must wade through blood to a competency; the markets of South Africa must be kept open for the manufacturers of Great Britain at the price of the slaughter of all the inhabitants: and this is the Nineteenth Century!

From Cape Town comes the report of still more interesting speeches. Why should the British Taxpayer pay in future one single farthing to support so-called British interests in South Africa, which are really only Africander interests? The speaker quoted above says so distinctly, but the Imperial Secretary of Cape Town, presumably only a British Official of the Colonial Office, speaks thus at the Rhodes-banquet: "It has been the life's labour of our distinguished guest to remove the bolster from between the various states and various Races of this great country, to induce your neighbours to say 'God bless you,' and to prove to the world, that a man may be at once a good Imperialist, and a good Africander. All honour to him for it, I say; all honour to him! And now that South Africans have composed their differences, or are in a fair way to do so, now that English and Dutch have shaken hands and agreed to combine for the common good, we are beginning to find our bed too narrow for us." This renders expansion, Confiscation, slaughter, necessary. Great Britain is to be used as a cat's paw to pick the chestnuts out of the fire, in order that the Africander may enjoy their eating. It appears that £100,000 per annum are paid by the British Taxpayer for expan-

sion in Bechuana. Railways are subsidized, other expenditure is incurred, and all this is done, not for the benefit of Great Britain, but to improve the resources of the Africander Republic. Surely the time is come to button up our pockets, and send no more money to Africa, than we do the United States.

Mr. Rhodes in his speeches is very bold: with one foot in Fort Salisbury, and the other on Table Mount, he claims to be a kind of duality: "L'état c'est moi." In Ma-Tabéle-land he is a blood-stained conquerer; at the banquet at Cape Town he is the Prime Minister of a colony with a Parliamentary Legislature. In his "Facing-both-ways" attitude he is an Imperialist from one point of view, and an Africander from another. Such kind of politicians generally come to an untimely end: many such a bloated self-seeking figure has disappeared suddenly, both in ancient and modern times, and shared the fate of those, who seek their own interests. He contemplates visiting England in the spring, and it is important to watch carefully the utterings and doings of this Political Proteus, who is acting the part of being two gentlemen at once. The Mayor of Cape Town, in proposing his health, likened him to the Three Calendars, passing as a good Briton, a good colonist, and a good South African at the same time. Mr. Rhodes' first remark was startling. He had for twelve years held, that the *Hinterland* was a reversion to the Cape. Be it so, but Reversion is not Possession. France has the Reversion of the Kongo Free State, if Belgium gives it up. Mr. Rhodes is living upon *post obits*. The Chartered Company holds under a charter granted by the Queen of Great Britain. He darkly remarks: "The British Government possessed "but a small majority in the House of Commons, and it had an "extremely irate section of its forces arrayed against it on this "matter. It might be, that this would result in the dictation "of a settlement, and that such terms would be demanded from "those, who had shed their blood in the conquest of the country, "as would be unfair to them, and contrary to the South African "Ideal. Should such an event occur, he knew his duty as first "Minister of the Crown elected of the people. If, unfortunately, "he had to fight such a cause, he would earnestly and resolutely "fight it on constitutional lines on behalf of the people of this "country, who were the children of English people, and in that "cause he would appeal for support to the people of South "Africa." His speech contains some other noteworthy expressions: he had contemplated the annexation of the whole country up to the Zambési, and beyond, even to Lake Tanganyika, and had discussed the matter with the late Governor, Sir Hercules Robinson: it was his "Hinterland," that word, which has caused so much bloodshed all over Africa: he talked of the destruction of "the last ruthless power in South Africa," forgetting that

his own power was as ruthless, and his methods were as barbarous, as were those of the Zúlu: what can be more ruthless than stealing another man's land? what more barbarous than massacring the inhabitants?

He boasts, that he went into Ma-Tabéle-land with the support of every religious denomination in Ma-Shóna-land: so much the worse for the Religion of those denominations: they were wolves in sheep's clothing: he had squared the English Episcopal Church by a grant of three thousand acres of land, as was stated by a Missionary in his Committee-room. He laughs at the Aborigines Protection Society, and naturally so, for he is the President of the Aborigines Destruction Society: he then attacks Mr. Labouchere, but that gentleman is quite able to defend himself, especially when he has so good a cause: he calls Mr. Labouchere a cynical Sybarite: he might as well have called him a Crocodile; at any rate, he is not what Mr. Rhodes certainly is, an unscrupulous annexer. He concludes his speech by drawing a vivid picture of the future United South Africa, or Africander Republic, as hostile as possible to Great Britain, a great slaughterer of the indigenous population, and a compound of Anglo-Dutch adventurers, with a mixture of Griqua and other half castes, men with Hottentot mothers. It would be better far for Great Britain to let the colony depart, and do her own dirty work of Slaughter and Plunder. As it is, Great Britain, in the eyes of the civilized world, covers herself with shame with no intention on her part, and no possible advantage, in order that a sucking Republic may extend its boundaries.

Mr. Rhodes speaks contemptuously of "little England": like a bad bird he fouls his own nest, if he be indeed of English blood: his tastes savour more of the Zúlu and the Hottentot, with a streak of Ashánti: he poses not only as a colonist, but a Prophet, and predicts great things for the marvellous country of the Ma-Tabéle. No doubt the Prophets in attendance on Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar made similar utterances in the ears of their monarch. Mr. Rhodes baited his trap for his friends at Cape Town by promising the sole trade of Ma-Tabéle-land to the Dutch at the Cape, forgetting the lateral railways to the Eastern coast, and possible access to the Zambézi. We hear nothing in his speech of the poor dear Ma-Shóna, for whose sake the war was ostensibly undertaken: they will soon be working in the Africander gold mines, and going the way of the poor wretched indigenous inhabitants in the Spanish Colonies in South America. He then, in his Colossal style of eloquence, talks of being at Blantyre on the River Shiré in six months, and before we know where we are, at U-Ganda on the Equator; and, if he be unable on this occasion to exterminate the Mahdi and his Dervishes of the Súdán, and then open the Basin of the Nile, he will turn off to Mombása: the

advantage of telegraphic communication over-land is not obvious, when there are sea-cables available. At any rate, he will cease to be South African, and be entitled to the full title of Africanus.

He then enters on the subject of managing Natives: he (Rhodes) is the Native Minister, and has under his control 1,200,000 souls: he points out how the destruction of Lo-Bengula will enable him to deal "thoroughly" with the Pondo, and other tribes, as Strafford dealt with the Irish. One Act of Murder and Plunder will follow another, till the white man reigns alone: it does not enter into his calculation, whether God will permit the extermination of all his poor black children. He calls himself unselfish, but the pronoun "Ego" governs all the words in his sentences: he is the man, who is to leap over many fences: he is the man who is to add to his present titles of "Colossus," and "Bloody Red Hand," the title of First President of the South Africander Republic. Do such men live to work out such dreams? Washington was a man of a totally different type: he never slaughtered Red Indians, or confiscated their lands. This "petit Napoleon" has more of the spirit of the Attila and Genghis Khan, who piled up pyramids of skulls outside City walls. There is an island on the other side of the Atlantic, of which Toussaint L'Ouverture, a negro slave, got possession, and allowed no whites in the Island; but it did not answer; nor will Mr. Rhodes' policy of having no blacks in South Africa be carried out. The Negro Races of Central Africa are increasing in number, and the law of territorial expansion will apply to them as well as to the white colonists. Already the Native labour-question is coming to the front: it is admitted, that Native labour in South Africa is the dearest in the world. The Slave can be made to work; the free African is described by a Bishop as wishing to live like an idle gentleman.

CHAPTER VI.

CONCLUSIONS.

The writer of these lines possesses a general knowledge of the whole of Africa, the result of a quarter of a century's close observation, perhaps unsurpassed by many: others may know a corner of the great patchwork better, but nothing of other portions. It is some slight qualification to have watched for many years the proceedings, as regards Africa, of French, Spaniards, Portuguese, Germans, Italians, and English, as narrated in their own Language by their own people: each nationality is most satisfied with the conduct of its own countrymen, and highly critical, often bitterly,

of the proceedings of other nationalities. In considering the interests and sufferings of this God-forgotten Continent, the writer has no prejudices, or partialities, of Nation, Language, Religion, Civilization, Politics, or Commerce in his opinion : what is morally right, is right ; what is morally wrong, is wrong, whether the actors of the particular drama be French or English, Negro or Bantu, Mahometan or Roman Catholic. All his special knowledge of these unhappy transactions is derived from the Blue-Book of November, 1893, the Debates in Parliament, and the Pages of *The Times*. He has heard, that a Daily and Weekly Paper have violently attacked the Company on the financial as well as political side, but he has not seen them, or cared to do so. They may have possibly been dictated by commercial rivalry, pique, or personal rancour. He has never seen any one of the actors in this lamentable drama ; he has no shares or interests, or knowledge, of any African Company, and no relation or friend who has shares or interests. He is not blaming those, who have interests ; he is not aspersing the characters of the Companies, of which he does not even know the names. In the words of Horace :

“Sunt qui non habeant : est qui non quærit habere.”

He is entirely free from prejudice or partiality, but he stands up for the Native Races against Governments, against the white man, against Missionaries, and indignantly rejects the Idea, that any white man has a Right to lord it over the black man, whether he comes as a Traveller, a Merchant, an Emigrant, or a Missionary. He is obliged to speak plainly upon this subject. The Albocracy of the age is terribly heartless. The utterances of Lord Ripon and Sir H. Loch are worthy of all praise. Not much confidence can be placed in the Reports of the agents of the Company. They were neither Soldiers, nor Political agents, nor experienced administrators of Civil affairs : their existence depended on their Commercial success. The Officials in British India, when placed in difficulties, have no fear of an adverse vote of an Annual Meeting of a Commercial Company, enraged by having no dividend, and exasperated by a call for further payments. The Indian Official does not much care also for a debate in the House of Commons : he acts from Imperial motives, according to his orders, and for the good, as far as he can see, the *real good*, of the great Native population, whose interests are in his hands : *he detests slaughter* : he has no slaughterers of mankind under his own orders ; he invites no shooters of big game to help him : and he has to answer to the Government, if he call out the Military forces without due cause, and to God, if he misuse his power : he has a permanent interest in the welfare of his people. Had these adventurers any interest ?

What became of the colonial power of Spain after the atrocities of Cortes and Pizarro, after the wholesale extinction of Native Races, the plunder of National wealth, whether in precious metal

or in cattle? In *The Times* of November 24th it is recorded that the Company captured 1000 head of cattle. Is the present political position of South America encouraging? The iniquity of the Spaniards reacted on themselves, and what is Spain now? It was not the fault of Lo-Bengúla, that he was naked and barbarous: so was Khama in his youth, and so was Khama's father in his old age: had Lo-Bengúla been approached by conciliating Britons, and treated as Khama was, he would have become what Khama is: it would take time, longer than the Company could spare! the process would not give a good, or an immediate dividend! Khama must now shake in his shoes: a new administrator may come, a new turn of the wheel, and he and his children will be "eaten up" by a new Director of the Company. There was no inequality of force in the contest, no display of gallantry of a few against many. The High-Commissioner remarked before any attack was made, that mounted men and machine guns, if properly handled, would be in an open fight equal to many thousand Ma-Tabéle: and so it proved. When the King was offered the instalment of his pension of £1200, he promptly refused it, saying "that he would receive no more blood-money, as it was the price of his blood": so it was: the rope was being twisted round his neck: he found out too late, that to let in one European is like the letting in of a stream of water, or rather of blood: it was obvious, that the difficulty of asylum to refugees would arise. No Englishman would willingly surrender women and children to certain torture and death, and to refuse this, is to a barbarian Chief an intolerable wrong. The mistake was to allow such a state of affairs to come into existence. It could never have happened in British India, or even Burma.

The High-Commissioner deplored the sensational Press-telegram sent by the Company's Officers to Cape Town. Mr. Rhodes, the Prime Minister of the Colony, declined to interfere: in fact, the Company was blowing up the fire in the furnace. The High-Commissioner throughout sincerely desired peace; "the sentence of Moloch was for open war." The High-Commissioner evidences throughout the feelings of a responsible Statesman, ready to strike at the last, if he were compelled; but the scratch-pack of Doctors, gold-diggers, hunters of great game, were desirous to "get up a row," as it is described in the Blue Book, and they strove to form a public sentiment in their favour, and have succeeded.

Sir Hercules Robinson, an ex-High-Commissioner, with perfect knowledge of the circumstances, expresses his confidence, that the Company would never seek the extermination of the Ma-Tabéle, or their expulsion from their own Native country: but Mr. Theodore Bent, whose only connection with the Region was that of an archæological explorer, in the words quoted a few pages back, recommends their extermination: and in fact they have been

slaughtered by thousands, and Mr. Bent only expresses the feelings of his friends at Victoria.

In one of the telegrams of the Blue Book we read the cry of Lo-Bengúla: "What great wrong have I done?" The unlettered barbarian, with a range of Ideas limited to South Africa, did not know, that in the eyes of the white man on the war-path the possession of land and mines, even by an angel, would mean, that the owner of such wealth was doing wrong by daring to exist! Fortunes have to be made by daring adventurers, the younger sons of needy families of the middle classes:

"Si possis rectè: Si non, quocumque modò Rem."

This is the motto in all climes, and ages, of the adventurer and colonist.

As late as August 17, 1893, Lo-Bengúla is described by the High-Commissioner, as apparently anxious for Peace, and doing his best to restrain his people, and protect the lives of Europeans at Buluwáyo. On August 16, Dr. Jamieson telegraphs, that there is further evidence of the King's "lying and duplicity." Clearly there were two distinct categories of public Officers: the High-Commissioner desired justice; the Company's administrators desired annexation and plunder. Lo-Bengúla sent ambassadors more than once to the High-Commissioner: two were killed on their journey by British armed men; one fell seriously ill, and the delay was to be regretted; but no white man, such as Mr. Moffat, of a conciliatory disposition, and with a knowledge of African Languages, was sent actually to the King, just as Sir Mortimer Durand has been sent this year to the Amir of Afghánistan. No white man, though there were several in his power, was killed by Lo-Bengúla: the agents of the Company have killed thousands of black men. Lo-Bengúla never interfered with the affairs of Be-Chuánaland, Transvaal, or the Portuguese colony: the English forced themselves into his recognised dominions, coming first to ask for concessions and treaties, and having secured a footing killing his Subjects with all the air of men fighting for their hereditary possessions. Imagine the English concessionists of the Rio Tinto mines, near Seville in Spain, turning round on the Spanish authorities, and driving out the King of Spain.

If on one side Lo-Bengúla was unable to control his young bloods under the extreme provocation, to which they were exposed, it appears from a memorial quoted in the Blue-Book that the inhabitants of this ridiculously mushroom and tiny town Victoria, placed similar pressure upon the redoubtable Mr. Rhodes: he was told by them pretty clearly in July, 1893, that he must take the favourable opportunity once for all of settling the Ma-Tabéle question, i.e. "killing them," and, if he did not take the initiative,

a very large proportion of the inhabitants of this goodly city, which had dropped down a few years back in a foreign and independent State, were determined to take the matter into their own hands, and arrange for compensation for their losses. The agricultural losses amounted to fifty oxen, two hundred and eighty sheep or goats, ten asses, and fifteen pigs, and for losses such as these the slaughter of thousands of free independent Africans was determined upon.

No more iniquitous arrangement was ever made than the Partition of Africa. The different gangs of land-grabbers, hailing from Paris, London, Berlin, or Brussels, are on the jealous watch of each other. Men are cut down, in order that dividends may rise. The Twentieth Century will sit in judgment upon us, as we judge the Spaniards of the Sixteenth Century. The Roman mob in the time of their decadence shouted for "Panem et Circenses"; the cry of the British Speculator is, "African Skulls and Gold Dust." This is the outcome of the Christian benevolence of the age. The British Matron, reading her paper at the breakfast table, remarks, that two thousand more savages have been killed. "A rise of ten per cent. in Mine Shares," is the rejoinder of Pater Familias. Geography will be taught to the rising generation in lessons of blood. U-Ganda, says the teacher, is the place, where the Protestant British Mission slaughtered the French Roman Catholic Mission, and burnt their chapels. Ma-Tabéle-land, says the teacher, is the country, which Mr. Rhodes conquered, and divided among his gold-digger friends, driving the king away, killing his ambassadors, slaughtering his Subjects, and confiscating his land: the teacher would then delineate the Geographical features of the country in blood instead of chalk.

Mr. Labouchere in one of his speeches described it as a battue rather than a battle, which will suit the taste of the Author of "Great Game in East Africa," who arrived opportunely, as well as Mr. Selous, the great hunter. Black game of the ethnological Bantu Race takes the place of Lions or Bears; and poor ignorant Peasants supply the place of Pheasants.

There has been one great omission up to this date: there has been no massacre on Lake Chad: this really is a *casus omissus*. The Roman said proudly, that there was no shore untinged by Roman blood: the Briton may say, that there is no Region, or Lake, or River, in Africa, in which he has not shed the blood of the unfortunate Native Races. Something ought to be done for the honour of Lake Chad! Captain Lugard from the Lake Nyasa and Victoria Nyanza has more experience of lacrustine slaughter. Dr. Jamieson's lancet is better able to draw blood in the High Veldt.

I never saw Mr. Labouchere, but I welcome any friend of Justice and Mercy, and quote his words. Mr. Labouchere addressed his constituents at Northampton Town-Hall lately.

Referring to Ma-Tabéle-land, Mr. Labouchere said that "he had never seen, why English people should treat Africans as though they were not Human beings. It was said that 3000 of the Natives had been killed and wounded, and he had asked where were the 2000 wounded? An African Chief called Khama, who was a Wesleyan, withdrew his troops from assisting the English, because he disapproved of the way the English were carrying on the war. Was it not a preposterous thing, that the English flag should be disgraced in that manner, that these mere stock-jobbing, money-mongering, people should drag our flag in the mire in Africa, and that they should kill and murder in order to send up their miserable shares on the Stock Exchange? For his part he meant to stick to this question. There was too much in the House of Commons of turning the blind eye to what was going on in those distant parts."

In this unhappy Ma-Tabéle Scandal all traditional feelings, customs, and moralities are reversed. In British India the Medical Officers, though brave men, are called non-combatants; in Africa they appear to take the command of Military expeditions :

"pudet hæc opprobia nobis
Aut dici potuisse, aut non potuisse repelli."

The old Greek writers tell us, that Africa had always something new to communicate to the world, and so it is to this day. The Ma-tabéle Scandal has a quaint novelty about it, because there was a pretence of benevolence in protecting the Ma-Shóna, the maternal relatives of the Ma-Tabéle, who owned a territory with auriferous deposits, which were coveted by the Anglo-Saxon. The atmosphere of Africa is impregnated with crime. King Mtesa, and Mwanga, of U-Ganda could not have existed in Asia. It was the same climatic influences, which made them so cruel, and has the effect of making young men of Great Britain sweep away the restraints of the sixth and eighth Commandments, and go in for Killing and Loot.

Let Great Britain pause in this career of cruelty and crime; let the Africander Republic rather look to the History of the United States of North America, than to the examples of the Republic of Mexico, Peru, and the Argentine: it is as well to be honest and merciful.

February 1st, 1894.

VI.

ON PURCHASE OF SLAVES BY MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH OF ROME.

ONE of the great curses of Slavery and the Slave-Trade is, that it dislocates the labour-market, and leaves, even when abolished, a trail of evil consequences and fallacies; and it is necessary from time to time to appeal to first principles, and expose weak and evil practices into which good men fall.

The evils arising from an ill-regulated traffic in Cooleys, or Free Labourers, have often been exposed. The movement of ignorant labourers is always a dangerous process. Even in British India the supply of labourers from the districts of Bangál, where there is a surfeit, to Assam, where there is a demand, is not accomplished without risk. The export of Cooleys from India beyond the seas is a most complicated operation. The planter in his selfishness calls out for labour, and cares not by how great a sacrifice of Human life his wants are supplied. Too often the Cooley becomes little better off than a Slave. The great Island of Madagascar is now destined to be exposed to ruin and loss of life, with a view of supplying labour to French planters. The Latin Races never can be persuaded to look upon "Involuntary labour of Subject Races" with the aversion, with which the Anglo-Saxon regards it.

The French Roman Catholic Missionary openly conducts his Missionary operations under the Black Flag, and it is well, that this should be thoroughly understood. We will not quote any other authority than their own recognised Reporter, the *Missions Catholiques*, and we select the volumes of 1881-2 to show that the practice is not an old and abandoned one, but one actually in force:—

"Abeokuta, Western Africa, Feb., 1881.

"Qu'il nous serait facile de *racheter* des esclaves, si nous avions des ressources. Apres chaque expedition guerrier il suffrait de se rendre sur quelqu'une des grandes places, ou sont exposees des familles entieres de captifs."

“*Embomma, on the Congo, Nov., 1880.*

“Le *Rachat* des enfants devenant de jour en jour ici plus difficile
“je résolu d’aller voir, si dans le haut de Congo, il ne présentait
“pas plus de facilité.”

“*Landána, on the West Coast, Oct., 1880.*

“Il profité en même temps de ce voyage pour renouer et activer
“l’œuvre si importante du *Rachat* des enfants, car Hélas ! au
“Congo comme partout ailleurs cette œuvre devient de plus en
“plus difficile.

“A cette époque la Mission élevait environ cent enfants, dont
“les uns avaient été confiés par les chefs de l’intérieur, et les
“autres avaient été *rachetés*.”

At the close of the year 1881 three French Missionaries lost their lives on the Eastern shore of Lake Tanganyika, in the country of U-Rundi, in consequence of their complicity in the purchase of, and forcible retention of, purchased Slaves; for the Wa-Bikári, having solicited in vain the return of children kidnapped from them, in some way or other recovered the person of one of them. The French Priests threatened the use of force to retake their Slave, but were anticipated by an attack of the barbarians, who made a sudden onslaught upon, and killed the French Missionaries, one of whom had arms in his hands. It is obvious that children must belong to some one. No tribe, however savage, will sell its own offspring. The Slaves sold must be the booty of war, or the result of kidnapping.

Undeterred by this catastrophe, the French Roman Catholic Missionaries recommenced their purchases on a larger scale, and at Tabora, in Unya-Nwembe, on the high road from Zanzibár to both Lakes Victoria and Tanganyika :

“Quand nous exposâmes à lui (the brother of the Arab Governor
“of Unya-Nwembe) notre intention de *racheter* des enfants esclaves
“pour en faire des hommes libres et leur apprendre à bien vivre, il
“nous dit : Bien ! des enfants vous en trouverez ici beaucoup.
“Vous venez pour les enfants ; c’est bon. Je suis votre homme.”

The pious priest then remarks :

“O Providence de dieu, qui daignez employer à votre causes les
“vices mêmes de vos ennemies ! Puissiez vous tirer de l’avarice
“de ce vieu fils de Mahomet la délivrance et le salut de beaucoup
“d’âmes autour de nous !

“Déjà nous avons commencé à former notre petite famille nègre,
“en *rachetant* plusieurs enfants, que l’on promenait dans la ville

“ comme des animaux en vente. Nous aurons frequemment
 “ l’occasion d’en *racheter* d’autres sans sortir de chez nous : ce
 “ sera la petite pêche a l’hameçon en attendant que l’autorisation
 “ de Said Bargache soit arrivée de Zanzibár. Alors nous pourrons
 “ faire la grande pêche en haute mer : pêche que n’aura d’autres
 “ limites que celles de nos ressources. 150 ou 200 francs suffisent
 “ pour le *rachat* et l’entretien d’un enfant pendant une année.
 “ Avec 15,000 ou 20,000 francs nous pourrroit fonder ici un
 “ orphelinat d’une *Centaine de beaux Negrillons.*”

The Arabs, themselves not very scrupulous, held back from taking part in this tremendous scheme, and begged leave to apply to the Sultan, their Master, at Zanzibár. The Priest wrote off to M. Ledoux, the Consul of France, begging of him to use his influence in the aid of this Slave-purchasing enterprise. Publicity may possibly check this detestable enterprise, and it has been reported to the English Foreign Office. That on the peaceful high road from the Sea to the Equatorial Lakes, there should be established a House of Kidnapped Children, purchased by an European, appears to be a public misfortune :

In Tanganyika the French Roman Catholic Missionaries, in spite of the warning received by the slaughter of three of their body, report, September 25, 1882, another advance along the dangerous and shameful path :

“ Nous avons vu déjà mourir plusieurs de ces enfants au
 “ Masanjé. Aussi avons nous du *racheter* des *jeunes filles* esclaves.
 “ Ce moyen offre de nombreuses difficultes, comme vous le com-
 “ prenez facilement vous mêmes.”

If the kidnapping of boys was not enough to rouse a tribe to wrath against the white strangers, surely the kidnapping of girls will do so. The problem is a tremendous one, but at Zanzibár we read :

“ A l’hôpital est annexée une école pour les petites Nègresses, que l’on *rachete*, ou qu’on enlève aux marchands d’esclaves.”

Such is the practice of the French Roman Catholic Missionaries in the East and West of Equatorial Africa. They cannot see that the words, *rachat* and redemption, were applicable, when sums were sent to Barbary to rescue French and Spanish sailors, who had been captured by the Corsairs ; that it would be perfectly legitimate to a native of the country to purchase his own freedom, or redeem from Slavery members of his family or his friends. The wholesale purchase of male and female children encourages kidnapping, raids, and tribal wars, and perpetuates a state of affairs, which we would gladly see entirely changed. An

"orphanage," filled with children ravished from their parents, is only so in name.

Now if the benevolent Missionary can do this with impunity, and start a School, and a factory, and industrial operations, and distil liqueurs, as the Monks do in Algeria, why should not the benevolent planter do the same? If he is not allowed to do so, he will be undersold in his business by his Missionary rival, who conducts the adjoining factory. If children, male and female, may be purchased, why not lads and lasses, and adults generally? The male children, when they come to age of puberty in the Missionary Schools, will want wives, and the Priest must ask his friends the Arab Slave-dealers to send in a supply of marriageable Negresses. When neighbouring tribes demand in a voice of anger the restitution of their ravished children, what reply is to be given to them? The transaction becomes more horrible, when the Arab is found to be the go-between, and the panderer to the Missionary lust to get possession of Negro bodies for the sake of their souls. How the Mahometan must scoff at the Christian for his inconsistency!

When the Roman Catholic Mission lately quitted Rubága, the capital of King Mtesa, on Lake Victoria, they took with them several boat-loads of Negro boys, whom they had purchased, and who were their property. In the pages of *The Missions Catholiques* of Lyons, appear each week notices of subscriptions made in France for the purpose of purchasing children, and the name, which the pious donor attaches to the gift as the name designed for the purchased child, is generally that of a little girl, showing that the perilous policy of purchasing female Slaves is persisted in. To the Arab Slave-dealer it matters not, whether a little girl is supplied to a harem or a Mission-school; or a little boy sold to be converted into a eunuch or into an acolyte. It is a matter of so much money. And when these children grow up to maturity, they will abscond, and there will be claims for restitution. It is fortunate, that a Protestant power like Germany has appeared on the scene of East Africa, which is not likely to tolerate the purchase of Slaves for any purpose in its jurisdiction.

It is a comfort to think that every Protestant Missionary Society in Africa is free from even the imputation of this blot. The Missionaries of the Universities' Mission to East Africa write, that they have difficulty in providing for the children who flock to their schools. The alleged difficulty of getting children to come to the Mission Schools is a mere snare; if regular attendance at School of little Negroes, who know not what time is, is to be secured by their purchase, their bondage, their incarceration, their personal chastisement, we say boldly that we had rather let them remain free heathens than become Slave-Christians repeating their "Ave-Maria."

Another form of snare, which tempts the Missionary to swerve from the high beaten road, is the Institution called "pawning." It was explained at a Missionary Board to mean this. A heathen family spend a large sum on the funeral of their head: the money is borrowed from a money-lender on the security of the mortgage to him of the involuntary services of one member of the family. A younger son is made over, pawned, pledged, to become the Slave for life of the money-lender. It was suggested by an amiable Missionary, on whose health, countenance, and judgment, a long residence in Africa had had a deleterious effect, that the Christian should adopt a modified form of this practice, that the pawning should be registered, an account kept of the capital and interest, and a power of redemption reserved. It is scarcely necessary to say, that a great Missionary Society, among the founders of which was Wilberforce, could have nothing to do directly or indirectly, openly or in disguise, now or in future, with any practice, which implied the dominion of one man over the person of another, and the right of one man to use the involuntary labour of another. The power of a Missionary Society is limited, but it can prohibit its office-holders absolutely from contact with such transactions, can admonish and affectionately urge its adherents to abstain from them, and can stand forth before the heathen a living protest, that the purchase of Slaves, the employment of Slaves, the mortgaging of the labour of one man to another, is an abomination before God and man.

It is necessary to speak out clearly, and call upon Missionary Societies to take heed, lest mud stick to the skirts of their clothing. Now that Africa is so thoroughly thrown open, and associations, religious and secular, are springing up like mushrooms, care must be taken, lest the enemy should sow tares. All that we can do is to publish to the Christian world a *bonâ fide* and authentic account of every such transaction, and thus bring it to the notice of the Attorney-General, who is empowered to prosecute the purchaser, if an English subject, in the High Court of Justice; for it is distinctly an offence against the Act of George IV., and punishable as a felony in any Court of Her Majesty, without reference to the venue of the transaction.

Mission Field, 1878.

SLAVERY IN PROTESTANT CHURCHES OF MADAGASCAR.

The Lord Chief Justice a few years ago remarked in the House of Lords, that there was a Subject in which even a Judge might be forgiven, if he spake with warmth. That subject was Slavery.

My devotion to Missions is only exceeded by my abhorrence of Slavery, and, when the name of a Missionary is mixed up with that of Slavery, I feel in a dilemma, and I wish to discuss the Subject with more than judicial coldness. A Missionary is obliged to *tolerate* Slavery, as he is obliged to tolerate many other evil customs, such as Polygamy, divorce, exaggerated caste, drunkenness, and profligacy; but he should cut off his right hand rather than directly or indirectly *countenance* it. There are many fancy grievances, and many ephemeral societies are started to paint the evil which they denounce in exaggerated colours, and suggest remedies, which would often be worse than the disease. On the question of Slavery, however, no two men can be found, righteous or unrighteous, who will defend the status, and there is no true Englishman who, in this Nineteenth Century, would not lend his voice to any measure, which might sweep from the World the abominable practice of involuntary labour.

We are too apt to imagine, that Slavery in Asia and Africa is of the same character as the Slavery of the Planters in North America, and the West Indian Islands. Such is not the case. In Mahometan countries the Slave is often treated as a member of the family, and some Slaves possess Slaves. Still a large percentage of the women have to submit to involuntary concubinage with their owners, and a certain percentage of the males are turned into eunuchs to serve as guards to their polluted sisters. The lash, and the prison, the private sale, and the auction mart, are always possibilities. The Right of husband, the Right of parent, Education, Religion, power of locomotion, of amassing a competence for old age, are, as regards the Slave portion of a population, suspended, whilst, as regards the free portion, honourable labour cannot exist, where everything menial is done by a Slave. No true social state can be founded on Slavery, and no real Christianity.

In British India forty years ago Slavery existed in its mildest form, and it was not deemed prudent, considering the vast population of that country, and our own small numbers, to abolish it in so many words. But a law was passed, that the so-called Slave possessed the same Rights in a court of Justice, civil and criminal, as the freeman. The lash and the prison ceased thus to be operative, and the bad custom has gently died out. But it did most unmistakably exist. I have often had petitions filed in my court by women, fugitives from the house of some rich man, praying for leave to go where they wished, and in spite of the angry protests of their owner the brief order has been endorsed on the petition, that "the parties are at liberty to do as they liked."

Now supposing some energetic young magistrate had conceived the Idea of a training-college in any District of British India, and had sent up his plans of buildings providing for a room for each student, and a *room above for his Slave*, I can answer as to the

nature of the reply, which he would have received from any commissioner or any governor. I know the order, that I should have endorsed myself on such an application, and I think that my great master, John Lawrence, would have done the same, only in stronger language: "Send back the scheme, and remind the writer, that he is a Gentleman and a Christian, and that any more proposals of this kind will lead to his removal from a post, of which he is unworthy." If it had transpired that the public Officer had Slaves among his domestics, knowing that they were such, knowing that a portion of the wages paid went to the Slave-owner, it would have been intimated to him, very unmistakably, that such things must not be, that he must rather submit to the inconvenience of a bad cook than have a Slave-cook; in a word, that the servants of the Queen-Empress must not, directly or indirectly, *countenance* Slavery, though out of wise far-seeing policy they *tolerated* it for one generation.

And yet the Missionaries of the Church of England in Madagascar find it right to act in the manner, in which I have only, by a stretch of fancy, imagined a civil Officer of Government acting, for I feel sure that no civil or military Officer would ever have so done. Let me quote the words used in *The Mission Field* of 1878, pages 580, 581:

"The most important and hopeful step is the opening of a college to educate Native Catechists and Clergy. The students are all married; each has a house, consisting of sitting-room, bed-room, and kitchen, *with an upstairs room for his Slaves.*"

It has transpired, and has not been denied, that the domestics of the Missionary and the Mission are Slaves, receiving indeed adequate wages, and, no doubt, leading comfortable and happy lives, yet still paying over a portion of their wages to their Slave-owner, who had the power to chastise them, imprison them, sell them by private contract, and break up the relation of husband and wife, parent and child. In such a home as that of the Missionary, the female Slave, and the wife of the Slave, would enjoy an honoured status; but that which a Missionary allows himself to do, a layman, and a bad layman, can do also, and without the purity and self-restraint of a Missionary household. We make no charges against the European residents of the island, but somehow or other mixed Races do come into existence, and the history of the Southern States of the great American Republic is before us, as a beacon and a warning, that the status of Slavery is incompatible with a moral and religious life.

These students are to be trained to be Catechists and Pastors. It is amazing to read, that the stoutest champions of Slavery in the island are the Native Pastors themselves of the Nonconformist Churches. English Missionaries of all denominations have everywhere steadily denounced the practice, but have not found them-

selves strong enough to pass that order in Madagascar, which their brethren in Asia and Africa have passed, that no office-holder of the Church should hold or employ Slaves. A grotesque feature is disclosed in the fact, that some of the Pastors are Slaves themselves, and that a portion of their stipend, collected under the influence of prayer, in their Churches and Chapels, finds its way through the funnel of these consecrated Pastors to the accursed stores of the Slave-owners. For these Slaves are the sweepings in of raided villages, the captives made in unjustifiable wars, in which the men were all killed, and the women and children made Slaves, the purchases made by private sale in the weekly Slave-market at the capital of the Kingdom, for the public market has only been interdicted within the last two or three years.

It is of no use arguing, that the Government of the island cannot abolish the practice, or render it innocuous, by giving full power to redeem Slaves, or enact a similar law as the one enacted in British India, which will lead to the same results. Under pressure from the English Government the Queen of Madagascar has prohibited the import of Slaves from Africa, set free by a stroke of the pen, without compensation, one hundred and fifty thousand imported Africans, forbade the export of Malagási Slaves to other islands, and prohibited the weekly Slave-market. This shows that the Queen is an arbitrary Sovereign, who can deal at pleasure with the property of her subjects. Great sympathy has been felt with the Queen of Madagascar in the peril, in which she now stands in face of the Government of France, and much of this sympathy has arisen, because it is credibly believed that the real object of the French is to secure Slaves from Madagascar for their own colonies; but the sympathy in question will greatly diminish, when it transpires, that so locally deep-rooted is the system, so necessary a feature is it of domestic, and even of Missionary life, that a Church of England Missionary constructs a college, presumably as a permanent institution, with rooms for Slaves. There is no euphemism to cover the objectionable phrase, and there is no half-feeling possible as to the religious public of England objecting to have "Missions" and "Slavery" brought into such juxtaposition. It is said, that at Rome you should do as at Rome, and in Madagascar as at Madagascar, and thus male and female Slaves become part of the daily life of a theological student.

I will not stop to argue with those, who would drag the wisest and most tender-hearted of men, St. Paul, into this controversy. The heart of England and of the great American Republic have beaten in unison, and it is a settled rule, that in no state of society, or culture, or political government, is Slavery to be *countenanced* by any one of the great Anglo-Saxon Race. Only this very day have I received a letter from a Missionary Society in the United States, expressing astonishment at the state of things in Madagascar. It

was Slavery, that brought on the terrible civil war in North America, and it would seem as if the French invasion were so timed as to bring matters to an issue. In Tunisia the Bey had a few years before the French Invasion abolished Slavery, following the example of Algeria, and setting the example to Egypt.

How does it happen, that in Madagascar alone of all the Mission Fields in Asia and Africa is it found necessary to countenance Slavery? Surely Bishop Steere, at Zanzibár, found circumstances very analogous, and yet, from the first, he and his colleagues have set their face against it. How do the Missionaries at Masási and Mágila provide themselves with domestics? And how do the students of the Training-College at Zanzibár do without the upstairs room for the Slaves? How do the Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society manage at Mombása, on the East coast, at Sierra Leone, Lagos, and on the Niger, on the West coast, in Regions, where the very air is impregnated with Slavery, where the Mission agents are themselves redeemed Slaves, or the offspring of redeemed Slaves? Among the founders of that Society were Wilberforce and Thornton, and the Committee has steadily opposed any compromise, any departure from the simple rule, that no office-holder must countenance Slavery. It is not the business of a Missionary to start a crusade against Slavery, but he should say, "As to my home and family, we will not be contaminated by Slavery." Great inconvenience is no doubt felt, and life might be made easier by sitting looser to principle, and it is not pretended, that the rule referred to is not sometimes broken. We read of a Negro Pastor in the Yáriba country, for instance, who, to save his dying wife, bought a Slave-girl to act as wet-nurse to his baby, educated her, converted her, set her free, and had her married, and then humbly apologised for having so far broken the rules of the Society in an exceptional case, to the manifest advantage of the Slave. So if one or two Slaves had found their way to the Training-College at Madagascar, been redeemed, and converted, there would be nothing to object to; but in this case there is a permanence given to the institution, and a determined standing up for the practice in a building permanently dedicated to the Church of England.

I read that in the Brazils the manufacturing companies are urged not to employ Slaves, whose wages are paid to the Slave-owner. Are the ordained Ministers of our Church to occupy a lower moral position than a manufacturing company? The Missionary, in my opinion, is the jewel and glory of the Nineteenth Century. He is the honest, unselfish, simple-minded man, who is found in every part of the world, generally in the darkest, as a witness of the Truth, and a living protest against the abominable customs of the heathen. I write this advisedly, for I have lived a quarter of a century in the midst of the heathen, and

have learnt to love the heathen people and conciliate their love; yet I have always recognised their failings, and the blessing conferred on a heathen country by the Missionary, simply because he adopts the highest standard of morality, the highest possible, and most chivalrous standard, which keeps up to the mark the well-intentioned but feeble Christian laymen, and impresses the heathen around. The Pastor from the pulpit denounces Polygamy, divorce, and Slavery, as bad customs; but how can he do so with any consistency, if he returns to a polygamous household to eat a dinner cooked by Slaves? The Madagascar Code of Laws tolerates *all* these customs: why does the Missionary find strength to put his foot down against the two first, and weakly yield to the third, which is, in fact, the cause of the other two? Where there are female Slaves, there will be concubinage, Polygamy, and divorce, the last to an extent frightful to contemplate.

In Madagascar-Slavery there is a peculiar feature, unknown in ancient Rome, unknown in modern America. Not only are the so-called servile and inferior Races made Slaves, but also the ruling Race of the Hova. If anything could be imagined as worse than an Englishman possessing a Negro Slave, it would be his possessing an English one. We may anticipate servile wars, assassination, and a total disruption of Society, if it be true that the number of Slaves exceeds the number of freedmen, and if, as the Missionaries say, the moral force is already waking. A foreign invasion will bring matters to an end, and the Slaves will achieve their freedom in the midst of confusion arising from a subversion of the existing constitution.

The Foreign Office is fully informed of the state of affairs, and of the relation, which British Subjects, the Missionaries, bear to Slavery, within their Churches, their colleges, and their homes. Moreover, the French Government is fully aware also, and, if we object to their unjust and iniquitous invasion of Madagascar, on the ground of their alleged intention of supplying their colonies with Slave-labour, they may fairly retort, that the English Missionary employs Slaves, on the plea of necessity, treats them kindly, and pays them full wages, and the French planter intends to do the same, and give them the opportunity of becoming good Roman Catholics. The Roman Catholic Missionary is always logical and consistent; he goes a step further, and purchases Slave boys and girls, who are kidnapped from their parents, with a view of forming so-called orphanages all over Africa.

Mr. Peill, a Missionary fresh from Madagascar, in a lecture delivered this year at the Society of Arts tells us, that cases of cruel oppression to Slaves are not uncommon; the Slaves are at the mercy of their masters, and have no recognised rights. In 1881, a law was passed, that Slaves may no longer be traded in as merchandise, but if a man wants a Slave for his own, male

or female, he may buy and the master may sell, but the transaction must be between the two parties, and not through Slave-dealers, and must be duly registered. The young child must not be sold away from its Mother, but there is no protection thrown round the young girl of maturer age. In a late number of a *Missionary Journal* a story is told of a girl, who was mistress in a Missionary School, being sold by *her mistress*, possibly a Christian, to an Arab to be his concubine, and who was only saved from this disgraceful career by flight, concealment, and then a large sum collected in England to redeem her. Mrs. Peill, in her letter to *The Anti-Slavery Reporter*, makes the important admission, that Slaves and non-Slaves are often employed together as fellow-servants in a European family, receive the same wages, and are treated in the same way, and we have no doubt a kind way, and with such equality, that the outside observer would not be able to say whether they were Slaves or not. This convincingly shows, that free labour is available, and that the plea of necessity cannot be advanced, and that the scandal may cease at once, if the Missionary so decide. This good lady makes the further admission, that the Slave-owner derives benefit from the educated faculties of his Slave in the Missionary household. It is shocking to think of the lad, who rises to the position of Teacher and Pastor in a Mission paying more and more on each rise in the world to his owner, and, if married to a Christian girl, begetting children to the profit of the same possibly Christian owner, possibly the Native Pastor himself.

The suffering of the African Slave in America or the Mid Passage has ceased; but only those, who have for years read every book relating to Africa, and who have, as it were, Africa on the brain, can realise the abomination of the custom, as it still exists in Africa itself. We may laugh at the account given by the Missionaries of the little children of the better classes in Madagascar going to Church with a little Slave behind them carrying their Bible and hymn-book. The Pastors can have small influence on their flocks, when such marks of pride and caste are tolerated. One Quaker Missionary had the grace vouchsafed to him to denounce the practice of Slavery in an assembly of the different Native Churches in Madagascar, and a *vote of censure was passed upon him by the other Missionaries*. He, however, published his address in England with the Text, "Touch not the unclean thing."

If a vigorous attempt be made, the end is near in Madagascar. Let the Queen only agree to the following rules urged upon her by the English Nonconformist Missionaries, who have striven nobly to mitigate the evil:

I. A Registration of redeemed Slaves.

II. A Fixation of a reasonable price for a Slave, which must be accepted, if tendered.

When the Subject was discussed at a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, a Statesman, who has studied the whole Subject, Sir Bartle Frere, told the meeting, that some day the Missionaries would thank me, who moved the motion, calling attention to this blemish, for it is a sore blemish in a rising Church. Regard the matter from whatever point of view you like, Madagascar is the only Mission of the Church of England in any part of the world, that *countenances* Slavery, and has *Slaves* on its premises, other than those who come for Educational, medical, or spiritual advantages, which the Church of England extends to all, whether bond or free.

The Mission Field, 1883.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS AND SLAVERY.

SIR,—Allusions have been made incidentally in your columns to the question, "Whether it is right and expedient, that a clergyman of the Church of England, engaged as a Missionary for one of the great Church Societies, should encourage Slavery," and the time has come when it ought to be fully discussed. By "encouraging" I mean employing Slave-labour in his household, and allowing students under training for the Native ministry to have Slaves within the buildings of the Mission. I distinguish this from that toleration of a bad custom, which a Missionary with a heavy heart is obliged to tolerate in the heathen, and even among the first generation of Christian converts.

In *The Mission Field* of 1883, pages 580-81, appears the following passage:—"The most important and hopeful step is the "opening of a college to educate Native Catechists and Clergy. The "students are all married; each has a house consisting of sitting-room, bedroom, and kitchen, with an upstairs room for his "Slaves." It has transpired, that all the domestics in the family of the Missionary are Slaves, to whom he pays full wages, a portion of which pass into the hands of the Slave-owner, who has the power to dispose of their services, or to sell them to others at discretion. Chastisement and imprisonment are necessarily implied.

In the highly-esteemed work called "Ten Years' Review of Mission Work in Madagascar, 1880," it appears that—I. Slaves are to be bought and sold in the large weekly market near Antananarivo. II. All the pastors, deacons, and preachers, as well as members of the Churches, are Slave-owners. III. Regulations are issued by the Government respecting the sale of Slaves. We gather, further, from the same authority, and from a pamphlet called "Slavery in Madagascar, by a Member of the Society of

Friends, himself a Missionary, 1876," that the following concessions and advantages have fallen to the lot of the Slave: I. A young child cannot be separated from its parents, but no such protection is thrown round the young girl of fifteen and sixteen. II. There is as yet no plantation-Slavery, because there are no plantations; but, when the right to hold land is conceded to Europeans, this will follow the development of the resources of the country. III. There is always a refuge in the jungle and the mountain for the Slave, if he chooses to run away, and give up all ties with his home for ever, a hard alternative. IV. Formerly Matrimony was rare, and the Slaves were paired off from time to time at the discretion of the Slave-owner; now Matrimony is respected, so long as it suits the owners not to sell off the parents and children in open market to different purchasers.

And yet this is the Institution, which Clergymen of the Church of England not only countenance in the mode described above, but justify, 1, on the example of St. Paul; 2, on the necessity of having servants; 3, on the inconsistency of the English Missionary tolerating an evil in his flock, which he is only called upon to dis-countenance in his home and college: if it is wrong, denounce it entirely; if it is only a question of expediency, let it alone. Madagascar stands alone in Asia and Africa in this particular. As a student of the Subject of Missions I invite any of your readers to point out any Protestant English, German, French, Swiss, Swedish, Norwegian, Finn, or American, Mission in which Slavery is countenanced. Bishop Steere built his cathedral in the Slave-market of Zanzibár, and has no Slaves in his Mission; the Church Missionary Society, both in the East and West of Africa, finds it difficult to prevent its Mission stations from becoming the asylum of fugitive Slaves. In Madagascar alone the clergy of the Church of England, directly or indirectly (it matters not which), employ Slave-labour, and are not ashamed. Dignitaries stand up for this bad old custom, destructive to the dignity of man before God and his fellow-creatures.

The London Missionary Society, which has done so much for Madagascar, confesses its inability to stem the abomination, but we read in the book above quoted: "The principle (of Slavery) is wrong and out of harmony with the teaching of the New Testament. We feel, that it is a blot on the Christianity of the Malagási, and shall be glad to see it removed. Though under present circumstances it may be convenient, yet it must be a hindrance to the true and permanent prosperity of the Nation." The Missionary of the Friends' Society heads his pamphlet, "Touch not the unclean thing." So long as the Christian in Madagascar is favourable to Slavery, Religion cannot prosper. Sir Bartle Frere and Bishop Perry publicly, and Sir John Kirk and Bishop Ryan in private, have expressed the same

opinion as I do, that "the practice should not be countenanced." The Missionary should set the very highest possible example of Morality. How can he denounce in the pulpit practices, which he himself countenances in his home and Theological Colleges?

To the Editor of The Record, January, 1883.

THE STATUS OF SLAVERY IN THE ZANZIBÁR PROTECTORATE.

The attention of the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society was called to a remark made by the Under-Secretary for the Foreign Department on November 30, 1893, as follows: "No steps are being taken for immediate abolition of the status of Slavery in Zanzibár, and recent experience has shown, that an attempt to insist upon the emancipation of domestic Slaves would be attended with great disturbance and bloodshed." These remarks seem to indicate, that the speaker was not aware of the real point at issue.

The territories of the Sultan of Zanzibár are effectually under the protection of the British Government very much as the territories of Native Chiefs in British India. Fifty years ago we had to grapple with the subject of Slavery in British India. The Slave-Trade was made highly penal, but no attempt was made to *abolish* Slavery, either in our own or the protected provinces, for the following reasons: When the Slave-holder is kind and reasonable to his Slaves a sudden rupture of the connection of master and Slave would have caused great trouble and suffering. Old and infirm Slaves would have been turned out into the streets; there would have been the germs of discord in every quiet household, where there were Slaves; the peace of the country would have been disturbed.

What did the Government of India do? In 1843 they passed in Council a law to the following effect:

I. Every right which a man can possess is equally a right, although a man may be reputed to be a Slave.

II. Every wrong, the infliction of which is punishable by law, is equally a wrong, although the sufferer may be reputed to be a Slave.

Thus, if a man illegally imprisoned a Slave, the magistrate would interfere, if called upon, as every man has a right to personal liberty. If a Slave-owner flogged, or ill-treated, or killed a Slave, the magistrate would interfere, as no man has a right to strike or ill-treat or kill another. Under the gentle influence of this law Slavery has disappeared from British India, for when im-

prisonment or flogging are made penal, free labour is found to be more profitable than involuntary servitude.

All those, who have filled magisterial offices in British India thirty years ago can remember the appearance of frightened Slave girls in the court. They presented a petition signed by themselves, under their names of "Rosebud," "Lily," "Tulip-Lips," and the burden of their petition was to "be allowed to go where they liked." The cloths round their waists or on their shoulders were worth a few annas. When asked the name of their parents, they confessed that they never had any, that they had come into existence in the home of some Mahometan or Hindoo noble, the casual offspring of circumstances, and had been made use of by their owners for such uses as he or his sons or his attendants wished; but now they wished to start for themselves, choose a husband, and settle. The magistrates used to endorse on such petitions,

"The Petitioners May Go Where They Like;"

and this order was signed, sealed, and returned to them, and any attempt to recapture or kidnap them by the reputed owners would have been sternly punished under the criminal law, and the police had their eye upon them.

The Government of India was strong, and in full possession of the country: it raised no storm; it issued no proclamation; not a life was lost in the peaceful crusade, that stamped out domestic Slavery among the Millions of India.

It is clear, that a country must be thoroughly in hand, where such a policy is to be carried out; and we maintain, that the little islands of Zanzibár and Pemba, forty miles from the East African coast, are in hand, or could be brought under control by the registration of every Slave, and the stern prohibition of the importation of new ones, for that is Slave-Trade, not Slavery; and no mercy can be given to any one who departs from his native village any man, woman, or child, and conveys them out of the Continent of Africa; this is rank piracy, and the captain of such vessels and the leader of such enterprises should be tried and hung from the yard-arm of the vessel, and the crew imprisoned for terms of years. In British India any one, who conveys a subject of her Majesty out of the Empire for the purpose of sale, is guilty of felony; and as to the importation of negroes into India, they become free on landing. So the experiment is not tried.

The difficulty, which has arisen with regard to the distant station of Witu on the coast of Africa, cannot thus be got over: that Protectorate is *not* in hand. It is of no use passing orders, which cannot be executed, and the British Government has wisely receded from the position occupied in words, but not in deeds, by

the East Equatorial African Company. In another ten years, when affairs have settled down, the same action may be taken there also with efficiency. Those, who are familiar with the strong, yet gentle, firm yet prudent, administration of provinces occupied by barbarous or ignorant populations, know that any attempt to modify ancient social custom must be conducted with caution. The iron hand must be concealed in a velvet glove.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1893.

APPEAL TO THE MEMBERS OF THE YÁRIBA CHURCHES.

Dear Brother in Christ,—We approach you individually in a spirit of Christian love upon a subject, which lies very near our hearts. We claim no authority, but we ask you to suffer the word of exhortation. In all humility we remind you, that to our Nation you owe your freedom from the terrible cruelty of the Slave-Trade, that to the occupation of Lagos by the British Government you owe your independence and your prosperity, and more than all things, to this Society you owe your knowledge of Christ, which surpasses in value all other possessions. If anyone had a claim upon you, it is this Society, which has been, as it were, a Nursing Mother to your Infant Church.

Nor do we blame you for the past; if you have erred, it is in ignorance, and from the proneness to particular errors, to which your Nation is exposed, and from which our Nation has, by God's special grace, always been exempt. We allude to Slavery and Polygamy.

The first principle of our common Religions, of yours and of ours, is the Brotherhood of Mankind, and their descent from one Man and one Woman, both created in the image of God. Can it be right therefore to hold your brother of the same Race, colour, and Language, in bondage, to sell and buy him like the beasts that have no soul, and perish, to abuse your powers by ill-usage of the men, and unlawful intercourse with the women? In the day of Judgment what answer will you have to give, for you were indeed your brother's keeper? Can you be said in any way to have known Christ, when you do such things? Can you kneel at the Lord's table, when you have such grievous sins unrepented of, and unabandoned?

In the spirit of love we exhort thee, as dear and beloved brother:

I. Never to sell or buy a Slave.

II. If your circumstances permit you, at once set free your Slaves. Do it for the love of the Lord, who bought you, and He will repay you. For your sakes He assumed the form of

a servant, and died for you. He set you free from the bondage of sin.

III. If your circumstances are such, that you are unable to do so, treat your Slave as a brother; lift not your hand against him; use no threatenings; respect the chastity of your female Slaves, and be to them as a father, and the Lord will reward you according to the measure of your good will.

IV. Let all children born of your Slaves be free: remember, that children are an heritage of the Lord: it is He that fashioned and formed them in the womb, and gave them the blessing of life in this world, and hope of eternal life in the next! Can you as Christians withhold from these little ones the blessing of liberty? Let the thought of your own children soften your heart!

In this year of Jubilee let thy bondsmen be set free, for remember, that it was the Lord thy God who through the agency of the British Nation brought you and your family and your Nation out of the house of bondage. Take heed, lest you abuse the kindness of the Lord, and worse things come upon you.

The second principle of the new Christian life, which is, indeed, equal to the first, is the equality of woman to man, the sharer of the same covenant, the inheritor of the same blessings, subject to the same infirmities, and through the blood of Christ, who died for all, the humble claimant for the same Salvation. And can a Christian man, who has indeed accepted Christ, and understood his precious promises, convert women, who were created to be the companion and the adviser, and the sustainer of man, into a mere object for debased sensual passions? We have the words of our Blessed Lord—"Male and female created He them." It was of a woman, without the agency of Man, that our Lord himself was born, being conceived by the Holy Spirit. Women were his holy companions in his earthly Pilgrimage, the last at the Cross and the first at the Sepulchre. No Nation has ever risen to power and greatness, where women have been undervalued. Over the great Kingdom, which protects your Nation, there reigns in the love of her Subjects a woman.

We beseech you, brother, in the name of the Lord, who bought you, be content with one wife, and free yourself from the deadly sin of Polygamy in whatever form it appears among you. We only ask you to do what we do ourselves.

VIL

LETTERS CONNECTED WITH MISSIONARY MAP
OF AFRICA.

(1)

IN continuation of my late Work on the Modern Languages of Africa, I have under preparation a detailed statement of all the Christian Missions now labouring in Africa, accompanied by a Mission-Map upon a large scale. It will be compiled in a Catholic Spirit of sincere love to all earnest Christian Work. A copy will be supplied gratis to every Missionary Society labouring in Africa.

I have already accumulated a large amount of materials, and I have access to all the Missionary Societies within the British Isles; but I wish, that the labours of your Society should be adequately represented in this general survey of Missionary Work.

Will you, therefore, at your *earliest* convenience, furnish me with the following:

(a) A copy of your last General Report, with all your Missionary Statistics.

(b) A copy of one issue of all your Periodicals, if possible the latest.

(c) The address of your Head-Quarters.

(d) A Map of your Mission-Field and Stations. If you have no lithographed copy, can you lend me a rough pen sketch for the use of my Cartographer? it shall be returned.

(e) A list of your Mission-Station, distinguishing those occupied by European or American Missionaries.

(f) A list of the African Languages used in your operations, and of the tribes which come under your influence.

1883.

(2)

I beg to forward to you a copy of my new Map of Africa, prepared to indicate the portions of that Continent occupied by Missionaries, whether of the Protestant Churches, or of the Church of Rome.

No attempt has been made to indicate *all* the Stations occupied by Native or Foreign Missionaries, as the object is to record the Agencies, which are at work in a particular locality rather than the details of the Work that is being done. In my Book, "*Africa Rediviva*," the names of the Associations and the Chief Stations are tabulated, and some practical remarks are made.

"Still there is room": this must be the feeling of any lover of Christian Missions, who examines this Map. It is to be regretted, that by a strange attraction rival Agencies are drawn to the same field, which leads to present and future complications, while at the same time, large fields are left unoccupied.

No doubt errors of omission and insertion in this Map will be discovered by those, who are accurately informed with regard to one particular portion of the Continent, and in a few years the inevitable changes in Human affairs will require a careful revision of the whole Map.

The Managers of Missionary Societies at home will now be able to consider the policy of further extensions of existing Missions, or the commencement of new ones; it is not wise nor Christian-like to cause confusion by intruding into a Region already occupied, whether the intruders are Protestant or Romanist; those, who have the *real* interests of the African Race, will not do so: if we look into the future with the eye of experience, gathered from the perusal of Asiatic History, of one thing we may be sure, that the African Christian Communities of the next century will choose their own form of Christianity, and their own denomination of Churches, without any consideration for the views of those who converted their parents to Christianity. It will be fortunate, if the Mormon, and Agnostic, and Theosophist, or even a purified Mahometanism, may not sweep away, as in Asia, Christian Churches, weakened by intestine quarrels of rival Christians, who place the claim of their Association or Church above the sole object, which ought to occupy their thoughts, the desire to bring Souls to Christ.

1891.

VIII.

REFLECTIONS ON THE RELATIONS BETWEEN THE CIVILIZED WHITE CHRISTIAN AND THE BARBARIAN BLACK AFRICAN.

WE must go back to the Bible for our principles and our conduct. In the Old Testament many things done by the Hebrews pain us: we do not judge them; they lived in the early centuries of the world; they were essentially a barbarous tribe, very ignorant of things Human and Divine, always starting away into Heathen practices, ignorant of the existence of Races beyond their immediate neighbourhood. Moreover, the fulness of time had not come; Christ was not made manifest to man. If we lay due stress on the Incarnation, Crucifixion, and Resurrection of our Lord, we shall feel, that old things had passed away, and that a new Epoch was opened.

Christ died for all mankind; we humbly believe, that the reflex shadow of His cross fell not only on the seed of Abraham, who had seen his day afar off and was glad, but on the Egyptian, the Greek, the Roman, the Babylonian, the Assyrian, the Zoroastrian, the Brahman, the Buddhist, the Confucianist. These forms of belief were feelings after God, if haply they could find him; they were messages, contributions, partial developments of the great Truth, which was made known. I quote the well-known anagram: Pilate asked, "Quid est veritas?" These letters make up "Virest, qui adest."

What is that Truth? Pity, Love, Self-Sacrifice, Pardon, Peace, absence of low motives, equality of all the Races of mankind, whether white or black, bond or free; barbarous or civilized: weak or strong; ignorant or wise; God was father of all His poor children. The Lord has greatly blessed the Anglo-Saxon Race: in wisdom we far exceed Solomon; in wealth nothing before has equalled us; in power we far exceed any of the great monarchies described by Daniel; we have found out secrets of the world

unknown to the Egyptians; we have as Subjects Races far superior to us in number, who were civilized when we were savages. It is well to have a giant's strength, but not to use it as a giant. This is the secret of our successful rule in British India :

"The iron hand in the velvet glove."

The soft word, the wise counsel, the sympathetic advice: no bullying, no threatening, no flogging, no shooting, but a recognition that the Barbarian Races are all men, of the same blood with us, for whom Christ also died. They must be told clearly that what was the practice previously can no longer be allowed, that the old things have passed away; if they will accept the new order of things, there will be an increase of wealth and comfort, of law and justice. I once wrote a proclamation to a rebellious District in the year 1848, in Northern India: "If you will excite rebellion, as I live I will severely punish you; I have ruled you three years with the pen, and if necessary I will rule you with the sword; God forbid that matters should come to that."

And they did not come. At each halting-place the landholders flocked in and flew to the pen with enthusiasm. No sword was drawn; men are the same all over the world. Firmness, kindness, exhibition of material strength, and yet words of sympathy from the ruler ought to have the same effect in Africa as in Asia; if they do not, we shall know who are to blame.

Nyasa News, August, 1894.

IX.

LETTERS CONNECTED WITH THE UNJUST
TREATMENT OF THE AFRICAN BY THE
ANGLICAN CHURCH.

63, *Elm Park Gardens, S.W.*,
London, June 26, 1891.

Very dear Friend and Brother,

Until the Committee of the Church Missionary Society had finally decided on the Niger-questions, and recorded its decisions, I, as a Member of the Committee, was necessarily silent; I wrote to you last year in anticipation of events prejudicial to your interests, exhorting you to be patient, such being the wisest policy, as well as your paramount duty; a copy of this letter was forwarded to the African Department of the Committee: I did not write to you again, but I have not forgotten you: your letters to my address have been carefully read, and placed under the eyes of several friends.

Now that the decision is past, and I find, that there is no longer a place for you in the service of the Society, for which you have laboured so long, and so faithfully, I hasten to express to you my sympathy, regret, and assurance, that you have not fallen in my estimation, as a Christian man, and that I still desire to retain your friendship, to be your correspondent, and am interested in your future welfare. I shall always speak up for you, as an honest and able man, and a good Christian Missionary: as to purity of life I am not one, who condescends to spy out the private life of my acquaintances; as to spirituality I am not one who pretends to possess the power of discerning spirits, as so many do now-a-days: I believe you to be a pure and spiritual man in the full sense of these words.

Permit me to clear up your mind on certain points: you have no *legal* claim to be retained in the service of the Society beyond their pleasure; you have no *moral* claim to be retained at Lokója,

when for reasons, which I shall notice further on, it was determined to enter upon a new method of Evangelization in the Sudán and Upper Niger. I am totally opposed to this new method, and do not anticipate, that the hopes of the Committee will be realized, yet at the same time I admit, and must ask you to admit, that the Committee had an absolute *moral* and *legal* right to close the Mission altogether, and after reasonable notice to stop payment of your stipend, or to make any other changes that seemed expedient in the management of the Mission.

Whatever may have been the generally received opinion at Lagos, or on the Niger, I can assure you, that the Committee of the Church Missionary Society knew no difference between black and white, Englishman and African, and that in discharge of their duties they are entirely free from racial prejudice, or partiality. The questions before them were :

- (1) The wisdom of the new method proposed.
- (2) The suitability of their agents to carry out this method.

Now you must admit, that, if the new method were adopted, you at your time of life. and with your antecedents, were *not* suitable, nor were you likely to give it a chance of success. I repeat, that I am totally opposed to the new method, having made Missionary methods my peculiar study in every part of the world, but this method was in spite of the opposition offered by those, who thought with me, adopted by a majority, and after full discussion, and I cannot doubt, that the legitimate consequence of that vote was your removal from Lokója. It is unfortunate, that no other sphere of employment can be found for you : I have carefully gone over every possible post, suitable to your gifts and experience, but have found none : there remains no alternative but disconnection : this is the fate of many Servants of the State, whose services are dispensed with, because they are no longer wanted.

I admit that your treatment by those, who relieved you of your duties, might have been more sympathetic and kind. Some incidents, which have transpired, have given pain to your friends. You are a man of the world, and have lived long enough to know, that directly anyone in office, whether secular or ecclesiastical, is relieved of his duties, there are mean persons, who delight to carry to the ears of his successors lies about his private character, if they think, that they will prove acceptable. I have not had a quarter of a century's experience of India without knowing that, and high-minded Officials refuse to listen to slander, or inuendos, against their predecessors : but all men are not high-minded. Your proper and dignified reply is the stainless publicity of your past life, the good record of more than twenty years, and the high estimation, in which you are held by friends in England.

If you refer to St. Paul's Epistle to the Corinthians II, vi, 8, you will see, that even in the early days of the Church the Ministers of the Gospel were not free from the chastisement of "evil report": how can we expect to be? And our Lord Himself tells us (Matthew v, 11, 12) to rejoice, when men shall revile you, and say all manner of evil against you *falsely*: and it is my deliberate opinion, that what was said against you was false: let me implore you not to be tempted to revile again, when reviled. Read Psalm xxxv, 10-28, and pray for those, who have despitely used you, but believe my word, when I say that the Committee *has not done so*.

Calmly wait, and see what the Lord will have you to do. I am an older man than you, and have seen many balls roll round: if during the interval of your temporary depression you set a watch over your lips, and behave yourself as a Christian, you may by God's grace be again placed in a position to serve Him, and remember, that your past services have been rendered to Him, and not to man: the Committee has merely been the poor Human machine, by which you were set forth to serve the Lord. Like Job you are on your trial. The real genuine metal of a man is tried not by good, but by bad fortune: if this be true of the worldly man, how much more of the spiritual man? Lay yourself down on your cross, and, following the blessed example of your Master, bear your present abasement without a murmur: you have often preached the Gospel of humility: now try and practise it. In my middle life I went through heavy affliction, but the Lord never deserted me.

Above all things do not lend yourself to any indignation-meetings against the dear Church Missionary Society, the still dearer Church of England, or the white man generally. You know the character of your countrymen, and have often visited Europe. The African Race never has stood, and never can stand alone, and has no chance in life's struggle except under the protection of an European Government; where will you find one more sympathetic than the British Nation? I habitually stand up for the Asiatic and the African against my countrymen, and am very indulgent to their weaknesses, and do not expect to find in the early generations of Neo-Christians, the Christian graces, which few Europeans even after centuries of Christian influence attain, and which were sadly wanting in the Early European Churches described by St. Paul. This must be the excuse, not the justification, of the lax lives of African Christians on the Niger. Here is the great error, into which young men fall, when they first come face to face with Races not blessed by long centuries of Christianity: they expect to find angels, and, when they find only weak erring men, very much like themselves, they allow themselves to make use of terms of unjustifiable condemnation of whole Races, because individuals have

not attained the high standard in an African environment, which they themselves, to judge by the spirit and tone of their letters, have not attained in spite of early and hereditary Christian training.

Perhaps, dear friend, before this calamity fell upon you, you were too much puffed up, and were inclined to take life too easily; perhaps you did not give your whole soul to the conversion of your brethren: I do not say so; but if you commune with yourself, your conscience may accuse you: it must be admitted, that the state of the Upper Niger-Mission left much to be desired: it was not what we had hoped to find it: for the last ten years evil reports had reached the Committee from several distinct quarters: a time had come for emptying from vessel to vessel, and stirring up those, who were settling down on their lees. Now do not lose heart; do not be angry with God, because you think, that man has injured you. Why was the branch that beareth fruit, purged? In order that it might bear more fruit. Trust in the Lord always!

Believe me ever your loving friend, and brother in the Lord,

ROBERT N. CUST.

P.S.—You are at liberty to make any use of this letter which you please, but in its entirety, not of extracts or portions.

To the Venerable Archdeacon Henry Johnson, Lagos, West Africa.

July 25, 1891.

Dear Mr. Secretary,

I received your letter of the 9th ultimo at a time, when I was so fully occupied with the preparation of my Communication to the International Congress of Geography on the subject of the "Missionary occupation of Africa," which I have to present on the 8th instant in the English and French Languages at Berne, in Switzerland, that I was unable to attend fully to it. My last proofs are now in the hands of my printers at Hertford, and Geneva, so I can attend to your letter before leaving England.

I lost no time, however, in informing you, that I should not be in committee till October 1st, and in authorising a telegram to be sent to Lagos, begging, that my letter to Archdeacon Johnson be deemed "Private."

Africa and the Africans are very dear to me, and loyal fidelity to friends, whether English or Negro, is the law of my life. Besides this I am not a fair-weather friend, or even acquaintance: when I see a Missionary, or a friend interested in Missions, fall into trouble, I stand by him, lend him a helping hand, give him money and advice, and by timely support prevent the poor fellow from falling lower. Thus in times past I stood by the Rev. T. P. H——, the Rev. Mr. H ——, and Mr. L——. I knew that they

were guilty of the charges of gross immorality brought against them, but it seemed to me Christ-like to stand by them, and soften their fall, and point out a possible mode of recovery and future usefulness: if I mistake not, you were with me in those transactions, and shared my feelings of sympathy with the fallen, and the erring ones.

But Archdeacon Johnson has fallen, is discredited, after thirty-two years' service, is kicked out of the service of this Society, because owing to a new turn of the wheel of the committee's policy, a sentimental and Salvation-Army turn, his services are no longer required. In my letter I pointed out to him, that the committee was within its right legally and morally in dispensing with his services: but, when his successors, young enough to be his sons, and with one exception totally inexperienced, set themselves to work to malign their predecessor, to tell the Mahometan gentry, that they need no longer fear for the virtue of the females of their families; when they wrote, that the bad women of the place displayed in some way an interest in their predecessor, I felt that there was occasion to speak. Any young men, who had spoken of their predecessors in this way in the Civil Department in India, would have been called to account by the Governor, whether the maligned Official was black or white in the colour of his skin: it is true, that the committee sealed up the papers, and took no notice of the charges, and *since the despatch of my letter* the maker of these charges has gone to his great account, to answer for his breach of the Ninth Commandment. Still the local papers of West Africa had heard of them: they were the subjects of conversations on the River: the Archdeacon, an ordained Minister of the Church of England, who had occupied many pulpits in England, and may do so again, was an unjustly dishonoured and ruined man: had he been an Englishman, he would have come home, rallied his friends, and demanded an investigation: but he was only a Negro, son of a redeemed Slave, and so he had to submit. I bowed to the decision of the committee, though contrary to my views, as to his removal to make room for the adventurers, who wished to try their prentice-hands. The Archdeacon might have been allowed to retire to Lagos in peace, but this was not enough for his successors: they must not only uproot, but destroy. My letter was in the interests of the committee, to soothe, conciliate, and by assuring him, that *all* his friends in Salisbury Square had not deserted him, to bring back hope for the future, and, what to me was more important, to prevent him losing the balance of his judgment, and taking some steps, which would be discreditable to himself, and injurious to the cause of the Protestant Religion in West Africa.

Nor was I the only member of the committee who wrote to him. When the trouble commenced early in 1890 I wrote to him, implor-

ing him to be patient, and sent a copy to the African Department. His case was cruelly allowed to stand over for a year and a half. In January, 1891, I drafted another letter, and sent it to Mr. Lang, who in his reply of February 2nd, regretted, that I had shown it to him, and disapproved of it. I waited till July, 1891, when the case was at last decided, drafted a fresh letter, and forwarded a copy to the African Department, taking care that the letter of the committee, disconnecting him, had a week's start. I was unaware then, that the Missionary, whom Archdeacon Johnson in his letters to England considered to be his bitter, personal antagonist, was dead.

Is it so strange a thing, that members of the committee should write to one of their old Missionaries, and comment on the affairs of the Mission? Are not the secretaries doing so constantly? Did not the late Mr. Mackay receive a letter from the editorial secretary reflecting on the spiritual characters of his colleagues, which was opened and read by them to their great chagrin after his lamented death? Have not members of the committee sons, brothers, and friends, in the field, to whom they write unreservedly? Have none of the secretaries, or committee, written letters to the new Missionaries on the Niger, reflecting on Archdeacon Johnson? It would be a strange rule to do to the party *in power* temporarily what is forbidden to the party *out of power*; and what is "power"? I remember ten years ago Mr. Edward Hutchinson ruling the committee with a rod of iron, and suddenly he was gone. Those, who carry everything now, as they wish it, should look a little forward. I remember ten years back having a feeling of despair as to the mode of doing business in the committee: and suddenly there was a change. Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. H. Wright disappeared, and a new Epoch of Reform was entered upon. It would be wise for those in power now to reflect on these things.

And let me place my position as regards Archdeacon Johnson more clearly by an illustration. Supposing that there should be another turn of the wheel in the sensational Salvation-Army direction, and the Editorial Secretary be suspended, and his duties taken over by a party of inexperienced young men and women, led by a captain of the Salvation-Army, for the ostensible purpose of increasing the spirituality of the British people. I should oppose this measure with all my strength, but submit, if outvoted in committee. But if these new adventurers, having got possession of the periodicals of the Society, should attack the official and moral character of their predecessor, and begin to throw dirt, as the young people on the Niger have commenced, and exhibit an animosity against individuals, or any particular Section of the Religious Community, I should speak out, and stand by the ex-editorial secretary, as I do by Archdeacon Johnson. It is part of my nature, and I cannot help it. I must have fair play, and the Archdeacon has not had fair play. Had the Missionaries at Lokója at the time

of the change of policy been such men as Archdeacon Hamilton, or Archdeacon Maples of the Universities Mission, they would not have been so patient under the ill-treatment of young clergy and laymen as Archdeacon Johnson, being only an African Negro, has been obliged to be.

The character of the Society and committee will suffer, if the mode, in which the Negro-Clergy of the Niger, the Bishop, the two Archdeacons, and the Pastors, have been treated, transpires, and, unless the character of Mr. Blyden, who is at Lagos, has changed, it will transpire. How different has been the treatment of the South Indian Clergy at the experienced and sympathetic hands of Mr. John Barton, and yet, when I read the full reports from South India and the Niger, I mark the same sad features of want of spirituality in the nascent Christianities of both Regions. St. Paul had the same experiences at Corinth. I am a careful studier of Comparative Evangelization in different countries, and mark the same weaknesses, and yet the same grounds of hope, in the whole Human Race, if only sympathy be shown, and that great curse of all administrations be kept off, the clean sweeper of previously existing Officials, the maligner of the former administrator, the presumptuous egoist, and the young, rash, inexperienced, sensational, self-confident, adventurer. I recommend to consideration the following order of the Viceroy of India issued with reference to the late Manipúr affair. There seems to be a lively interest in our present agents, who have served the Society a few months. My interest is in a servant, who has served us thirty-two years: "The Government of India recognise no obligation more readily than that of watching with jealous care over the interests of its servants while they were alive, and seeing that no unjust aspersions were cast on their reputations, when they were no longer able to defend themselves."

Your proposition to me resembles that of the "bow-string" of the Turk, or the "happy despatch" of the Chinese: it appears, that the Secretaries have collected a caucus of members, and wish to proceed to ostracism of a fellow-labourer, who is too outspoken! Is this constitutional? Would it not be possible, that the same weapon might suddenly be used against yourself, or General Touch, or the Editorial Secretary, who has made the official publications of the Society the party-organ of the new policy favoured by himself? Our constitution is democratical: appointments are made for the current year: *I cannot consent to form a precedent.* To me individually it would be a small matter to be ostracized: my social position, my established reputation, my independent circumstances, and the well-known independence of my character in India as well as in England, enable me to treat the subject quite impartially. It would be a clear gain to me to have so many hours each week added to the short period of work available to

me for more congenial subjects. The Committee of the Church Missionary Society has about twenty fields. I differ at this moment from the majority in one, and it is proposed to get rid of me: this would be a bad precedent, and might be the ruin of a weaker brother, who had not so many experiences, opportunities, employments, and (may I say) gifts, as I have. I am daily in the Missionary Committee-Room, the Scientific Council Room, the Political Conference, the Felon's Prison, the Pauper Workhouse, the Sick Hospital, and the Work-room of poor Sempstresses: it is all done for the Lord's sake, and the total weight presses heavily on seventy years, in addition to a vast correspondence in four or five Languages, and two or three volumes published every year. A little relief would be acceptable: I seek for guidance how that relief is to be found: if I propose to strike off one duty, I am sure to be remonstrated with "Not this! Not this!" At last I have found a committee, where I am not wanted, or rather where my absence is solicited: but recollect that under such circumstances it cannot be partial but must be total; there will be one figure less in the Committee-Room, one voice less on the platform, one name less on the list of Members: I am content to be exalted, as I have been this year, by being against my will placed on the Provincial Board of Missions by the Primate, and set apart without solicitation as a Missionary Diocesan Reader by the Bishop of London: I am content to be abased, by being ostracized out of my own Society, because I am too outspoken, and see events clearer than some other members of the committee, whose eyes are darkened by prejudice, or blinded by sensational pretences. And remember, that my sudden disappearance may attract attention, and comment, and the only answer will be the publication of this letter, and of my letter to Archdeacon Johnson.

Let me show you a more acceptable way. Next year, 1892, is the Jubilee year of my connection with the Society: it has been the joy of my Indian life, since Bishop Daniel Wilson taught me my first lesson, and an unfailing subject of interest in England. I am deeply indebted to Salisbury Square: "*Solve Senescentem.*" I do not wish to come to the Committee-Room as a doddering old man, helped in and out: let me leave you in the plenitude of my powers; let my name disappear from the list of the committee next May, and my seat be vacant in Exeter Hall. My object of life has been to be useful, and I have eighteen strings to my bow; I always shall maintain, that the unpaid member of a committee like yourself and myself, and so many others, who give gratuitous service to the Society, differ totally from the paid Secretaries, and are bound by no office-rules. My being set free will have this consequence, that I shall be able with still greater freedom to vindicate the cause of the Natives

of Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, and power to make use of my accumulated knowledge. You may fill up your committee with men of good will but entire ignorance, irregular attendants, amiable and docile dummies to cry "Ditto" to a sensational Secretary: but will the Society gain? Zeal, and ability, are generally accompanied by idiosyncrasies of character. The wise administrator accepts the latter for the sake of the former.

In October next, I shall appear in the place, to which I am constitutionally appointed, and not vacate it unless by a decision of the General Committee, which will entail my absolute and entire withdrawal from connection with the Society.

July 25, 1891.

63, Elm Park Gardens, S.W.

March 23, 1892.

Dear Friend and Secretary,

I listened with pleasure to the weighty words, with which you closed our discussion yesterday on the Subject of the Niger-Bishopric. The discussion had lasted two hours and a half, and had elicited many wise and kindly words from at least twelve speakers, all competent to give an opinion, some, like our two brethren just returned from Africa, most peculiarly fitted to do so: I expressed no opinion: my reason was that, as Chairman of the Sub-Committee, my turn came last, and after so long a debate, closing with your most impressive address, I felt it unwise to prolong the discussion, which was accordingly adjourned till some day next week.

To all students of Church-History, and careful surveyors of the position of Christ's Church in the world at this moment, the question at issue appears most grave, and a wrong decision would be pregnant of lamentable consequences. I am a European, and an Englishman, but my Cosmopolitan knowledge compels me to lay down as an axiom, that in the Church of Christ, there is no difference between Jew or Greek, between black man or white man, and that it is a mistake to argue on the foregone conclusion, that an Englishman, selected by chance out of an English curacy, is fit to be a Bishop, while the black man on the spot, ordained and pointed out by circumstances for the duty, is unfit. Such is the weakness of man, that, if the Negro were in power, he would exclude every white man from office. Let us try to be taller than the majority of our fellows, and look over the heads of such prejudices, and throw our thoughts forward to the closing years of the next century, and consider what would conduce most to the well-being, and continuity, of the Church of Christ on the Niger.

My studies of the Church of Christ in past centuries, and contemplation of its development in this century in every part of the world, has led me to the firm conviction, that Episcopacy in some form or other is the certain form of Church-organization in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania. We know that the only Churches, which have survived from the past, are Episcopal. Nations in a low state of culture, and with no settled Constitutions or fitness for self-Government, must be ruled both in things Secular and Spiritual, and an Episcopus, or chief Shepherd, or Spiritual Overseer, is a thing indispensable. Time will show whether non-Episcopal Churches will survive the strain; the Wesleyans are already passing into Episcopacy.

But Episcopacy to be enduring must be indigenous: to send a succession of strangers in colour, blood, culture, and Language to rule over a Native Church is a thing indefensible in theory, and intolerable in practice: what does History tell us? All the fallen Churches of Asia, and Africa, viz., the Greek, Armenian, Georgian, Syrian, Nestorian, the Church in South India, the Abyssinian and Coptic in Egypt, are Episcopal; they are not very spiritual, because they have been oppressed by their Mahometan Rulers, but they have survived the struggle of centuries: their candlestick is still lighted: they have in them still the germs of life. England received the Gospel from Rome: but how long did it tolerate Italian Bishops? The very existence of a real Church depends on the Clergy from the highest to the lowest being indigenous.

The Church of Rome has ever to the best of its power restricted the Episcopacy to Europeans or Europeanized Asiatics, but it is so far wiser than the Protestant Churches, that it selects tried Missionaries, trained to the work, celibates, men who have no intention of coming home on furlough or on pension, but intend to die amidst their people: it is true that in India that ideal has been realised in the case of the late Bishops Sargent, and Caldwell; but in Equatorial Africa it is not possible: the European Bishop of the Protestant Churches has to come home every second or third year, and often puts off his return too late, and dies. He is selected at haphazard from the younger Clergy with no knowledge of the work, the Language, or the people: he cannot even communicate with his Native Clergy, unless they have learnt his Language: he is not in sympathy with the aspirations, and feelings of the Africans: the Negro is as proud of his Race as the Englishman is of his: what we call African prejudice and weakness, they call African Nationality, and they are right.

What has happened to the Church of Rome with their European Episcopacy? In South America, West Africa, India, China, we read the same story: as soon as the supply of Episcopal personages from political reasons failed, the Church collapsed, and the nominal

Christians returned to Heathendom. The English Nation must anticipate a time, when their hand will be shortened, and their power pass away ; but, if the Churches planted by the Church of England are provided with Native Pastors and Bishops, they will by the grace of God last for ever : if it depends on a chance English Curate to be Bishop, who will stay a few years and then die, or disappear, the Church will soon fall to the ground.

My opinion is therefore given without hesitation in favour of a Native Episcopacy on the Niger, *and at once*. We have made the trial in dear Bishop Crowther, and that trial has not been a failure.

The suggestion of a Native Suffragan under a European Bishop, who dwells in another Province, will not meet the requirements, which I have laid down. It goes without saying, that the Bishop must elect his own Suffragan, and, as the life and health of a white Bishop in West Africa only lasts a few years, the new Bishop may not please to continue in office the Suffragan of his predecessor, or not continue in sympathy with him : if the Bishop is for long periods absent, the Suffragan will practically be Master of the position : he will have the power without the Status or responsibility : if the Bishop interferes by letters in all details, there will be friction : but what I lay stress on is, that the continuity of the Church depends upon the Bishop being elected by his countrymen, by the Church itself, if it be free from Secular bondage, or at least by its National Sovereign. The suggestion of a black Suffragan under a white alien Bishop will not satisfy the aspirations of the Negro Race in West Africa, imbued, as they are, with ideas of liberty brought over the Atlantic from the free Negro in the United States.

Can it be said, that there are no Negro ordained Pastors available ? There are three Native Pastors fit for the office from age, character, capacity, and spirituality :

1. Hon. and Rev. James Johnson, of Lagos.
2. Very Rev. Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, of the Niger.
3. Very Rev. Archdeacon Henry Johnson, late of the Niger.

It would be ridiculous to say, that either of these men were perfect. We cannot say so much of the English Bishops. They are all above fifty years of age. I am the friend and correspondent of all. If their letters fell into the hands of anyone, who did not know them, he would not find in their writing, or style, or expression, anything that differed from an ordinary English clergyman. The character of all is above such suspicion ; of the three I place James Johnson first. He is a member of the Council of the Government of Lagos, a man of power, and eloquence, and can hold his own. It is said, that he is too much a friend of Dr. Blyden, the American champion of the Negro Race, but I have

yet to learn, that he has imbibed anything contrary to Christian morals from his friend, or even that his friend, whose published Works I have read with admiration, entertains such views himself. At any rate, that might be enquired into. We have the fact stated, that Archdeacon Crowther would co-operate willingly with James Johnson as Bishop, and this is very important. The appointment would be popular, and it must be understood, that the salary must be provided in part or entirely by the Christian community. It is an absurdity for a community to claim independence, and at the same time refrain from supporting its own ministers. If the Church Missionary Society supplies any portion of the stipend of the Bishop, it should be on the ground, that he is a Missionary Bishop as well, superintending the work of Evangelists to the non-Christian population.

A purely Missionary Bishop such as the Bishop in Eastern Equatorial Africa should of course be an Englishman, until the time comes, that a Christianity is formed, and Native Pastors are appointed, supported by their flocks. We are doing an irremediable injury to the Christian Churches of the future, if we do not place upon the neo-Christian congregations the duty of supporting their Pastors, and if we, following the example of the Church of Rome, seek to exert a control over distant Native Churches. It is obvious, that the Romish Priest cares much more for the interests of his Church than the Salvation of the Souls of his flock. We should take care, that we do not fall into the same error, and the time has now come for us to show to the Native Church on the Niger, that we place their spiritual interests and national prejudices above all other considerations.

March 23, 1892.

Dear and Reverend Brother,

You will have heard, that the committee of the Church Missionary Society has determined to recommend an Englishman, as Bishop on the Niger, in succession to our lamented friend Bishop Samuel Crowther.

Several true friends of Africa and the African, disagree in this decision, and the Archbishop of Canterbury has been urged by them to consider the matter well before his Grace decides.

It is right, that I should inform you, that I have withdrawn from the committee of the Church Missionary Society, and one of the chief reasons for doing so was to mark my sense of the cruel conduct of a majority of that committee to the Africans on the Niger, and to set my hands free to do all that I can to help you.

Remember that now or never is your chance of resisting, as a Church, the tyranny of another, and an alien, Church.

Bishop Crowther during his long Episcopacy has shown to the world, that an African is fit for the office of a Bishop. Archdeacon Crowther, and Archdeacon Johnson, have won the respect and love of all, who know them. You, and your brother pastors at Lagos, Sierra Leone, and on the Niger, have our warmest sympathy, and you have many friends in England.

I enclose cuttings from the two Evangelical Newspapers, *The Rock*, and *The Record*.

My advice to you is to summon a meeting of all the members of the Episcopal Churches, lay, and ordained, and seriously consider the subject. There is no earthly power, that can compel the Delta-Pastorates to accept a Bishop imposed upon them against their will: on the other hand, if you insist on having a Bishop of your own choice contrary to the opinion of the Church Missionary Society, you must provide the stipend of your Bishop, and Pastors. It is a very serious crisis. An English Bishop would not be able to stay two years on the Niger, would not know the Language, customs, or feeling of the people: he might be a person, like the late Mr. Brooke and Mr. Robinson, who were truly excellent men in England, but who were not suited for the African Mission: but his stipend would be supplied from London: if you insist on an African Bishop, you must provide his stipend.

The committee profess a readiness to appoint an African Bishop at some future time: but five years hence, ten years hence, the same thing will be said: "The African is not fit for the post of Bishop": but surely Bishop Crowther and Bishop Fergusson were quite fit. The Editor of *The Church Missionary Intelligencer*, in the Part for June, 1892, publishes, no doubt with approbation, a letter which I enclose showing, that Native Churches must wait as long for a Native Bishop as the Israelites waited for Christ; in fact, that the English Bishop is the pedagogue to bring the African to Christ. This shows that, unless you remonstrate now, it will be too late to do so ten years hence.

It would be well to address to His Grace the Archbishop a humble petition, and you could refer His Grace to some of us, who will stand by you in all things lawful.

But you must be staunch and loyal to the Church of England: any approach to our dear friends the Nonconformist Protestant Churches, or to our deadly enemy, the Church of Rome, must be avoided. And you must say and write no hard words against the Church Missionary Society, your Mother in the Lord. I am totally opposed to the policy of the Committee in sending out Mr. Brooke and Mr. Robinson, two years ago, in dismissing their faithful servant Archdeacon Henry Johnson without any fault, in embittering the last year of Bishop Crowther's honoured life, in sending out Agents, who grossly insulted good Archdeacon Dandeson Crowther, and swept the River of African Pastors: the committee

acted within its competence legally and morally, and it is no part of your business to question their authority, however much you may regret what has happened. If a tornado swept over the Island of Lagos, you must not question the power or wisdom of the great God, who rules the storm.

If you are prepared to make sacrifices for the purpose of obtaining an independent African Church, you will, in the long run, obtain it.

I have always been the friend, and supporter of Native Races in Asia and Africa, against the oppression of my countrymen, and shall remain so to the end.

The Hon. and Rev. James Johnson, Lagos, West Africa.

May 27, 1892.

Dear Friend and Brother,

I take up my pen to write to you on the subject of the death of Bishop Hill. You know how opposed I was to the consecration of a white man to an African Native Diocese, yet none the less I mourn for the death of a good and devoted man, who has died in the service of his Master. You may recollect, how I impressed upon my African friends never to allow themselves to utter, or write, one word against Mr. Brooke, or Mr. Robinson: they were dead: the grave had closed upon them. But good Bishop Hill has been called away before he had placed his hand to the plough. I never met him, but I hear all good of him. In one of my letters to my African friends I urged upon them patience, and the great fact, that no white man can live two years in the Niger-Basin, if so long: so in the end your cause must triumph.

I feel sure, that His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury is full of love and sympathy towards your Church. I think, that His Grace was ill-advised in appointing a white man to succeed our dear friend Bishop Crowther: but that Act of the great Drama has ended.

Two Native Bishops were consecrated: the word "Assistant" was added to their title: never mind that: it will drop out of use: they are Bishops of the Church of England: they are good men, belonging to West Africa, and my object in writing to you is to implore you to stand by them, and support them: let there be no saying, "I am of Paul, and I am of Apollos"; for you are all of Christ. I ask you to sacrifice your personal feelings: I quite admit, that you were marked out for the post, and the post marked out for you: but it was not the will of God: the unjust prejudices of those, who disliked you in Salisbury Square, have prevailed: but it has not affected your position. Remember,

that the great Missionary of Northern England and Scotland, Columba, was never a Bishop: he was something greater than a Bishop, and his name stands out as a landmark in Christian History. Try humbly, that your name may stand out in the same way in the History of the Church of West Africa. In looking round at the great assembly of Clergy in England, I see many, who were fitted to be Bishops, and yet were never so, and some, who were not fit, who received a most undeserved elevation to the Bench.

Against any attempt to force another white Bishop upon you you should firmly protest, and let your protest be made known in the West African, and English Press. I forward by this post a copy of the London *Times* of January 12, 1894, and at page 4 you will read my letter on the subject.

In former years the committee of the Church Missionary Society was under the guidance of the Rev. Henry Venn, a man of a statesmanlike character, and he recognised the necessity of a Native African Episcopacy: is it such a strange thing, that Asiatic and African Christian Churches should desire to be independent, and choose their own Bishops and Pastors, and support them? Such has been the History of the Christian Church. In Asia we have the independent Churches of Armenia, Georgia, the Syrian, Assyrian, and Travancór Churches; and the Abyssinian, and Coptic, Churches in Africa: they are quite independent of the great Greek and Romish Churches.

The feeling of the committee of the Church Missionary Society is very different now towards the African from what it was in the time of Mr. Venn: it is decidedly hostile to the rightful claims of the African Church, and personally to yourself, the Rev. Henry Johnson, and the Venerable Archdeacon Crowther. I opposed the appointment of Mr. Wilmot Brooke, which has led on to this trouble. I remark with pleasure how different is the tone of feeling of Bishop Hill to the African: he recognised the aspiration after a Native African Episcopate: he was willing to withdraw himself from consecration, if the Primate wished it: he selected two Native African colleagues: he was decidedly opposed to Mr. Wilmot Brooke's policy: we may all bless his memory for the following words of his, which I quote from *The Record* Newspaper of January 12, 1890:

"You people in England have not judged the Natives (of Africa) fairly: you have sought to compare them with English congregations, and even with those, who go to Keswick. Judged by that standard, of course you will see great faults in them, although I am bound to say from my own experience, that there are some congregations in West Africa, the members of which will compare favourably with those at home, and some of the leading men do not fall below the standard set on the

“Keswick-platform. But the real comparison is between what they *were*, and what they *are*. Take the people of Bonny: what *were* they? Little better than Cannibals. But see them *now*, examine their lives, and you will thank God, and take courage.”

How different the ring of these wise and sympathetic words from those of Mr. Brooke, that he had let the heads of Native families know, that they need be in no alarm about the female members of their family, now that Archdeacon Henry Johnson had left Lokója! Had such utterance been made with regard to an English Clergyman, the Clergy would have risen in indignation: but such was the feeling in Salisbury Square with regard to the African, that everything evil about them was credited, and it was forgotten, how grand a type of the regenerated African had been granted to this generation by the Lord in the person of Samuel Crowther.

Believe me, my dear Brother, to be, until death (which may be very near to me at the age of 72), the friend of the African, Asiatic, and other so-called inferior Races, for all of whom Christ died, and who are entitled to the same Church privilege as the domineering white man, who thinks nothing of slaughtering poor Africans, whether in U-Ganda, Ma-Tabéle-land, or the West Coast, for his own pleasure. Ever your loving Brother in the Lord.

*To the Hon. and Rev. James Johnson,
Lagos, West Africa, 1893.*

PART IV.
RELIGION.

I.

CONTEMPORARY EVOLUTION OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT. By COUNT GOBLET D'ALVIELLA. Trans- lated into English, 1885.

THIS is a very important book both in conception and execution, written in a cold and impartial style after apparently personal observation and Study of many years. The subject is one, which cannot be laid aside on the shelf: it presses on the heart and intellect, that a belief in the Divinity of Christ is losing its possession of the Christian world.

It must be conceded, that a great majority of so-called Christians, have no Religious conceptions at all. Millions reject the Christian conception altogether. Millions recognise only the form of Christianity, the outward form, and understand the great Truth as little or as much as the Hindu, or Mahometan, does the great Truths of their Faith. But the minority of the Christian world, who do possess Religious conceptions, are divided into camps; and the Author of this volume in cold, impartial, style surveys the field, and notices the discordant, rival, and even hostile, factions.

In the first camp are the so-called orthodox Christians, who accept the ruling of the four Councils, and the Trinity, and Divine Person of Christ. This camp comprises Greeks, Romanists, Protestants, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Wesleyans, Baptists, and Congregationalists. Differing from each other in many details they agree in the general essentials of Christian Verity, as accepted in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era. But in some of them there is a Down-grade Tendency towards the next camp.

- (1) The belief in the Miraculous is declining.
- (2) The Bible is subjected to scientific treatment.
- (3) Free thought is more fully indulged in.
- (4) A tendency is evidenced to Unitarianism.

The second camp is Unitarianism: it is something more than a revolt against the doctrine of a Trinity, and other dogmas imposed upon so-called orthodox Churches. It has always comprehended

all those, who have striven to bring Christian Traditions into harmony with Science and Philosophy, and at this day it offers an asylum to all those, who wish to pursue the Progressive evolution of Christianity without let or hindrance. It is accepted, that the Divine action must be exclusively sought in the regular course of Natural Law, the Progressive development of History, and the Native aspirations of the Soul, and that Jesus is but one of the most celebrated reformers known in History. This point of view is identical with that of the Theists. They however still honour, and love, the Bible, and take Jesus as the type and model of the noblest humanity, and love him with heart and soul: they consider themselves within the pale of Christianity.

In the third camp we find ourselves outside the pale of Christianity, and in the face of several distinct Religious phenomena.

I. The Theistic Church of the Rev. C. Voysey of Langham Hall: the three salient features of this School are:

- (1) Belief in the existence of a Supreme Being, called, for want of a better name, "God."
- (2) Belief in a future state.
- (3) Desire to develop Truth, Justice, Purity, and Brotherhood.

II. The Free Church of the Independent Religious Reformers in Newman Street: their objects were:

- (1) To cultivate the Religious Sentiment free from creed, sectarianism, and priestcraft, respecting the authority of reason, and decree of conscience.
 - (2) To discover and methodize Truth, so as to be of practical value to a healthy and moral life.
 - (3) To regenerate Society, as a Religious duty.
- This association has disappeared (1885).

III. The Humanitarians of Castle Street, under Mr. Kaspar, define God as an eternal and indivisible Being, and believe in the transmigration of Souls within the limits of Human life here.

IV. The Reformed Jews desire to transform their ancient Faith into a universal Religion: Mr. Claude Montefiore represents this School, which wishes to diffuse the old Jewish Religion beyond the limits of the Jewish Race, rejecting all ceremonial practices, and leaving circumcision optional. Although it proposes to remain a Historical development of ancient Judaism, it will be a powerful auxiliary of Theism of Christian origin, and may exercise an important influence on the Religious future of contemporary Society.

V. The association presided over by Mr. Moncure Conway, in South Place Chapel, near Moorgate Street: he contends, that the

Religious Sentiment must be separated from everything of the nature of dogma, belief, or hypothesis: all are welcome, who desire to satisfy Religious aspirations with the sole condition, that *they do not raise to a dogma the non-existence of the Deity*: none but professed atheists are excluded. In his services all hymns are preferred, which avoid all mention of a personal and conscious God. He rejects prayer, for it seems to attribute to God sentiments, if not organs, analogous to our own. He substitutes meditations with no direct appeal to the Deity.

It appears, therefore, that Protestants can advance by a gradual and almost insensible evolution to forms of Worship more in harmony with the continued development of the Reason of the worshipper: the different Churches, and associations, are as landmarks, destined to indicate the stages traversed by Religious thought in its evolution towards a larger and freer ideal: each man can halt at his own precise point of evolution, corresponding with his own measure of moral and intellectual culture.

In the fourth camp we find a still further horizon. In the last camp we bade farewell to the recognition of *the* Divine existence: the system of Comtism, or the worship of Humanity, implies man's sense of independence of *a Superior Being*: these are the Positivists: Mr. Conway's association made the belief in God optional; Comtism suppresses this belief in the most formal manner; Secularism goes so far as to proscribe even Religious Sentiment itself: its aim is to concentrate the activity of man upon the concerns of the present life, which are under the control of experience: it starts upon the principle, that we can know nothing for certain about the existence of God, and the reality of a future life, and it refuses, therefore, to concern itself with such questions, either by way of affirmative or of denial: the two brothers Holyoake organized this system: every element of sentiment and imagination is excluded from their ceremonies.

In the fifth camp is the Transcendentalism of Emerson and Parker in the United States, followed by Free Religion, and the Religion of Ethics, Cosmism, of Professor Fiske, and the Religion of Evolution.

In the sixth camp are the Brahmo-Somáj of Keshub Chunder, and its different phases in British India, and the New Dispensation.

II.

ANCIENT RELIGIONS BEFORE THE GREAT ANNO DOMINI.

IN the Proceedings of former International Oriental Congresses there have been most valuable communications on the subjects of Archæology, Astronomy, Geography, Language, Literature, Ethnology, Medical Science, Religion, Mythology, and Folklore; but the communications on Religion have been on particular portions of the great subject in different countries, and at different periods. I do not find, that in any previous Congress the great feature of the History of the Human Race, "the Religious Conceptions," have been discussed, as a whole, in the light thrown upon them by the discoveries within the last quarter of a century; and yet it seems to be a subject worthy of an Oriental Congress.

In a communication, which I made last year, 1893, to the Congress of the World, held at Chicago, U.S., on the subject of the "Progress of our Knowledge of African Philology," I ventured to affirm the remark of a great American Authority, that "the Religious Instinct, like the Language-making Faculty, was a part, and an *indispensable* part, of the mental outfit of the Human Race." In each individual of the Human Race, in all times, has been found the threefold conception of "Self, the World, God": Language is the vehicle, by which Self communicates with the World, his fellow-creatures whom he knows, and he thus makes his wants and wishes intelligible: Religion is the vehicle, by which Self gropes into darkness and tries to make his wishes known to, and to conciliate, the unknown Power conceived in his mind, and represented under various names, and attributes, as God. No History of the Past is complete without some knowledge of the Linguistic Apparatus, and Religious Conceptions, of the Individuals, and Nations, who played their part in that Past.

Unfortunately in former years prejudice, and partiality, ignorance, and fanaticism, have prevented a calm and judicious discussion of

the subject, not on the relative merits of this or that Conception, but on the facts. But in the last twenty years there has been a great clearing of the atmosphere, and it is quite possible for reasonable men to discuss the subject without importing personal, national, or denominational, bitterness into the problem.

Dogmatic Religion proceeds on the assumption by the writer or speaker, that *his* view of the great subject is the *only* right one, and the *only* true view of the Universe. The Science of Religion makes no such assertion, and keeps the mind quite free from personalities, whether of praise, or blame, of particular Conceptions. It takes for its subject all such Conceptions within any fixed limitation of time, and treats them simply as historical phenomena, without venturing on any opinion, whether any, or which of them, have any claim to Truth, for in very deed that is a matter of Faith incapable of Proof: the facts collected are quite amenable to the laws of Evidence. Formerly any form of Religion other than one's own was considered to be bad, dishonourable to God, and requiring to be put down by force, or social ostracism. It is not so now: there is no proof, that God is dishonoured; at least, such dishonour is not intended. The whole point of view is altered. Each man is thrown back on his own consciousness, if he thinks at all, and leaves other people alone; if he be humble-minded, he is willing to listen to the solemn Voices and Messages of the Past. For the men, who believed in, and were ready to die for, those forgotten Religious Conceptions, were men of like passions, as this generation of men, and, if we believe anything, were made in the Image of God.

My remarks are restricted entirely to the great Religious Conceptions, which came into existence before the Fulness of Time, and the great Anno Domini, which marks a distinct intellectual division between the Past and Present, at least, as regards Europe, West Asia, and North Africa: thus, in this discussion there will be no allusion to the great Religious Conception, which dates from Anno Domini, nor to the great Religious Conception of Islam, which sprang into existence six hundred years later. It will be remarked, that both the excluded Phenomena are Propagandist, Monotheist, and Book-Religions. These great features are not found united in any one of the great Religious Conceptions, which came into existence before that date, and which now pass under review.

All expressions of abuse, of disparagement, or praise, of the subjects discussed are out of place; all contrasts of one with another, favourably or unfavourably, are equally avoided. There is not the least reason for attributing to the writer any laxity, or haziness, in his own Religious persuasions: quite the contrary; they are dearer to him than life, but they are placed on one side in this discussion, as they would be in solving a Mathematical

calculation, searching out the meaning of a sentence in a previously unknown Language, or working out any other Scientific problem.

In the present Epoch, Intellectual, and Political, Religious Belief as a principle, and standard of conduct, is more firmly implanted in the social attitude of man than ever it has been before. An individual is labelled in the Census of his Nation as belonging to such and such a group. As there is no opportunity for intolerance, the merits, and demerits, of any particular Conception, or Practice, can be fairly discussed. Those, who do not consider it an open question to themselves, are compelled by social pressure to allow the liberty to others. Ignorance, Prejudice, and Fanaticism have been trodden down, and Uniformity of Belief is not probable, nor, unless the result of free choice, is it desirable. Moreover, the present discussion is restricted to that portion of the subject, which existed before the dawn of that great Religious Conception, which now dominates the Civilized World.

For any description of details of dogma, or practice, reference must be made to the numerous learned volumes, which have lately appeared in several European Languages, for there is no excuse for ignorance now; there are few branches of Science, that have been so fully, so sympathetically, and so exhaustively, discussed, as that of the Religious Conceptions of the Ancient World; and from this store of knowledge of Facts certain deductions can, by the ordinary processes of Reason, be safely made: there is no fear of giving offence, or wounding the feelings of others, as the great majority of the frequenters of this Congress belong to a different World of Religious Conceptions, and, if one or two representatives of Old-World-Ideas are present, they will hear nothing, which are not quotations from esteemed books well-known to themselves.

These lines are not prompted by the feelings of an Atheist, or a Cynic, or a Fanatic: Facts are recognised, based upon documentary evidence, which cannot be disputed, and survivals of Religious Belief and Practice, which are patent to all inquirers: it can no longer be asserted, that the Jewish Religious Conception, and the Hebrew Scriptures, contain the unique and only Record, that has survived that great Epoch of the Roman Empire in Europe, Western Asia, and North Africa, which divides History into two segments, one of actual historical continuity, and the other of dim legendary uncertainty. The discoveries of the last half-century have altered the whole platform of discussion: Books written in past centuries are out of Court, as Martyrdom, Miracles, Prophecy, High Morality, a Knowledge of a Future State with Rewards and Punishments, high aspirations of Religious thinkers, long lives of purity and devotion, and self-sacrifice, for the sake of an Idea, the Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of Mankind, are evidenced in the revealed literature of the

Ancient Religious Conceptions of Mankind. Call it what you like, it is the voice calling out from the Mummy-pit of Egypt, the excavations of Mesopotamia, the ancient Manuscripts of India, Persia, and China, that there is a Power greater than Man, and that the hearts of all Mankind insensibly turn to, fly to as a refuge, or try to conciliate, that Power in their own weak ways. Some, like Socrates and Buddha, have uttered thoughts, which the World can never let die. The Hebrew Scriptures, though perhaps the grandest repertoires of Holy thoughts, and wonderful promises, have not the monopoly of the intercourse of the great Creator with His poor creatures. The great mass of Mankind in their numberless Millions, and their centuries of generations, were not left entirely without that hope and guidance, which was lavished so freely on the petty, graceless, disobedient, ungrateful, and unworthy, Jewish Race; on the other hand, the shafts of cynical atheists, discharged in a less well-informed century, fall far below the level of this high and illustrious topic. We are, indeed, still feeling in the dark for the great Truth, but, of the mass of ignorance, we may say, in the words of Galileo :

“E pur si muove.”

I submit a Morphological classification of Religions.

GRAND DIVISIONS.

I. NATURE-RELIGIONS.

II. ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

I. NATURE-RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS.

- (A) *Polydæmonistic magical* Religions under the control of Animism : to this class belong the Religions of barbarous Races without any culture, but, as we see them, they are only the degraded remains of what they must once have been.
- (B) *Purified or organized magical* Religions. Therianthropic Polytheism : of this class there are two subdivisions.

I.

UNORGANIZED.

Japanese Kami no madsu, the
old National Religion.
 Non-Arian Religions in South
 and Central India.
 Finn and Ehst.
Old Pelasgic.
Old Italic.
 Etruscan.
 Old Slavonic.

II.

ORGANIZED.

Semi-civilized American: Maya,
 Natchez, Aztek, Muisca,
 Inca.
Old Chinese.
Old Babylonian.
 Egyptian.

(C) Worship of man-like, but superhuman, and semi-
 ethical beings;

alias

ANTHROPOMORPHIC POLYTHEISM.

Old Vaidic-Indian.
 Old Iranic before Zoroaster.
 Later Babylonian and Assyrian.
 Semitic. (Phœnicia, Canaan, Aramæan, Sabæan.)
 Arian. (Keltic, Teutonic, Hellenic, Græco-Roman.)

II. ETHICAL RELIGIONS.

SUBORDINATE DIVISIONS.

(A) *National* nomistic Nomothetic Religions.

Taouism and Confucianism.
 Brahmanism.
 Jainism.
 Zoroastrianism.
 Judaism.

(B) *Universalistic* religious communities.

Buddhism.
 Christianity } after Anno Domini.
 Islam }

Tiele, 1885. "Ency. Brit." vol. xx. pp. 369 370. (Slightly amended.)

But of these Religious Conceptions many are totally dead, not only have ceased to influence the hearts of men, but have passed out of recollection. The spade of the excavator, the trained genius of the scientific Explorer, the careful student of old manuscripts, have revealed to us a wealth of knowledge, which escaped the Greek and the Roman inquirers.

I. DEAD CONCEPTIONS.

- I. EGYPTIAN.
 - II. BABYLONIAN.
 - III. ASSYRIAN.
 - IV. GRÆCO-ROMAN.
 - V. TEUTONIC, KELTIC, SLAVONIC.
 - VI. SEMITIC.
 - VII. ETRUSCAN.
- And many others.

II. LIVING CONCEPTIONS.

- I. BRAHMANISM.
- II. ZOROASTRIANISM.
- III. JUDAISM.
- IV. BUDDHISM.
- V. JAINISM.
- VI. CONFUCIANISM.
- VII. TAOISM.
- VIII. SHINTOISM.
- IX. ANIMISM in many different forms, in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America.

Each individual in his childhood found himself gifted with Religious Conceptions, which came to him somehow, and an Instinct of Worship, just as with a power of uttering articulate sounds! His Instinct towards his fellow-creatures made him social; his attraction to God made him Religious. One marked result of the Comparative Method is, that the facts, on which all Religious Conceptions agree, are far more numerous than those, on which they differ. Up to within half a century it was honestly believed, that all Divine Truth was restricted to the knowledge of the Hebrews: all other Religious Conceptions of the ancients were deemed to be ridiculous, immoral, and wicked lies. This was the outcome of gross ignorance of the History of Mankind, and an unworthy conception of the infinite Wisdom of the Creator. It does not come within the scope of this paper to discuss the popular

theory of a Primitive Revelation of certain fundamental principles given to Mankind in the cradle of their Race. But we may fairly ask, what Race? Can black, brown, red, yellow, and white, already differentiated in the earliest Egyptian Monuments, have ever been one Race? It cannot be asserted, because it is not susceptible of proof, that all Mankind descended from a common pair; but it is asserted, that all were made in God's Image, and that a sympathy with the Divine was bestowed upon all in different manner, according to His will; and it does not lie in the mouths of those, who assert, as an article of Faith, that all Mankind descended from a common pair, to limit His gracious Love to a small fraction, who, by their own Annals, were sadly deficient in that Divine sympathy. Let us lay this hypothesis reverently aside, as having no foundation on any trustworthy evidence. At any rate, the Hebrews, to the end of their career, denied any Race-connection with the Gentiles: according to them they had not the same Divinity, the same customs, the same privileges, the same promises: they were totally, hopelessly, unclean. But there were certain things, which by universal admittance they all had in common, intellect, power of articulate utterance, and an Idea of a Power greater than themselves, and outside themselves.

It cannot be said, that any one of the Ancient Religions was more or less conformable to Reason, was ethically better or worse, than those of their neighbours. Men walked in scientific darkness as to the phenomena of Nature: they believed, that the Earth was a flat plain, with Heaven in the clouds above, and the place of departed spirits in the bowels of the Earth below; that the Sun rose and set, that the Moon was appointed to give light at night, that thunder was the voice, and lightning the weapon, of the Divinity, that evil spirits could occupy a man, and be exorcised by a Priest, that coming events could be ascertained by augury, and the offended Deity be appeased, and even *fed*, by Sacrifices; and many other things, not wicked in themselves, but inaccurate, and entirely unable to survive the dawn of knowledge. Poetic exaggerations, and wild imagery, a consciousness, that no such thing as Criticism existed, were the features and the misfortune of all their Sacred books, without exception. When sometimes a great Moral Hero stood up with his eyes wide open, such as Zoroaster, Buddha, or Socrates, the hireling Priesthood, which lived upon the old Conception, and Establishment, the scum of the Human intellect, and the sweeping of the Divine Altar, fought, branded as an atheist, got rid of by a cup of poison, or ostracism, the man with the new Idea, the Messenger and Teacher, sent from God.

As yet it has not been possible to trace back to any one fundamental Conception, any innate Idea, any common Experience, the various ancient Religious Conceptions: they seem to have grown in their own climatic, ethnic, and social, environment: it is

unnecessary to say, that they had different origins, for they grew like plants in different gardens at a distance from each other with no possible intercommunication. Still the expanding Conceptions of each age and clime were successive developments of continuous evolution of thought, and advance of Human intellect. It is obvious, that such Conceptions, as Brahmanism, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism, could not possibly have come into existence in the Nineteenth Century of the Christian Era, but Buddhism and Confucianism might do so, and possibly may. We seem to detect at certain periods of time a struggle for survival, as of organisms, and opinions: the one, that is fittest for the environment and survives, not the fittest in the highest sense of Morality, or Knowledge of the Divinity, but the fittest for the intelligence of the worshipper. We see the same feature in the South of Europe still: if the form of a Religion be degraded, it is because the worshippers are degraded: *Elevate* them intellectually, and their Religious capacity rises.

What then shall we assume Religion to be? It seems to be the reflection of the relation betwixt a worshipping subject and a worshipped object, just as a Language is the reflection of a relation between a speaking subject and an object spoken to. This implies both distinction and unity. If there were no distinction, there would be no necessity for Religion in the one case, or for Language in the other; if there were no unity, there would be no intelligence of the Message conveyed. With Language the Message is material, but not so with Religion. We may fairly assume for all preceding centuries what we know to be true for our historical age, that no one has ever seen God, or heard His voice physically. The Religious instinct, with which Man has been congenitally supplied, bridges over what would be otherwise an impassable chasm. Special Revelation is claimed at all periods by all Mankind, but for the sake of argument I lay it aside. We have to deal with facts, based upon material evidence, that all Mankind, in all ages, have deemed themselves to have knowledge of God, and have tried to communicate with Him; and with the growth of Intelligence the desire to do so, and the power to do so, have increased; and it may be added, that even direct Revelation would be useless, if man had not faculties to appreciate it, faculties in which the child, the idiot, and the grossly ignorant savage, are totally deficient. The growth of their faculties, and their evolution, can be measured, and Historical Investigation has done this work for us. To any observer of the stream of time there cannot be a doubt, that there has been through all the ages a gradual evolution of Language, Human Culture, and Sympathy with things Divine, which we call Religion; with each century a higher and higher type of each one of these Human features has made itself manifest.

A few remarks might appropriately be made on each entry in the list given above: but really as regards the first Category there is nothing to say. With the exception of the Græco-Roman Conception (taking them together for the sake of this argument), none have left footsteps on the sands of time, which can help or cheer those, who followed after them. The World has done very well without them. No doubt they occupied at their appointed time their place in the great Drama, but they were overwhelmed, even those, which possessed a vast literature, now made known, in the rising tide of new Ideas, and we have not missed them in the sense, in which Judaism, Brahmanism, Buddhism, and Confucianism, would have been missed, had unkind political events buried them out of sight. The very fact of their death, and disappearance, without leaving a trace behind them during the succeeding centuries, argues, that they were unequal to the position, for they were not crushed by Intolerance, or stamped out by Fanaticism, but died from their own weakness.

The Avesta, like the Old Testament, contains much, that is of very different dates, strung together fortuitously, and representing the feelings of different centuries: portions often transposed, or attached to that, with which it has no connection; often attributed to the wrong Author. This need not be cause of surprise, and could not have been possible with a printed book. If some great man, or a succession of great Officials, occupying for generations the same office, had left all their manuscript documents in a drawer of the office, and somebody in a later century had edited the whole to the best of his ability, and copied out all the component portions in his own handwriting, the train of connection of one fragment with the others would have been hopelessly lost, until the time of Higher Criticism arrived.

In the beautiful Græco-Roman cult, as it existed in the decade preceding the great Anno Domini, we seem to realize the culmination of the Religious Conceptions of the Ancient World, or at least the Western portion of it, for China and the extreme Orient, sat apart, and lived their own intellectual and spiritual life. The very names of Buddha and Kung-Fu-Tzee had, up to that date, not reached Western ears, and the Ideas of Indian Wisdom were hazy. The great store of Religious Conceptions, which sprang into existence in Babylonia and Egypt before the time of Abraham, and in Iran and Assyria at subsequent dates, had discharged itself into the great estuary of the Græco-Roman Nation, entirely tolerant, entire Human, ready to absorb any foreign elements. Such a book as Virgil's "*Æneid*," the creation of that Epoch, is the outcome of a lofty and refined Religion. Plato and the Athenian Schools, Lucretius and Cicero, left their immortal testimony as to the nature of the Religious Conceptions of their age: Sacrifice, Prophecy, Augury, Miracles, Theophanies, a World beyond the Grave,

the Divine Voice in the Elements of Nature. In the "*Æneid*" alone instances could be given of all these phenomena, the truth of which were meant to be believed, and were believed, because they represented the prevailing Idea of the age, the Human Anticipation, and the Divine Possibilities. A great event was nigh at hand: the fourth Eclogue of Virgil reveals the expectation: of the other dead Religions only a faint tradition survived. But the Græco-Roman cult has left indelible traces of its existence in the Pagan Conceptions and rituals, which have clung to the skirts of the new Religious Conception, which succeeded it in Europe, and seem to have a power of endurance, which no time will destroy. The taint of the neo-Platonic Philosophy, and of the local Italian cults, though beatified under the title of mediæval Church-Order, is a real survival of the Paganism and Judaism, as they existed previous to Anno Domini, and are very different from the precepts of the Galilean Teacher, and of Paul, his great interpreter to the Græco-Latin Nations.

With regard to the Religious Conceptions, which still dominate the thought, in some cases of Millions, in others of thousands, of the men of the Nineteenth Century, some more particular notice is required.

Concerning Brahmanism nothing can be more impressive than the deliberate opinion of a great Indian Scholar, Bishop Caldwell (South India), in 1874: "I recognise also in Hinduism a higher element, an element which I cannot *but regard as divine*, "struggling with what is earthly and evil in it, and frequently "overborne, though never entirely destroyed. I trace the operation of this divine element in the religiousness, the habit of "seeing God in all things, and all things in God, which has "formed so marked a characteristic of the people of India during "every period of their History. I trace it in the conviction, "that there is a God, however erroneously His attributes may "be conceived, in or through whom all things have their being; "in the conviction that a Religion is possible, desirable, necessary; in the conviction, that men are somehow separated from "God, and need somehow to be united to Him; but especially "in the Idea, which I have found universally entertained, that "a remedy for the ills of life, an explanation of its difficulties "and mysteries, and an appointment of a system of means for "seeking God's favour and rising to a higher life, that is, a revelation, is to be expected; nay, more, that such a revelation has "been given, the only doubt being as to which of the existing "revelations is the true one, or the more directly divine."

Not only was Brahmanism ever tolerant, or superbly regardless of external Religious Conceptions, or of internal Sects, but it was sympathetic to the survivals of Nature-Worship, which dwelt in the villages, or on the flanks of the mountains; old shrines were

allowed to exist; Caste-distinction fenced off the ceremoniously unclean, but that was all. It looks, as if this extreme Tolerance had been the chief cause of the duration of this cult in ever-increasing numbers, for in spite of itself Brahmanism is the greatest proselytizing power in India; more of the non-Arian barbarous tribes pass insensibly year by year into the lower grades of the great Brahmanical horde than all the converts to the other Religious Conceptions put together. It is possible to be admitted to become a Jew, or a Parsi, but not probable; but a process goes on of voluntary Hindu-izing of the non-Arian tribes by a natural upward transition: no persuasion or invitation are required; no proselytizing in its usually understood sense, for they pass like the waters of a stream into a huge reservoir by their own impetus.

It must not be supposed, during the long, still, centuries of Brahmanism, the oldest cult that the World has ever known, that no efforts have been made to rise into a higher life and purer air: on the contrary, the whole Religious History of India is full of such attempts: a constant struggle for existence of a multitude of new, or the evolution of old, conceptions, among which some are of the highest spiritual type. Spiritually-minded men have from time to time arisen like prophets to reveal a new light, crying aloud for a great moral change, stirring the hearts of a great people; but there has been no continuance; it has been like the rising of the water, when the snow melts, as fertilizing, and as transitory. It marks, however, the heart's unrest, and the advance of men's consciousness of a great Idea, not the dying out of a primeval revelation: it is the Soul of men moved by the Eternal Spirit to seek out its Creator, the great fountain of its Power. Ignorance, Vice, Carnality, Priestcraft, and, in former periods, Political Violence, and Fanatical Intolerance, may press down the movement, but, if it finds space, freedom, and intellectual expanse, the same phenomena may be expected; and the modern Sects, Brahmoism and the Aria-Somáj, are infinitely in advance, intellectually and spiritually, of the older Sects of Kabir, and Baba Nanak.

A vast literature in the lordly Language of Sanskrit has by good fortune survived to our age, representing every form of Religious and philosophic literature, proving how high the Human mind can wind itself by severe introspection, speculation on hidden Truths, and a yearning after a higher life. Haughty time has been just in sparing such gigantic monuments of intellectual power, spread over two thousand years, and transmitted orally from generation to generation until the germs of Alphabetic writing were brought from Western Asia, and then developed by Indian Grammarians to an extent unparalleled in any other country; while at the same time carved Inscriptions on rocks, boulders, caves, and pillars,

indicate the desire of those ancient men to communicate their Ideas to after ages, a desire which has been fulfilled.

Very different has been the fate of Zoroastrianism: sprung from the same Region as Brahmanism, and clothed in a sister Arian Language, or rather a succession of Dialects of the same Language, it assumed the name of a great law-giver, whose date is uncertain. At its zenith it came into contact with Judaism, then in captivity in Babylon. It was the State-Religion of Cyrus, and, Monotheistic and tolerant, it imparted to Judaism certain Religious Conceptions. Its influence waned under the Greek and Roman domination of Asia, although it received a new life under a later Native dynasty, but centuries later it was driven out of the Region, where it had so long ruled, by a new Religious Conception, intolerant, and propagandist: a small number of refugees escaped to India, where their descendants exist, thriving, respectable, intelligent; through them access has been obtained to their venerable literature, large portions of which, however, have perished. These facts have come like a revelation to this generation: it is the opinion of competent Scholars, that Zoroaster lived at an Epoch antecedent to Greek Philosophy, that he was a great and deep thinker, who stood far above the most enlightened men of many subsequent centuries. Both Greek and Roman honoured him for the pre-eminence, which he occupied in the History of the Human intellect: we owe to this spiritual patriarch so large a portion of our intellectual inheritance, that we can hardly conceive what Human belief would have been, had Zoroaster not spoken, or had his utterances not come down to our time. The earliest portions are the Gatha, the original hymns of Zoroaster, and his immediate associates and followers: their date is about 1500 B.C. to 1000 B.C., or possibly older. The remaining parts are of a much later date, at least 300 B.C.: spurious additions occur here and there. In these we find the doctrine, (1) that Virtue is its own reward and Vice its own punishment; (2) that there will be a personal resurrection, and a day of judgment beyond the grave; (3) the existence of Angels, the personified thoughts of the Ruler of the World sent forth to ennobel, and redeem, His poor creatures.

In treating of the Subject of Judaism we must bear in mind, that for long centuries it had the monopoly in the minds of Europeans of the wisdom of the East, and of the centuries before the great Anno Domini: it has now been reduced to its proper position, as only one of the factors, although a most important factor, in the composition of the dominant Religious Conceptions of Europe. In a scientific discussion Hebrew History and literary monuments must be weighed in the same scales, as those of the other great conceptions, which preceded it, and with which they came in contact, viz., the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Semitic, which are dead, and the Zoroastrian, which still survives.

An importance during the centuries of European ignorance has been attributed to the Hebrews, which they never deserved: compare their tiny Geographical area, and few Millions of population, with India, or China: had they been Geographically adjacent to India, they would never have been heard of: their Sovereigns were never more than petty Rajahs, at the mercy of the Sovereign of the Basin of the Nile, or of the Euphrates: Mesopotamia and Egypt teem with memorials of past greatness; so does the country of the Hittites: only one Inscription is attributed to the Hebrews. Neither in Arts, nor Science, nor Power, did they prevail: the Hebrew people never attained power among Nations, nor numerical influence: they have left behind no great Monuments, or Inscriptions, though they must have been aware, that their neighbours, and occasional rulers, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, were doing so, even in their own Syrian land on the rocks of the River Adónis. So small is the Geographical area, assigned to the tribes of the Hebrews, that, when some years ago I stood upon Mount Gerizim, I could take in at one view the Mediterranean, Mount Hermon, the valley of the Jordan, and the Mountains, which surround the Dead Sea: I was fresh from the annexation of the Panjáb, which is merely a province of British India: I had had to assist in dividing this new Province into eighteen manageable Districts, and had an eye for administrative requirements; and to my judgment the whole of the Land of the Hebrews would barely make up two good-sized Indian Districts: the country never could have supported a larger population than it does now. We thus see, in the category of dead or surviving Religious Conceptions, how comparatively small was the place occupied by the Hebrews: we have seen how it is credibly believed, that the Hebrew borrowed somewhat from the Zoroastrian, but not one of the great conceptions before Anno Domini borrowed one Idea from the Hebrew, or were even aware of its existence. According to the modern opinion of Scientific Students, both Jew and Gentile, the Hebrew literature came into existence in the period between the 9th and 5th Century before Anno Domini, or even later: up to the 9th Century the Hebrew was a Monolatrist rather than a Monotheist, for he seemed to admit the existence of other gods for other tribes, which no Monotheist would admit for a moment: the linguistic vehicle of Ideas, which the Hebrew writers had to make use of, was greatly inferior in capacity, and symmetry, to the wonderful forms of speech available to the Indian Sages, and the Greek and Roman writers. No moral condemnation can be severer than that, which their own Prophets poured upon the Hebrews. Finally we have it from an authority, which no one would willingly dispute, that, at the time of the Anno Domini, the spirituality of the Hebrew Conception had all but disappeared, weighed down by empty

Ritual, and excessive self-conceit. No one can assert, that He, who appeared at the time of the great Anno Domini, the Divine Wisdom, who had assisted in the Creation of the World, was ignorant of the existence of all these great Religious Conceptions, and of the fact, that Man had worshipped Him for centuries, feeling after God. We are bound to let our appreciation of Divine Things expand with our widening knowledge of God's dealings in times past: we are told, that we should know hereafter, and we believe in reverence, that a fuller consciousness has already been conceded.

It has been the great misfortune of Europe, that for seventeen centuries it had but one type presented to it of an Ancient Religion, which had lived its life before Anno Domini: one only volume was available in a Greek translation to the neo-Christians of an Asiatic Conception of the relation betwixt God and Man: Athenian Philosophy had utterly destroyed the Græco-Roman Conceptions and Mythology: the wisdom of Egypt was buried in its tombs, and of Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Syria under the ruins of destroyed cities. In the time of Adrian the Euphrates had become the limits, not only of the Empire, but of the Historical and Geographical knowledge of the Romans. Of the Religious Conceptions of Persia, except in the travestied form of Mithraism, of the utterances of the Sages of India and China, they knew nothing. The Volume of the Hebrews attributed to themselves not only God's *special*, but God's *sole*, favour and guidance. The untold Millions of Eastern Asia were ignored out of deference to the assertions of a petty tribe of a few Millions, unwarlike, ignorant of the Science even of that age, by their own admission very disobedient to the laws of their own law-givers, and the commands of their own Deity: a Slave-Nation, which had passed from the domination of the Egyptians into that of the Philistines, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans, leaving behind nothing, but the Library of thirty-nine books written in a Language, which had been even then dead for 500 years, and in a form of Written Character peculiar to itself, and adopted by no other Nation. These books expose the utter weakness of their National Character, the faultiness of their very Idea of Worship, for, following the example of the most degraded Nations, they dishonoured the sacred body of man made perfect by the hand of the Creator by mutilation, a practice which the noble Races of Europe, Persia, India, and the extreme Orient, would have scorned, and they rivalled their Gentile neighbours in placing their whole Idea of Worship in the slaughtering of dumb animals.

The eighth chapter of the Prophet Ezekiel, written about a century before the birth of Socrates, marks the existence, even after the Reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah, of the most degraded

possible form of Worship, of creeping things, abominable beasts, and idols, pourtrayed on the walls, and therefore a deliberate Worship: women weeping for Tammuz, and men worshipping the Sun. According to the notion of the Hebrew writers, and of many of later centuries, it was assumed, that those, who did not worship Jehovah, worshipped Idols made by men's hands; that there was no *via media* of worshipping the Great God of the Universe in any other way, and under another Name. King Cyrus was not an Idolater: he worshipped one God, and identified Him with the God of the Hebrews: was he far wrong? Even in the books of Brahmanism there is always present the thought of the great Unrepresentable Deity, as well described in a Sanskrit Poem:

“ Though of Thy might, before man's wandering eyes,
 “ The Earth, the Universe, in witness rise,
 “ Still by no human skill, no mortal mind,
 “ Can Thy Infinity be e'er defined.”

With Buddhism we enter on a new Religious Epoch: the origin of the three former Conceptions, Brahmanism, Zoroastrianism, and Judaism, is shrouded in the dim uncertainty of the early centuries. Buddha was a contemporary, or nearly so, of Socrates: there was about that period a birth of intellectual giants, Socrates and Pythagoras, Buddha, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Laou-tsee: a period of transition had arrived. It must be recollected, that this Religious Conception is based upon the accumulated wisdom, and speculation, of Brahmanism. The story of the great Sage is well-known, well-called “The Light of Asia,” and so is the nature of his doctrines. Religion ceased now to be National, and became Universal, and Propagandist. By the irony of fate this conception was exiled from India, the place of its birth, and spread among non-Arian Races of Central and Eastern Asia: it has produced an enormous literature in several Languages and Dialects. Toleration is the very law of its life, and the followers of the two other Propagandist Religions of the World must admit in shame, that this tolerant, and passive, form of Belief has at this day a larger number of nominal adherents, than their Sword, and their Torture-Chamber, their Stake, and their Civil Disabilities, and Confiscation of Property, have been able to attain. On the other hand deep degradation has accompanied its course. Agnosticism does not satisfy the cravings of the Human heart, especially in Races of a low culture, and the great Teacher has himself been elevated to the Throne, which he had declared to be vacant: the humblest, meekest, and most self-subdued, of men has been converted into an object of Worship, while round his gigantic Statues a deep mist of Pagan Conceptions has collected.

A very competent authority writes, that whatever may be the similarities in the Pali Buddhistic writings of an early date and the New Testament, there is not the slightest evidence, or reasonable probability, of any historical connection between them: if there be a resemblance, it is not due to any borrowing on the one side or the other, but solely to the similarity of the conditions, under which the two movements grew in an Asiatic people; and, I may add, from that identity of thought, and practice, in the Genus Homo, which is illustrated by the list of identical erroneous practices in all the early Nations before the great Anno Domini, when a new Epoch was opened, and what was thought right and necessary, and expedient, and unavoidable, in the old environment, was proved to be merely old women's tales. Only imagine a European Sovereign consulting an Ephod, or asking the opinion of a soothsayer, or examining the entrails of an animal, before an expedition was settled upon.

Sometimes Jainism is mixed up with Buddhism, and sometimes blended with Brahmanism, from which it issued: it seems more convenient to treat it separately. Contemporary with the other great and wise men already named was Párasnath, the founder of the Jaina ascetics: the word means "Conqueror of lusts and desires": two centuries later lived Mahavíra, who gave the Conception, and the Brotherhood, its ultimate form: he, like Buddha, was of the Royal Caste: they both represented a rebellion against Priestcraft and the Brahmins. In several features Jainism differs from Buddhism: it has never left India, and is still a quasi-Sect. It has a form of Worship: Ineffable Bliss is the goal of Jainism, not Nirvána: both lay stress on Morality, Charity, Purity, Patience, Courage, Contemplation, Knowledge: both get rid of Caste, and are atheistic. The Jaina number one-and-a-half Million: they enjoin mercy to all animated beings, and place a cloth over their mouths to save the lives of insects: they have a considerable literature, and an order of Priesthood.

The great Religious Conception of China is too well-known to require much notice: it partakes more of the character of a Social moral Code than of a Theology: the Emperor is the pinnacle of the edifice, the structure of which is for this World only. Kong-Fu-Tsee does not pretend to be a legislator, but a careful collector, and codifier, of existing precepts, which date back to a remote past. The literature is very extensive. Ancestral Worship is a great feature: there is no Future, Purgatory, or Hell. The great founder never claimed to be more than a man, but he felt, that he had a superhuman Mission. Goodness and Happiness in this World was the object of his teaching: he died uttering no prayer, and evincing no apprehension: he was one of the greatest of Men.

Taouism, the founder of which was Laou-tsee, a contemporary of Kong-Fu-Tsee, appears to have undergone a great degradation,

for it is described to be at present a base, and abject Superstition, a foolish Idolatry with an ignorant Priesthood, commanding the respect of no one; but at the Epoch, which is the subject of this paper, it is spoken of as a pure and lofty Philosophy, a Road, and a Way, and the Right Path, in which men ought to go. Taou means nature, and Taouism the Philosophy of Nature.

The ancient cult of Japan is called Shinto; it is entirely National, and since 1868 has been the Religion of the State: it is to a certain extent combined with Buddhism, which was introduced from China. Shinto is bound up with the social and political History of the Nation.

It is a comfort to think, that none of the elder Religious Conceptions of the World were intolerant, or Propagandist by the Arm of the Flesh, or were possessed with that evil and aggressive spirit, which became the feature of the conceptions dating after the Anno Domini. They were National, and a victorious Sovereign attributed to his patron-Deity, whether Ashur, or Amen Ra, or Krishna, his victories: but neither was the conquering Religion forced upon the conquered people, nor were the tribes, who were deported by their conquerors into new localities, compelled to adopt the beliefs, or conform to the Worship, of their neighbours. The Hebrews were for several generations captive in Egypt, and for two generations captive in Babylonia, but their Religion was not interfered with. The Toleration of the Roman and Greek Rulers may have been cynical indifference, or a superb contempt of any other Religious Conception but their own. It may be, that a certain amount of healthy persecution raises up a stubborn resistance, and gives a new life to beliefs and practices, which before were quietly dying out from being left alone; and this remark applies particularly to those Religious Conceptions, that have not in them the power of expansion, and adaptation to the advancing age, for in truth Religious Conceptions, like all other things that are Human, have their term of life assigned. Some, when they die, may have the germs of life transmitted to a younger kindred Faith, though notably the Brahmanical, and Jewish, Conceptions have lived on a long life after giving birth to new conceptions more powerful than themselves.

It raises a smile to remark, that each Nation, and the votaries of each Religious Conception, in good faith considered, that they made up the Universe, and that God cared for them *only*. This was a notable characteristic of the Hebrews: the Greeks may have superbly classed outsiders as *βάρβαροι*, but the Asiatic Nations applied to all others but themselves terms of reproach, such as "mlecha," "goi," "foreign devils," "accursed"; some went so far as to call themselves by the term "Men," "the Men in particular." By a mere chance, and owing to the ignorance of Europe of the Asiatic World, the Hebrew phraseology, which was valued

at its own worth by contemporary Races, who used similar expressions, was taken by people, who lived centuries later, "au pied de lettre," and even as divinely inspired. Even still we read the phrase "all the World" applied to Syria by the Jews, and to the old Roman Empire by the Romans, forgetting that India, and the extreme Orient, which made up a moiety of the population of the globe, sat apart, though they were far superior to any other Nations in the History of Mankind until the great Nations of Europe came into existence after the Anno Domini, superior in Art, Science, Power, and Population.

It is unwise to contract all possibilities of Divine knowledge to one Nation in antiquity, and that a very small one. This seems to be casting dishonour on the Ruler of the Universe. If doing so be the result of non-study of the subject, it may be called Ignorance; if it be done in spite of conscientious Study, it appears to be like a pious fraud. It looks, as if the Divine Power, which created and ruled the World, was pleased to reveal some of His most important Truths to the followers of different Religious Conceptions. How the exclusion of so large a part of a great subject narrows the field of view of later writers! If Augustine of Hippo had had on his table a copy of the Tripitika, of the Bhāgavad-gita, of the Shu King, and of the Yasna, he might have expressed himself differently.

The whole intellectual atmosphere has changed, and the childish conceptions of a credulous and ignorant age will not stand the strong light of modern discussion: we have only to imagine a Jew sacrificing an animal in a London Synagogue: if an educated Hindu at one of the State-Colleges were asked by a Mahometan or a Christian friend to describe the belief and ritual of his family, he would fairly break down, and be ashamed to talk about his family-worship. If an English Jew at a public School were pressed on the subject of his circumcision, he would feel as ashamed, as an educated African would be of his tattoo-marks, or a Polynesian, who had had his teeth drawn in his childhood. The mutilation, or disfigurement, of the body marks the low-water mark of Religious degradation.

It is interesting to consider the different classes, into which the Religious Conceptions may be divided with reference to their salient features, or the characteristics of their adherents. Poor weak mortality is certain to fall into excess one side or the other. We find some good people, like the Jaina, who would not kill a fly even by chance: others have in times past offered Human Sacrifices: some have no Deities to make offering to: some have plurality of objects of Worship: some do not pray at all, having nothing to ask, and no Deity to ask it of: some arrange, that the flowing stream should turn round a wheel of meaningless prayer: others pay hireling Priests to do the work for them in unin-

telligible sing-song ritual. It is the fashion, as stated above, to call all the Ancient Religions of the World, save the Hebrew, idolatrous, but this is not true for all, and it was not so for many more in their inception. The Brahmanical, and Græco-Roman, systems were always so; the Zoroastrian never was idolatrous, and the few survivors to this day are not so; Buddhism and Confucianism were not so in starting, but in their deep degradation they have fallen to that low level. Some have domineering Priesthoods, like the Brahmans and the Jewish Priests; some have none.

To some the Idea of proselytizing never occurred, and any Idea of forcible proselytism by Intolerance, or imposing disabilities was in ancient days rare. We find these subdivisions:

- I. Where Proselytism is involuntary, as in the case with Brahmanism, which admits annually hundreds of the lower non-Arian tribes into its fold, as it were, unconsciously.
- II. Where Proselytism is permissive. Judaism did admit Proselytes in a regular way, and does so still.
- III. Where Proselytism is a duty and obligation, either by argument, or the Arm of the Flesh. Buddhism and Jainism represent the former of the two alternatives. Judaism during its last decade compelled the conquered tribes of Edom, Ammon, and Moab, to be circumcised.

Another variety is the nature of the Religious Belief:

- I. Zoroastrianism, Brahmanism, and Judaism were National Systems, with a formula of Faith, a fixed Ritual, and Sacred Books.
- II. Confucianism was merely a Code of Social and Political Morality.
- III. Towards the close of the Græco-Roman System, Philosophy, taught in schools, was taking the place of Ritual or Belief.
- IV. Buddhism was simply Atheism.

Another division may be made as follows:

- I. Positive Religions, based on the teaching of particular individuals, who deliberately departed from a traditional Past, such as Judaism, Zoroastrianism, Buddhism: in some cases the teacher only codified, and rearranged, existing conceptions, such as Confucianism, Taouism.
- II. Traditional Religions, which cannot be traced back to individual founders, and were not propagated by individual authority, as they formed part of the unconscious inheritance of the Past.

The Positive Religions of the Ancient World did not make their appearance, like a new Idea, but they were rather organized developments of a pre-existing Religion: old religious Instincts had to be appealed to; even old forms transmuted, and renamed, had to be adopted. A Positive Religion will not be fully understood until the Traditional Religion, which preceded it, has been studied, as far as materials for study survive. There is some analogy in Language: some Languages have died absolutely sterile, and so have some Religious Conceptions. The Egyptian Religion, and Language, present a case in point. Some Languages have given birth to new Languages.

A common feature is found in these early conceptions: they had no creed: they consisted entirely of Institutions, and Practices. Ritual was the sum-total of such Religions, part of their social life, to which each member of the community conformed, as he would do to any other social habit. Men took their Religion, just as their form of Government, for granted: they were neither bound to understand, nor did they dare to criticise. They had no choice in the selection, and no will to change: it was part of their outfit in life. As time went on from generation to generation, there were changes in the environment, social habits, Language, and Religious Conception, and they were without murmuring conformed to, until the end came.

Another feature soon forces itself upon notice: Religion did not exist for the saving of individual souls, for purifying individual hearts, or making the worshipper more fit for the final change: it existed solely for the preservation, and welfare, of Society: it was allied to Patriotism, Chauvinism, struggles for Civil Independence, and battles "*pro aris et focis*." One Nation was not in the least degree jealous of, or hostile to, the gods of another Nation, so long as they did not interfere with each other. No gods were deemed to be all-powerful and ubiquitous: they had attend to their own worshippers, to whose families they belonged, and who fed and kept them. Even when one Religion appeared with a loftier conception, the existence of other gods was not denied.

Certain features appear in all Religious Conceptions: some in one; some in another; some in all; some at one period of their existence; some at another; varying in their details, and nomenclature, but substantially the same. They are as follows:

- I. Anthropomorphism of the Deity, Polytheism.
- II. Residence of the Deity in the midst of His worshippers.
- III. Theophanies, Visions, good and evil Spirits.
- IV. Primeval Worship of Animals, Heroes, Totems, and Fetish.
- V. Ancestral, Domestic, National, Worship.

- VI. Shrines, Relics, Pilgrimages.
- VII. Sacrifices: Animal, Vegetable, Human.
- VIII. Formal Prayer: oral, by deputy, or by machinery.
- IX. Empty Ritual, Bells, Music, Dancing, Processions, Incense.
- X. Priestcraft, Sacerdotalism, Usurpation of power.
- XI. Ceremonial cleanness or uncleanness.
- XII. Fasting, Celibacy, Asceticism, Eremitism.
- XIII. Days of Rest, Feasts, Fasts.
- XIV. Esoteric and Exoteric Doctrine.
- XV. Miracles: beneficent, malevolent.
- XVI. Dreams, Auguries, Predictions, Ordeals.
- XVII. National Sins: Hostility of Deities.
- XVIII. Signs from Heaven.
- XIX. Witchcraft: possession by Evil Spirits.
- XX. Different modes of disposing of dead.
- XXI. Notions of Eschatology, and Judgment after death.
- XXII. Mutilation of body, tattoo-marks, caste-marks.
- XXIII. Abominable customs.
- XXIV. Conception of Fate, Divine Vengeance.
- XXV. Records written on various materials, stones carved in relief.
- XXVI. Tradition.
- XXVII. Sanctitude of certain Offices, secular and religious.
- XXVIII. Necessity of good works.
- XXIX. Absence of Spirituality.
- XXX. Religious Architecture, Sculpture, Literature, Monuments.

CONCLUSION.

Emerson remarks, that the systematic translation of the Sacred Books of the East would play a part in the re-organization of Religious Thought, which is marked by a desire to soften the lines of demarcation, to recognise in all Religions the elements of Truth, and to assign to each *its own position* in the education of the Human mind.

We can trace in History this great fact, that a portion of the primeval inheritance, intellectual and spiritual, of Mankind, of whatever Race, physical conformation, or colour, Language, or culture, was committed to different contemporary, or succeeding, Nations. In every attempt to enlarge the faculties, utilize the resources, or enlarge the Ideas, the Religious Sense must have a share, and a leading share. It is difficult to imagine, how the progress of Human life can be measured, except by the birth,

development, decay, and disappearance, of Religious Conceptions. To Language, and to Religion, a limitation seems to be imposed, as to the trees of a Forest; in due course they must give away to more vigorous successors, but both Language and Religion leave their mark: there is no retrogression in this struggle: an advance must be made, and both these special outfits of Man to enable him to carry on his intercourse with the World in the former case, and with the Ruler of the Universe in the latter, must be up to the level of contemporary Human Development.

Writing with philosophical boldness, free from all sentimental preconceptions, and the narrow fetters of the Schoolmen, on a question open to discussion on sure historical evidence, I cannot but feel, that all these Phenomena were Messages to the Human Race, black, brown, red, yellow, and white, creatures differentiated from the brute creatures by standing upright (*ἀνθρώπος*) and the gift of articulate speech (*λόγος*), or in other words that they were different representative aspects of Self, the World, and God. They evidence the aspirations and wants of the Genus Homo, voiced by some of the great Moral Heroes, who appeared at intervals and uttered words, which were never forgotten, regarding ourselves, our neighbours, our God. In former centuries we were imperfectly supplied with facts. We were over-credulous on one side, and unduly doubtful on the other. We now see clearly, that through all the ages one increasing purpose runs, that God was present, working with man, at all periods of his existence: here a little, there a little, but always a step in advance. As the varying features, which appear in all Religions, tell us, that we are all men and brothers, however physically differentiated, so the continuous existence of the same silent, yet unchanging, purpose brings home the conviction, that we are all of the same clay in the hands of the same Potter, being trained, that we may haply be deemed worthy to be called the sons of God.

Is there no alternative? There are two: I must really dismiss the first, viz., that all the Races of Mankind before Anno Domini passed over the mortal stage into everlasting torment, according to the complacent suggestion of the Hebrew Psalmist, ix, 17, "The wicked shall be turned into Hell, and all the Nations that forget God." There may be some who, in a general way, hold these views still. No hard words are admissible in this paper: so I am silent.

The second view is held by good, benevolent, but ignorant, men, that somehow or other the great Nations of Antiquity did get along, did found Empires, build temples, put up Inscriptions, which survive to our time, painted or carved in relief pictures, which we can see, wrote documents, which through a succession of copies have come down to our time, and are intelligible. These predecessors of ours in the dominion of the World clearly were great,

powerful, and learned, were able to pile up pyramids in one country, carve temples out of rocks in another, and their tablets and Inscriptions bear witness to the fact, that they wished their memory to live to after ages. As we walk down the Museum, and contemplate these interesting pictures, or inspect their stone, brick, papyrus, or parchment documents, we are struck, that they all seem to have been actuated by the same or similar feelings, very much akin if not identical, and what we moderns call a Religious Feeling; they all were what Paul at Athens called "*θεοσιδαίμονες*": Kings are portrayed as worshipping a Power greater than themselves, thanking It for their Victories and their Wealth, supplicating Its protection. Again the still small voice is heard in Inscriptions on the Rocks in Language and Written Characters only painfully deciphered in modern times, preaching Love to fellow-creatures, Mercy to Man and Beast, Tolerance on subjects of Religion. We recognise, that these far-off predecessors of ours were men, men in spite of all the difference of time, locality, and environment, hoping, desiring, fearing, asking for, the same things, and of the same ineffable Person. Are we to believe, that the Ruler of Mankind, who is the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever, so full of kindness, and mercy, and love, to all His poor creatures, cared nothing for these untold Millions, these uncircumcised Gentiles, left them alone to their devices, that His Holy Spirit did not speak to their consciences, did not respond to their prayers, and that He reserved all His love for the few sheep of the Hebrew Race until the great Anno Domini, after which date He began to care for all His poor children, without distinction of colour or Race. We are told distinctly, that He loved the World from the beginning.

God's wheels grind slowly, but very fine. Does not the slow development of Religious Conceptions give us an Idea of the inexhaustible Patience, and Long-Suffering, of the Ruler of the Universe? now in one direction, now in another: Failures, as well as Successes: Exhibition of the loftiest intellectual powers in conception, and the most abject degradation in practice. If Man could have by himself trampled over the weakness inherent in his Nature, Buddha would have done so. If respect for ancestors and social duties were sufficient for salvation, Kong-Fu-Tsee has elaborated such a system, which has lasted nearly 3000 years. If Heaven could be taken by violence, the composer of the Bhāgavad-gīta, the *Θεσπέσιον μέλος*, the Divinum Carmen of the Sāṅkhya School, though his name has not come down to us, might have been admitted. If not a sparrow falls, and is forgotten before God, we may humbly think, that Socrates, son of Sophoniscus, did not nobly live and nobly die without filling up some part of the Divine Plan, as an example to Future Ages. Those ancient Sages, who were led on by the *Πνεῦμα*, that was

in them, to elaborate the Egyptian, Babylonian, Assyrian, and Brahmanical, systems (before Abraham was they were) were not children building card-houses, or constructing edifices on the sand, which the next flood would sweep away. The Human Empires, of which they formed a part, have long since been destroyed, and are all but forgotten, but their conceptions, whether committed to papyrus, and buried in a tomb, or entrusted to baked bricks, or carved on stone, or handed down by a succession of Repeaters by Memory, until the time came, when an Alphabetic system enabled them to be written on perishable parchments, or the talipat leaf, will live on for ever. They were seekers after God, if haply they could find Him, and the Holy Spirit spoke to their consciences, dividing the Good from the Evil, realizing the burning words of a Poet, who lived and died before the great Anno Domini:

Confringere ut arcta
 Naturæ primus portarum claustra cupiret.
 Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
 Processit longe flammantia mœnia Mundi,
 Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque."

—*Lucretius, I. 73.*

Tenth International Oriental Congress, Geneva, 1894.

III.

LES ANCIENNES RELIGIONS AVANT L'ÈRE CHRÉTIENNE.

Nous trouvons dans les comptes rendus des précédents Congrès des Orientalistes des communications de la plus grande valeur, sur des sujets d'archéologie, d'astronomie, de géographie, de langues, de littérature, d'ethnographie, de médecine, de religion, de mythologie, et de traditions populaires; mais les communications sur la religion ont porté sur des points spéciaux de ce grand sujet, dans tel ou tel pays, à telle ou telle époque. Je ne vois pas que dans aucun des précédents Congrès la "conception religieuse," ce grand trait de l'histoire de la race humaine, ait jamais été discutée, dans son ensemble, et à la lumière des découvertes faites pendant la dernière partie du siècle; et cependant c'est un sujet digne, semble-t-il, d'un Congrès d'Orientalistes.

L'année dernière (1893), dans une communication, que je fis au congrès universel de Chicago, sur les progrès de nos connaissances en philologie africaine, je me suis permis de citer cette remarque d'un homme, qui fait autorité en Amérique: "l'instinct religieux, aussi bien que la faculté de la parole est une partie *indispensable* de l'organisation mentale de la race humaine." Dans chaque individu de la race humaine, à toutes les époques, on a trouvé cette triple conception du Moi, de l'Univers, et de Dieu. Le langage est l'agent dont le Moi se sert pour communiquer avec l'univers, avec ses semblables, et par lequel ses besoins et ses désirs sont rendus intelligibles. La religion est l'agent qui permet au Moi de trouver son chemin dans les ténèbres, de chercher à exprimer ses désirs, et de se concilier le pouvoir mystérieux conçu dans son esprit et représenté comme un Dieu sous des formes et des noms divers. Aucune histoire du passé n'est complète sans quelque connaissance du langage, et des conceptions religieuses, des individus et des nations, qui ont joué un rôle dans ce passé.

Malheureusement jusqu'ici les préjugés, la partialité, l'ignorance et le fanatisme, ont empêché la discussion calme et judicieuse du sujet, non des mérites relatifs de telle ou telle conception, mais

la discussion des faits. Toutefois les vingt dernières années ont amené un notable éclaircissement de l'atmosphère, et il est possible à des hommes raisonnables de discuter le sujet sans introduire dans le problème d'amertume personnelle, nationale ou religieuse.

La religion dogmatique procède de cette idée que se fait l'écrivain ou l'orateur, que son opinion sur le sujet est la seule juste et vraie.

La science de la religion n'affirme rien de pareil, et préserve l'esprit de toutes vues personnelles, aussi bien que de toute louange ou de tout blâme sur des conceptions particulières. Elle prend pour sujet d'étude toutes les conceptions de ce genre dans une limite de temps donnée, et les traite comme de simples phénomènes historiques, sans se déclarer pour aucune opinion, quand même il s'en trouverait qui auraient droit à être reconnues comme vérités, car c'est vraiment une question de foi, qui ne peut être prouvée. Les faits rassemblés s'accordent avec les lois de l'évidence.

Autrefois toute forme de religion autre que celle du préopinant était considérée par celui-ci comme mauvaise, déshonorante pour Dieu, et devant être réprimée par la force ou l'ostracisme social. Il n'en est plus ainsi maintenant; rien ne prouve que Dieu soit déshonore en ceci; du moins s'il y a déshonneur il n'est pas intentionnel. Le point de vue a complètement changé. Tout homme est mis en face de sa propre responsabilité, si toutefois il pense et respecte la liberté des autres. S'il est humble d'esprit, il sera disposé à écouter les voix et les messages solennels du passé, car les hommes qui croyaient à ces idées religieuses oubliées maintenant, et qui étaient prêts à mourir pour elles, étaient des hommes animés des mêmes passions que ceux de la génération actuelle, et, si toutefois nous croyons, ils étaient faits à l'image de Dieu.

Mes observations se rapportent exclusivement aux principales idées religieuses, qui eurent cours avant l'accomplissement des temps et l'ère chrétienne qui marque une division intellectuelle bien distincte entre le passé et le présent, du moins en ce qui concerne l'Europe, l'Asie occidentale, et le nord de l'Afrique. Ainsi il ne sera fait ici aucune allusion aux grandes idées religieuses, qui datent de l'ère chrétienne ni à celles de l'Islam qui prirent naissance six cents ans plus tard. On remarquera que les deux phénomènes que nous venons d'exclure sont propagandistes, monothéistes, et religions écrites. Ces grands traits ne se trouvent réunis en aucune des grandes conceptions religieuses, qui eurent cours avant cette date et que nous allons passer en revue.

Toute expression injurieuse ou dénigrante ainsi que tout éloge sur les sujets discutés sont hors de place; toute comparaison entre les uns et les autres, soit favorable, soit défavorable, est également évitée. Il n'y a pas lieu pour cela d'attribuer à l'auteur aucun relâchement ni aucune obscurité dans ses convictions religieuses personnelles; tout au contraire, elles lui sont plus chères que la vie, mais elles sont mises de côté dans cette discussion, comme elles

le seraient en cherchant à résoudre un problème de mathématiques, à comprendre la signification d'une phrase dans une langue inconnue, ou à expliquer n'importe quel autre problème scientifique.

A l'époque actuelle, les croyances intellectuelles, politiques ou religieuses, envisagées comme principe et ligne de conduite, sont plus fermement établies dans l'attitude sociale de l'homme qu'elles ne l'ont jamais été jusqu'ici. Un individu est classé dans la statistique nationale comme appartenant à tel ou tel groupe. Comme il n'y a pas lieu de manifester de l'intolérance, les mérites et les démérites de chaque conception ou pratique particulière peuvent être discutés librement. Ceux qui ne considèrent pas ce champ de discussion ouvert pour eux-mêmes, sont obligés par la force des circonstances de laisser aux autres la liberté d'y entrer.

L'ignorance, les préjugés, et le fanatisme ont été foulés aux pieds, et l'uniformité de croyances n'est pas probable ni même désirable à moins qu'elle ne soit le résultat d'un choix libre. En outre la discussion de ce jour est limitée à cette partie du sujet, qui existait avant l'aurore de la grande conception religieuse, qui règne maintenant sur le monde civilisé.

Pour tout ce qui concerne les détails de dogmes, ou de pratiques il faut en référer aux nombreux et savants ouvrages qui ont paru dernièrement en diverses langues de l'Europe, car l'ignorance n'est plus excusable maintenant ; il est peu de branches dans les sciences, qui aient été étudiées d'une façon aussi approfondie et aussi sympathique que celle des conceptions religieuses de l'antiquité ; et de ces faits connus nous pouvons tirer des déductions par les procédés habituels de raisonnement, sans crainte de porter offense ou de blesser les sentiments d'autrui, puisque la grande majorité des membres de ce Congrès se rattachent à des idées religieuses différentes ; et si quelques représentants des idées de l'ancien monde sont présents ici, ils n'entendront rien qui ne soit des citations de livres estimés et bien connus d'eux-mêmes.

Ces lignes ne sont pas inspirées par des sentiments d'athéisme, de cynisme, ou de fanatisme, c'est une exposition de faits, basés sur l'évidence documentaire qui ne peut être mise en doute, et sur des survivances de croyances et de pratiques religieuses, qui sont évidentes pour tous ceux qui étudient la question ; on ne peut plus affirmer que la conception religieuse des Juifs et les Ecritures hébraïques soient le seul et unique souvenir qui ait survécu à la grande époque de l'Empire romain en Europe, dans l'Asie occidentale, et au nord de l'Afrique, époque qui divise l'histoire en deux parties, l'une qui dure encore historiquement, l'autre légendaire et obscure. Les découvertes de la dernière moitié du siècle ont changé le terrain de la discussion. Les livres écrits dans les siècles passés sont hors de cause, puisque les martyres, les miracles, les prophéties, la haute moralité, une connaissance d'un état futur avec des récompenses et des punitions, les aspira-

tions élevées des penseurs religieux, les longues vies de pureté et de dévouement, le sacrifice de soi-même pour l'amour d'une idée, la paternité de Dieu, la fraternité de tous les hommes, sont évidentes dans la littérature des anciennes conceptions religieuses de l'humanité. Nommez la comme vous voudrez, une voix s'élève des tombeaux des momies égyptiennes, des cavernes de la Mésopotamie, des anciens manuscrits de l'Inde, de la Perse, et de la Chine, proclamant qu'il y a un Pouvoir supérieur à l'homme, et vers lequel insensiblement tous les cœurs de l'humanité se tournent et cherchent un refuge, ou dont ils s'efforcent de gagner la faveur selon leurs faibles moyens. Quelques hommes, comme Socrate et Bouddha, ont exprimé des pensées que le monde ne laissera jamais périr. Les Ecritures hébraïques, quoiqu'elles soient sans doute le plus important répertoire de saintes pensées et de merveilleuses promesses, n'ont pas le monopole des rapports du Créateur avec ses pauvres créatures. La grande masse de l'humanité avec ses millions innombrables, ses siècles de générations, ne fut pas complètement privée de cette espérance et de cette direction si abondamment accordées à la race juive, si capricieuse, désobéissante, ingrate et indigne. D'autre part les traits des cyniques athées lancés dans un siècle moins éclairé, ne sauraient atteindre au niveau de cet illustre sujet. En effet nous sommes encore à tâtonner dans les ténèbres à la recherche de la grande vérité, mais de la masse de l'ignorance nous pouvons dire dans le termes de Galiléo : "E pur si muove!"

Nous vous soumettons une classification morphologique des religions :

GRANDES DIVISIONS.

I. RELIGIONS NATURELLES.

II. RELIGIONS MORALES.

I. RELIGIONS NATURELLES.

DIVISIONS SUBORDONNÉES.

- (A) Les religions *polydémonistiques magiques* sous le contrôle de l'animisme; à cette catégorie appartiennent les religions des races barbares sans aucune culture, mais, telles que nous les voyons, elles ne sont que les restes dégradés de ce qu'elles ont été autrefois.
- (B) Les religions *magiques purifiées ou organisées*, Polythéisme thérianthropique; cette catégorie renferme deux subdivisions.

I.

NON ORGANISÉES.

Kami no madsu Japonais, *l'ancienne*
 religion nationale.
 Les religions non aryennes dans
 l'Inde méridionale et centrale.
 Celles des Finnois et Esthoniens.
 Des *anciens* Pélagés.
 Des *anciennes* races Italiques.
 Des Étrusques.
 Des anciens Slaves.

II.

ORGANISÉES.

Celles des Américains à *deux*
civilisés : Maya, Natchez,
 Astèques, Muiscas, Incas.
 Des *anciens* Chinois.
 Des *anciens* Babyloniens.
 Des Egyptiens.

(C) Le culte d'êtres pareils à l'homme, mais surhumains
 et mi-éthiques, c'est à dire :

Le Polythéisme anthropomorphique.

L'ancienne religion hindoue vaïdique.

L'ancienne religion de l'Iran avant Zoroastre.

La religion des Babyloniens et des Assyriens à une époque posté-
 rieure.

La religion sémitique (Phéniciens, Cananéens, Araméens,
 Sabéens).

La religion aryenne (Celts, Teutons, Hellènes, Greco-romains).

II. RELIGIONS MORALES.

DIVISIONS SUBORDONNÉES :

(A) Religions *nationales*, nomistiques, nomothétiques.

Tao-Tsee et Confucianisme.

Brahmanisme.

Jainisme.

Zoroastrianisme.

Judaïsme.

(B) Communautés religieuses *universalistes*.

Bouddhisme.

Christianisme.

Islam.

} après l'ère chrétienne.

Tiele, 1885. "Ency. Brit." vol. xx., pp. 369-370. (Légèrement altéré.)

Mais, de ces conceptions religieuses, beaucoup ont totalement disparu; non seulement elles ont cessé d'influencer les cœurs des hommes, mais elles sont sorties de leur mémoire. Les fouilles de l'archéologue, le génie observateur de l'explorateur scientifique, l'érudit consciencieux, étudiant les anciens manuscrits, nous ont révélé une source de connaissances qui avaient échappé aux chercheurs grecs et romains.

I. CONCEPTIONS RELIGIEUSES ÉTEINTES.

- I. ÉGYPTIENNE.
- II. BABYLONIENNE.
- III. ASSYRIENNE.
- IV. GRECO-ROMAINE.
- V. TEUTONNE, CELTE, SLAVE.
- VI. SÉMITIQUE.
- VII. ÉTRUSQUE.
- ET BIEN D'AUTRES.

II. CONCEPTIONS RELIGIEUSES VIVANTES.

- I. BRAHMANISME.
- II. ZOROASTRIANISME.
- III. JUDAÏSME.
- IV. BOUDDHISME.
- V. JAÏNISME.
- VI. CONFUCIANISME.
- VII. TAO-TSEE.
- VIII. SINTOISME.
- IX. ANIMISME sous différentes formes, en Asie, en Afrique, en Océanie, et en Amérique.

En son enfance, chaque individu s'est trouvé doué en même temps que de la faculté d'articuler des sons, de conceptions religieuses et d'un instinct d'adoration, qui lui sont venus sans qu'il s'en rendit compte; ses sentiments envers son prochain le poussent à la sociabilité; l'attraction vers Dieu le rend religieux. Un résultat décisif fourni par la méthode comparative, c'est que les faits, sur lesquels les conceptions religieuses s'accordent, sont beaucoup plus nombreux que ceux sur lesquels elles diffèrent. Il y a une cinquantaine d'années on croyait encore sincèrement que toute la vérité divine se trouvait renfermée dans les connaissances qu'en avaient les Hébreux; toutes les autres conceptions religieuses de l'antiquité étaient envisagées comme ridicules, immorales et pernicieusement mensongères. Ceci provenait de l'ignorance grossière, où l'on était sur l'histoire de l'humanité, et d'une conception erronée de l'infinie sagesse du Créateur. Il ne rentre pas dans le

plan de cet essai de discuter la théorie populaire d'une révélation primitive de certains principes fondamentaux donnée à l'humanité au berceau de sa race. Mais, demanderons-nous, de quelle race ? Les races noires, brunes, rouges, jaunes, et blanches, différenciées déjà sur les monuments égyptiens les plus anciens, ont-elles jamais formé une seule race ?

On ne peut affirmer, parce que le fait ne peut-être prouvé, que toute l'humanité soit descendue du même couple ; mais on peut affirmer que tous les hommes ont été faits à l'image de Dieu, et que tous, en différentes manières, selon Sa volonté, ont été doués d'une sympathie avec le *Divin*. Ce n'est pas à ceux, dont la bouche affirme comme un article de foi que toute l'humanité est sortie d'un seul couple, de limiter Son amour miséricordieux à une petite fraction, qui d'après ses propres annales s'est montrée tristement incomplète en ce qui concerne cette sympathie avec le Divin. Mettons cette hypothèse de côté comme ne reposant sur aucun fondement digne de foi. En tous cas les Hébreux, jusqu'à la fin de leur carrière ont nié tout rapport de race avec les Gentils ; d'après eux, ceux-ci n'avaient ni la même divinité, ni les mêmes coutumes, ni les mêmes privilèges, ni les mêmes promesses ; ils étaient complètement et désespérément impurs. Mais il était certaines choses que, de l'aveu universel, ils avaient en commun, l'intelligence, la faculté de la parole, et l'idée qu'il existait une puissance plus grande qu'eux-mêmes et en dehors d'eux-mêmes.

On ne peut dire qu'aucune des anciennes religions fût plus ou moins conforme à la raison, fût moralement meilleure ou plus mauvaise que telle ou telle autre. Les hommes étaient dans les ténèbres quant aux phénomènes de la nature ; ils croyaient que la terre était plate, le ciel dans les nuages au-dessus, et le séjour des morts dans les entrailles de la terre au-dessous ; que le soleil se levait et se couchait, que la lune était chargée de donner sa lumière pendant la nuit, que le tonnerre était la voix, et l'éclair l'arme de la divinité, que les mauvais esprits pouvaient habiter dans le corps d'un homme et être exorcisés par un prêtre, que les événements futurs pouvaient être annoncés par les augures, et la divinité apaisée et même nourrie par des sacrifices, et bien d'autres choses, non coupables en elles-mêmes, mais inexactes et incapables de subsister à la lumière de la science.

Des exagérations poétiques, des images extravagantes, le sentiment qu'il n'existait aucune critique, étaient les traits et le malheur de tous leurs livres sacrés sans exception. Lorsque parfois apparaissait un grand héros moral, tel que Zoroastre, Bouddha, Socrate, la prétrise mercenaire, qui vivait sur l'ancienne conception et sur l'ancien ordre de choses, écume de l'intelligence humaine et balayures de l'autel divin, combattait, flétrissait comme athée l'homme aux idées nouvelles, le messager et le guide envoyé par Dieu et s'en débarrassait par le poison ou l'ostracisme.

Jusqu'à présent, il n'a pas été possible de trouver aux différentes idées religieuses de l'antiquité quelque conception fondamentale, quelque idée innée, quelque expérience commune ; elles semblent avoir grandi chacune dans son propre milieu climatologique, ethnographique, et social ; il est inutile de dire qu'elles ont des origines différentes, car elles ont poussé comme des plantes dans des jardins différents, éloignés les uns des autres et sans communication possible. Cependant les conceptions de chaque époque et de chaque climat furent les développements successifs d'une évolution continue de la pensée et des progrès de l'intelligence humaine. Il est évident que des conceptions telles que le Brahmanisme, le Judaïsme, et le Zoroastrianisme n'auraient pu prendre naissance au dix-neuvième siècle de l'ère chrétienne, mais d'autres le pourraient comme le Bouddhisme et le Confucianisme par exemple. Nous surprenons dans certaines époques une lutte pour la vie comme d'organismes et d'opinions ; l'opinion qui est la plus appropriée à son milieu survit, non qu'elle soit la meilleure dans le sens d'une moralité plus élevée, ou d'une connaissance supérieure de la divinité, mais parce qu'elle est la plus appropriée à l'intelligence de l'adorateur. Nous retrouvons ce même trait dans l'Europe méridionale ; si la forme d'une religion est dégradée, c'est que les adhérents en sont dégradés ; élevez-les intellectuellement, et leurs capacités religieuses s'élèveront.

Que prétendons-nous donc que la religion doit-être ? Elle semble être le reflet de la relation existant entre le sujet qui adore et l'objet adoré, précisément comme le langage est le reflet d'une relation entre un sujet qui parle et l'objet à qui il parle. Ceci implique à la fois séparation et union. S'il n'y avait pas de séparation, il n'y aurait pas de nécessité ni pour une religion ni pour un langage ; s'il n'y avait pas d'union, il n'y aurait pas compréhension du message transmis.

Pour ce qui concerne le langage, le message est matériel, mais il n'en est pas de même pour la religion. Nous pouvons affirmer pour tous les siècles antérieurs ce que nous savons être vrai pour notre période historique, que personne n'a jamais vu Dieu, ou n'a entendu sa voix physiquement. L'instinct religieux dont l'homme a été pourvu par la nature, forme le pont sur ce qui serait sans cela un abîme infranchissable. L'humanité tout entière, en tous temps, a révéndiqué une révélation spéciale, mais dans la discussion qui nous occupe je la laisserai de côté. Nous avons à nous occuper du fait, basé sur l'évidence matérielle, que toute l'humanité, à toutes les périodes de son existence, prétendait avoir connaissance d'un dieu, et cherchait à communiquer avec lui ; et avec le développement de l'intelligence, le désir, et le pouvoir de communiquer ainsi ont augmenté, et l'on peut ajouter qu'une révélation directe serait même inutile, si l'homme n'avait pas les facultés nécessaires pour l'apprécier, facultés qui font complètement défaut

chez l'enfant, l'idiot, et le sauvage grossièrement ignorant. Le développement de ces facultés et leur évolution peuvent être étudiés et l'observation historique l'a fait pour nous. Pour tout observateur de la suite des temps, il n'est pas douteux qu'il n'y ait eu, à travers les âges, une évolution graduelle du langage, de la civilisation, et de cette sympathie pour les choses divines, que nous nommons religion ; avec chaque siècle s'est manifesté un type de plus en plus élevé de chacun de ces traits de l'humanité.

Nous pourrions faire quelques remarques sur chacune des conceptions religieuses inscrites dans la liste ci-dessus, mais vraiment, en ce qui concerne la première catégorie, il n'y a rien à dire. Excepté la conception greco-romaine (en les prenant ensemble pour cette discussion), aucune n'a laissé de traces sur le sable du temps, pour guider ou consoler ceux qui s'y rattachaient. Le monde s'est très bien passé d'elles. Elles ont, cela est vrai, rempli le rôle qui leur avait été assigné dans le drame universel, mais elles ont été englouties, même celles qui possédaient une littérature étendue, connue à présent, par la marée montante des idées nouvelles, et elles ne nous ont pas manqué comme le Judaïsme, le Brahmanisme, et le Confucianisme nous auraient manqué si des événements politiques hostiles les avaient fait disparaître. Le fait même de leur disparition sans laisser de traces dans les siècles subséquents, prouve qu'elles n'étaient pas à la hauteur de leur situation, car elles ne furent pas écrasées par l'intolérance, ou foulées aux pieds par le fanatisme, mais elles ont disparu par suite de leur propre faiblesse.

Le Zendavesta, comme l'Ancien Testament, contient beaucoup de fragments écrits à différentes dates, réunis fortuitement et représentant les sentiments de différentes époques, des parties transposées, ou jointes à d'autres avec lesquelles elles n'ont pas de rapport, souvent attribuées à tort à tel ou tel auteur. Ceci n'est pas pour surprendre, et n'aurait pas été possible s'il se fut agi de livres imprimés. Si quelque grand homme, ou une succession d'employés occupant pendant des générations le même emploi, avaient laissé dans un tiroir de leur bureau tous leurs documents manuscrits, et que bien des siècles plus tard quelqu'un eût copié chaque fragment de sa propre main et publié le tout de son mieux, le fil reliant un fragment à l'autre aurait été perdu sans espoir, jusqu'à l'apparition d'une critique plus savante.

Dans le magnifique culte greco-romain, tel qu'il existait dans les années qui précéderent l'ère chrétienne, il nous semble voir le point culminant des conceptions religieuses de l'ancien monde ou du moins de la partie occidentale de l'ancien monde, car la Chine et l'Extrême Orient étaient à part, et vivaient de leur propre vie intellectuelle et spirituelle. Les noms même de Bouddha et de Kung-Fu-Tsee (Confucius) n'étaient pas, jusqu'à cette date, parvenus aux peuples occidentaux et les idées sur la sagesse

hindoue étaient confuses. La grande masse des idées religieuses, qui prirent naissance en Babylonie et en Égypte, avant le temps d'Abraham, et en Iran et en Assyrie à des époques subséquentes, s'étaient répandues parmi les nations greco-romaines, toutes tolérantes, parfaitement humaines, prêtes à absorber tout élément étranger. Un livre comme l'Enéide la création de l'époque, est le produit d'une religion raffinée et élevée. Platon et les tragédiens athéniens, et Lucrèce et Cicéron ont laissé un témoignage immortel quant à la nature des conceptions religieuses de leur temps; sacrifice, prophétie, augures, miracles, théophaïe, un monde au-delà du tombeau, la voix divine dans les éléments de la nature. Dans l'Enéide seule, on pourrait trouver des exemples de tous ces phénomènes à la réalité desquels on était tenu de croire et à laquelle on croyait parce qu'ils représentaient l'idée dominante de l'époque, les anticipations humaines et les possibilités divines. Un grand événement était proche; la quatrième Eglogue de Virgile en révèle l'attente. Des autres religions éteintes une faible tradition seule survit. Mais le culte greco-romain a laissé des traces ineffaçables dans les idées et les rites payens, restés attachés à la nouvelle conception religieuse, qui leur a succédé en Europe et paraît avoir une puissance de perpétuité que le temps ne pourra jamais détruire. La philosophie néo-platonicienne et certains cultes italiens, quoique béatifiés sous le nom d'Eglise du Moyen-Age sont en effet un reste de paganisme et de judaïsme tels qu'ils existaient avant l'ère chrétienne et sont très différents des enseignements du prédicateur galiléen et de Paul son grand interprète chez les nations greco-latines.

Quant aux conceptions religieuses qui inspirent encore la pensée de milliers ou de millions d'hommes du dix-neuvième siècle, quelques remarques plus particulières sont nécessaires.

Au sujet du Brahmanisme rien ne saurait être plus impressif que l'opinion d'un grand érudit Indien, l'évêque Caldwell (Inde méridionale) qui écrivait en 1874 : " Je reconnais dans l'hindouisme " un élément plus élevé, un élément que *je ne puis envisager autrement que divin*, luttant contre ce qui est terrestre et mauvais en lui, et fréquemment subjugué quoique jamais entièrement détruit. " Je retrouve la trace de cet élément divin dans la religiosité, l'habitude de voir Dieu en toutes choses, et toutes choses en Dieu, qui " a fait la caractéristique si marquée du peuple hindou durant toutes " les phases de son histoire. Je la retrouve dans la conviction qu'il " existe un Dieu en qui ou par qui toutes choses ont leur existence, " quelque fausses que soient les idées sur ses attributs ; dans la " conviction qu'une religion est possible, désirable, nécessaire ; " dans la conviction que les hommes sont en quelque sorte séparés " de Dieu, et qu'ils doivent d'une façon ou d'une autre lui être " unis ; mais surtout dans l'idée, que j'ai trouvée universellement " répandue, qu'il faut attendre un remède pour les maux de la vie,

“ une explication de ses difficultés et de ses mystères, et les lois
“ d’un système de moyens à employer pour rechercher la faveur
“ divine, et pour s’élever à une vie supérieure, c’est-à-dire une
“ révélation ; bien plus, qu’une révélation semblable a été donnée,
“ le seul doute à ce sujet étant de savoir laquelle des révélations
“ existantes est la vraie ou la plus directement divine.”

Non seulement le Brahmanisme fut toujours tolérant, ou parfaitement indifférent, aux conceptions religieuses du dehors, aussi bien qu’aux sectes du dedans, mais il était favorable aux restes du culte de la nature, qui existaient encore dans les villages ou sur les flancs des montagnes ; il laissait subsister d’anciens autels. Les distinctions de castes repoussaient ceux qui étaient superstitieusement regardés comme impurs, mais c’était tout. Il semblerait que cette extrême tolérance fût la principale cause de la longue durée de ce culte et de l’accroissement constant du nombre de ses adhérents, car, en dépit de lui-même, le Brahmanisme est la puissance qui fait le plus de prosélytes aux Indes ; le nombre des tribus barbares non-aryennes, qui passent insensiblement chaque année dans les rangs inférieurs de la grande horde brahmane, est plus considérable que celui de tous les convertis aux autres religions. Il est possible de devenir Juif ou Parsi, toutefois ce n’est pas probable ; mais les tribus non-aryennes passent au brahmanisme par une transition naturelle ascendante ; il n’est besoin ni de persuasion, ni d’invitation, ni de prosélytisme au sens ordinaire du mot, car elles s’y précipitent de leur propre mouvement, comme les eaux d’un fleuve se précipitent dans un vaste réservoir.

Il ne faudrait pas supposer que, durant la longue et silencieuse existence du Brahmanisme, le plus ancien culte que le monde ait jamais connu, aucun effort n’ait été fait pour l’élever jusqu’à une atmosphère plus haute et plus pure ; au contraire, toute l’histoire religieuse de l’Inde est remplie de tentatives de ce genre, lutte constante pour l’existence d’une multitude de nouvelles conceptions, ou pour l’évolution des anciennes idées, parmi lesquelles quelques-unes sont du type spirituel le plus élevé. De temps en temps, des hommes à l’esprit supérieur ont paru comme des prophètes proclamant une lumière nouvelle, réclamant hautement un changement moral, remuant les cœurs d’une grande multitude ; mais ces tentatives n’ont pas eu de suites ; elles ont été comme la crûe des eaux à la fonte des neiges, fertilisantes comme elle, mais transitoires. Elles montrent cependant le trouble des cœurs et le progrès du sentiment, que les hommes avaient d’une grande idée, et non pas le déclin d’une révélation primitive. C’est l’âme des hommes poussée par l’Esprit Eternel à chercher son Créateur, la source de son pouvoir. L’ignorance, le vice, la sensualité, les intrigues des prêtres, et dans les temps plus anciens les violences politiques et l’intolérance fanatique, ont pu comprimer ce mouvement, mais s’il rencontre l’espace, la liberté et l’essor intellectuel,

on peut s'attendre au même phénomène; les sectes modernes, le Brahmanisme et l'Arya-Somaj, sont infiniment plus avancés intellectuellement et spirituellement que les sectes plus anciennes de Kabîr et de Baba Nanak.

Une vaste littérature en magnifique sanscrit, par bonheur parvenue jusqu'à nous, représente toutes les formes de littérature religieuse et philosophique, et montre jusqu'où l'esprit humain peut s'élever par une sévère introspection, par des méditations sur les vérités cachées, et par le désir ardent d'une vie supérieure. Le Temps a bien fait d'épargner ces gigantesques monuments de la puissance intellectuelle, disséminés sur une période de deux mille années, et transmis oralement de génération en génération jusqu'à ce que l'écriture alphabétique eût été apportée de l'Asie occidentale, puis développée par les grammairiens hindous jusqu'à un degré, qui n'a été atteint dans aucun autre pays; tandis qu'à la même époque les inscriptions gravées sur le roc, les cailloux, les cavernes, et les colonnes, indiquent le désir des hommes de ce temps de communiquer leurs idées aux générations postérieures, désir qui a été accompli.

Bien différent fut le sort du Zoroastrianisme; né dans les mêmes contrées que le Brahmanisme, et formulé dans une langue sœur ou plutôt une succession de dialectes de la même langue, il prit le nom du grand législateur dont la date d'existence est incertaine. À son apogée il entra en contact avec le judaïsme lors de la captivité de Babylone. C'était la religion d'état de Cyrus, monothéiste et tolérante; le judaïsme lui emprunta certaines conceptions religieuses; son influence diminua sous la domination grecque et romaine en Asie, bien qu'il reçût plus tard un redoublement de vie pendant le règne d'une dynastie nationale; mais, quelques siècles après, il fut extirpé du pays, où il avait si longtemps régné, par une nouvelle conception religieuse, intolérante et propagandiste; un petit nombre de fugitifs se réfugièrent dans l'Inde, où leurs descendants vivent encore et prospèrent respectables et intelligents. Par eux l'on a eu accès à leur vénérable littérature, dont une grande partie toutefois a été détruite. Ces faits ont été comme une révélation pour nos contemporains; d'après l'opinion des savants compétents, Zoroastre vécut à une époque antérieure à la philosophie grecque, il fut un grand penseur à l'esprit profond, bien supérieur aux hommes les plus éclairés de beaucoup de siècles ultérieurs. Grecs et Romains l'honoraient pour la prééminence, qu'il occupait dans l'histoire de l'intelligence humaine. Nous lui devons une si large part de notre héritage intellectuel, qu'il est difficile de concevoir ce que seraient les croyances humaines si Zoroastre n'eût pas parlé ou si ses paroles ne fussent pas parvenues jusqu'à nous. Les fragments les plus anciens sont le Gátha, hymnes originales de Zoroastre, et de ses compagnons et disciples immédiats; la date en est environ 1500 ou 1000 ans avant J.-C.,

peut-être même plus ancienne. Les autres parties sont de date beaucoup plus récente : environ 300 ans avant J.-C. ; des additions apocryphes se rencontrent par ci par là. Nous y trouvons formulées ces doctrines : 1° que la vertu porte en soi sa propre récompense et le vice son propre châtement ; 2° qu'il y aura une résurrection personnelle, et un jour de jugement au delà du tombeau ; 3° qu'il existe des anges, personnifications des pensées du dominateur du monde, envoyés pour ennoblir et racheter ses misérables créatures.

En traitant le sujet du judaïsme, il ne nous faut pas oublier, que pendant des siècles il a eu, aux yeux des Européens, le monopole de la sagesse orientale et de celle des siècles qui ont précédé l'ère chrétienne ; il a repris maintenant sa vraie position comme un des facteurs seulement, quoiqu'un des plus importants, de la formation de la conception religieuse dominante en Europe. Dans une discussion scientifique l'histoire des Hébreux et leurs monuments littéraires doivent être pesés dans la même balance que ceux des autres conceptions qui les ont précédés et avec lesquelles ils ont été en contact, c'est-à-dire celles des Egyptiens, des Babyloniens, des Assyriens, et des races sémitiques, conceptions disparues maintenant, et celles des Zoroastriens qui subsistent encore. Pendant des siècles l'Europe ignorante a attribué aux Hébreux une importance qu'ils n'ont jamais méritée. Comparez leur petite superficie géographique, et leurs quelques millions de population, comparez-les dis-je, à l'Inde ou à la Chine ; s'ils avaient été géographiquement voisins de l'Inde, on n'en aurait jamais entendu parler ; leurs souverains n'ont jamais été plus que d'insignifiants rajahs à la merci des souverains du bassin du Nil ou de l'Euphrate. La Mésopotamie et l'Egypte fourmillent de souvenirs d'une grandeur passée ; il en est de même du pays des Hittites ; une seule inscription est attribuée aux Hébreux.

Ils n'ont exercé d'empire, ni par les arts, ni par les sciences, ni par la puissance. Le peuple hébreu n'a jamais obtenu ni pouvoir parmi les autres nations, ni influence numérique ; il n'a laissé derrière lui ni grands monuments, ni inscriptions, quoiqu'il dût savoir ce qui se faisait chez ses voisins et maîtres accidentels, les Egyptiens, de même que chez les Assyriens, les Babyloniens, les Perses, les Grecs, et les Romains, qui en laissaient les traces jusque dans le pays de la Syrie, sur les rochers de la rivière Adonis. La superficie géographique assignée aux tribus hébraïques est si petite que lorsque, il y a quelques années, je me trouvais sur le mont Garizim, je pus embrasser d'un coup d'œil la Méditerranée, le mont Hermon, la vallée du Jourdain, et les montagnes qui entourent la Mer Morte. Je venais d'assister à l'annexion du Penjab, qui est simplement une province de l'Inde Anglaise ; j'avais pris part à la division de cette nouvelle province en dix-huit districts administratifs, et j'avais l'œil fait aux exigences gouvernementales ;

or, à mon avis, tout le pays des Hébreux aurait à peine fait deux districts Indiens de dimension ordinaire, et la contrée n'a jamais pu nourrir une population plus nombreuse que la population actuelle.

Nous voyons ainsi parmi les conceptions religieuses éteintes ou survivant encore, combien était comparativement petite la place occupée par le peuple hébreu; nous avons vu combien il est plausible de croire que les Hébreux ont emprunté quelque chose à Zoroastre, mais aucune des grandes conceptions religieuses avant l'ère chrétienne n'a emprunté une seule idée à la conception religieuse des Hébreux dont l'existence même était ignorée. Selon l'opinion moderne des savants juifs et payens, la littérature hébraïque prit naissance entre le neuvième et le cinquième siècle avant l'ère chrétienne ou même plus tard. Jusqu'au neuvième siècle l'Hébreu fut monolatriste plutôt que monothéiste, car il paraît avoir admis l'existence d'autres dieux dans d'autres tribus, ce qu'aucun monothéiste n'admettrait un instant. L'agent linguistique dont l'écrivain hébreu devait se servir était fort inférieur en capacité et en symétrie aux magnifiques formes de langage dont disposaient les sages de l'Inde et les écrivains grecs et romains. Aucune condamnation morale ne saurait être plus sévère que celle que leurs Prophètes ont prononcée contre les Hébreux. Enfin nous tenons de la bouche d'une autorité, que personne ne contestera facilement, qu'au début de l'ère chrétienne la spiritualité de la conception religieuse hébraïque, avait presque entièrement disparu, étouffée par un ritualisme vide, et par une présomption excessive. Personne ne peut affirmer que le fondateur de l'ère nouvelle, "la sagesse Divine," celui qui avait pris part à la création du monde, ignorât l'existence de toutes ces grandes conceptions religieuses, et le fait que l'homme dans sa recherche de Dieu l'avait adoré pendant des siècles. Il nous faut élargir notre appréciation des choses divines à mesure que s'étend notre connaissance de l'action de Dieu dans les temps anciens. Il nous a été dit que "nous saurions par la suite," et nous croyons humblement, qu'une connaissance plus complète nous a déjà été accordée.

Pour le malheur de l'Europe elle n'a eu devant les yeux pendant bien des siècles qu'un seul type de ces anciennes religions qui existaient avant l'ère chrétienne. Les néo-chrétiens n'avaient à leur disposition qu'une seule traduction grecque d'une conception asiatique des rapports entre Dieu et l'homme; la philosophie athénienne avait entièrement détruit la mythologie et les conceptions greco-romaines. La sagesse de l'Égypte était ensevelie dans ses tombeaux, et celle de la Mésopotamie, de l'Asie mineure, et de la Syrie sous les ruines de cités détruites. Au temps de l'empereur Adrien, l'Euphrate était devenu la limite non seulement de l'Empire, mais des connaissances historiques et géographiques des Romains. Ils ne connaissaient rien des conceptions religieuses de la Perse, si ce n'est sous la forme travestie du Mithraïsme, rien

non plus des enseignements des sages de l'Inde et de la Chine. D'après leurs livres, les Hébreux se considéraient comme ayant reçu non seulement une faveur spéciale et une direction de Dieu mais *la seule* faveur et direction. Les innombrables millions d'hommes de l'Asie orientale étaient ignorés, par déférence pour les assertions d'un petit peuple de quelques millions d'âmes, impropre à la guerre, ignorant même la science de cette époque, de son propre aveu très désobéissant aux lois de ses législateurs et aux commandements de son Dieu, un peuple esclave qui avait passé de la domination des Egyptiens sous celle des Philistins, des Assyriens, des Babyloniens, des Perses, et des Romains, ne laissant rien derrière lui, si ce n'est trente-neuf livres écrits dans une langue morte depuis 500 ans, en caractères particuliers qu'aucune autre nation n'avait adoptés. Ces livres exposent la faiblesse complète de leur caractère national, la fausseté même de leur idée d'adoration, car, imitant l'exemple des nations les plus dégradées, ils déshonoraient par la mutilation le corps de l'homme, sorti parfait et sacré des mains du Créateur, usage que les races plus nobles de l'Europe, de la Perse, et de l'Asie, auraient méprisé, et ils rivalisaient avec leurs voisins payens en plaçant toute leur idée d'adoration dans le sacrifice d'animaux innocents.

Le huitième chapitre du prophète Ezéchiel, écrit un siècle environ avant la naissance de Socrate, montre l'existence, même après les réformes d'Ezéchias et de Josias, de la forme d'adoration la plus dégradée; des êtres rampants, d'abominables bêtes et idoles représentés sur les murailles, et par conséquent un culte bien déterminé des femmes pleurant Tammuz et des hommes adorant le soleil. Suivant l'idée des écrivains hébreux, et de beaucoup d'autres des siècles subséquents, on affirmait que ceux, qui n'adoraient pas Jéhovah, adoraient des idoles faites par la main des hommes, qu'il n'existait aucune *via media* d'adorer le grand Dieu de l'Univers d'une autre manière et sous un autre nom. Le roi Cyrus n'était pas un idolâtre; il adorait un Dieu et l'identifiait avec celui des Hébreux. Était-il dans l'erreur? Même dans les livres du brahmanisme on trouve toujours la pensée de cette grande divinité indéfinissable, qui ne peut être représentée, si bien décrite dans un poème sanscrit:

“ Quoique la terre et l'univers rendent témoignage de ta puissance, à l'œil émerveillé de l'homme, aucun art humain aucun esprit mortel ne pourra définir ton Infinité.”

Avec le Bouddhisme nous entrons dans une nouvelle époque religieuse; l'origine des trois premières conceptions Brahmanisme, Zoroastrianisme, et Judaïsme, est enveloppée dans l'incertitude obscure des premiers siècles. Bouddha fut le contemporain à la s'en distance d'un siècle de Socrate; il y eut à cette époque une éclosion de génies intellectuels: Socrate et Pythagore, Bouddha, Kung-Fu-Tsee et Lao-Tsee; une période de transition était arrivée. Il faut se

souvenir que la conception bouddhique a pour base la sagesse et les méditations accumulées du Brahmanisme. L'histoire de ce grand sage est bien connue et bien nommée aussi "la lumière de l'Asie" et il en est de même quant à la nature de ces doctrines. La religion cessa alors d'être nationale et devint universelle et propagandiste. Par une ironie du sort, cette conception fut exilée de l'Inde, lieu de sa naissance, et répandue parmi les races non-aryennes de l'Asie centrale et orientale; elle a produit une littérature très considérable en langues et dialectes divers. La tolérance est le principe même de sa vie, et les sectateurs des deux autres religions propagandistes du monde doivent reconnaître à leur honte, que cette forme de croyance passive et tolérante a, de nos jours encore, un nombre nominal d'adhérents plus considérable que n'ont pu l'obtenir leur épée, et leurs tortures, leurs bâchers, leurs incapacités civiles, et leur confiscation des biens. D'un autre côté une dégradation profonde a accompagné sa marche. L'agnosticisme ne satisfait pas les désirs ardents du cœur humain, surtout chez les races de civilisation inférieure, et le grand Maître lui-même, a été placé sur le trône qu'il avait déclaré vacant: le plus humble, le plus modeste des hommes est devenu un objet d'adoration, tandis qu'autour de ses gigantesques statues s'est formé un épais brouillard de conceptions payennes.

Un écrivain compétent assure que, quels que soient les traits de ressemblance entre les écrits Pali Bouddhistes les plus anciens et le Nouveau Testament, il n'y a pas la moindre preuve, pas de probabilité raisonnable qu'il existe un rapport historique entre eux; s'il existe une ressemblance, elle ne vient pas d'un emprunt fait de part ou d'autre, mais uniquement de la similitude des conditions, au milieu desquelles les deux mouvements se sont produits dans un peuple asiatique; et aussi ajouterons-nous, de cette identité de pensée et d'action dans le Genus Homo, dont rend témoignage la liste de pratiques erronées identiques dans chaque nation avant l'ère chrétienne, époque nouvelle où tout ce qui avait été jusque là considéré comme juste, nécessaire, utile, et inévitable, fut rangé dès lors parmi les contes de bonnes femmes. Représentez-vous un souverain européen consultant un Ephode, ou demandant l'avis d'un devin, ou examinant les entrailles d'un animal avant de se mettre en campagne pour une expédition!

Parfois le Jaïnisme est mêlé de Bouddhisme, et parfois il se confond avec le Brahmanisme dont il est issu; il vaut mieux, peut-être, le traiter séparément. Contemporain des autres grands sages déjà nommés, Párasnath fut le fondateur de la secte des ascètes Jaïniens; le nom signifie: Vainqueur de la convoitise et du désir. Deux siècles plus tard Mahavíra donna à cette conception et à la confrérie sa forme dernière; comme Bouddha, il était de caste royale; tous deux représentaient la rébellion contre les intrigues des prêtres et contre les Brahmanes. Le Jaïnisme diffère

du Bouddhisme sous plusieurs rapports: il n'est jamais sorti de l'Inde, où il tient encore la place de quasi-secte; il a une forme de culte: la félicité ineffable, et non le Nirvâna, est l'idéal du Jâinisme, tous deux cependant insistent sur la moralité, la charité, la pureté, la patience, le courage, la méditation, l'instruction; tous deux rejettent les castes et sont athées. Les Jâiniens sont au nombre d'un million et demi de sectateurs, ils prescrivent la miséricorde envers tous les êtres animés, et placent un linge sur leur bouche pour sauver la vie des insectes, qui pourraient s'y égarer; ils possèdent une vaste littérature et un ordre de prêtres.

La grande conception religieuse de la Chine est trop bien connue pour réclamer beaucoup d'attention, elle a le caractère d'un code social moral, plutôt que celui d'une théologie: l'empereur est le faite de l'édifice, dont la structure n'est que pour cette vie seulement. Kung-Fu-Tsee ne prétend pas être un législateur, mais un collectionneur et codificateur de préceptes, dont l'existence remonte à une époque reculée. La littérature en est très étendue. Le culte des ancêtres est un des principaux traits de cette conception; il n'y a ni avenir, ni purgatoire, ni enfer. Son illustre fondateur n'a jamais prétendu être plus qu'un homme, mais il sentait qu'il avait à remplir une mission surhumaine. La bonté et le bonheur en ce monde étaient l'objet de son enseignement; il mourut sans prononcer une prière, sans manifester aucune appréhension; ce fut un des hommes le plus grands.

Le Tao-Tsee, fondé par Lao-Tsee, contemporain de Kung-Fu-Tsee, paraît avoir subi une profonde dégradation, car tel qu'il est maintenant, nous le voyons n'être qu'une superstition vulgaire et abjecte, une idolâtrie ridicule, avec des prêtres ignorants, n'inspirant de respect à personne; mais à l'époque dont nous nous occupons, l'on en parlait comme d'une philosophie élevée et pure, une route, le droit chemin, dans lequel les hommes devraient marcher. Tao signifie la nature, et Tao-Tsee la philosophie de la nature.

L'ancien culte du Japon, nommé Sintoïsme, est tout à fait national, et, depuis 1868, est devenu la religion de l'Etat; jusqu'à un certain point, il est combiné avec le Bouddhisme qui fut introduit de Chine au Japon. Le Sintoïsme est lié à l'histoire sociale et politique de la nation.

C'est un bienfait de penser qu'aucune des anciennes religions ne fut intolérante, ni ne fit de la propagande, par la force, ni ne fut inspirée par cet esprit mauvais et agressif qui devint caractéristique des conceptions postérieures à l'ère chrétienne. Elles étaient nationales et les souverains victorieux attribuaient leurs victoires à leurs divinités protectrices, que ce fut Assur, Amen Ra, ou Krishna; mais la religion du vainqueur n'était pas imposée aux vaincus, et les tribus transportées par les conquérants dans de nouvelles contrées n'étaient pas non plus forcées d'adopter les croyances de leurs voisins, ni de se conformer à leur culte. Les

Hébreux furent captifs en Égypte pendant plusieurs générations, et à Babylone pendant deux générations, mais on ne se mêla pas de leur religion. La tolérance des gouverneurs grecs et romains peut n'avoir été qu'une indifférence cynique, ou un mépris superbe de toute conception religieuse, qui n'était pas la leur. Il se peut que, dans une certaine mesure, les persécutions, en excitant une résistance virile, donnent une nouvelle vie à des croyances et à des pratiques qui, laissées à elles-mêmes, risqueraient de périr; cette observation s'applique spécialement aux conceptions religieuses qui n'ont pas en elles-mêmes de puissance d'expansion, ou d'adaptation aux progrès du temps, car les conceptions religieuses, comme toutes choses humaines, ont une durée marquée. Quelques-unes, en mourant, ont transmis un germe de vie à une nouvelle conception-sœur, quoiqu'il soit à remarquer que les conceptions brahmanique et juive ont vécu longtemps encore après avoir donné naissance à de nouvelles conceptions plus puissantes qu'elles-mêmes.

On sourit à pensée que chaque nation, les sectateurs de chaque conception religieuse s'imaginaient en toute bonne foi, qu'ils composaient à eux seuls tout l'univers et que Dieu ne s'occupait que d'eux seuls. C'est un trait très caractéristique des Hébreux; les Grecs, il est vrai, désignaient les étrangers sous le nom de *βάρβαροι*, mais les peuples d'Asie appliquaient à tout ce qui n'était pas eux-mêmes des termes de mépris, tels que : "mletcha," "goi," "diables étrangers," "maudits": quelques-uns allaient jusqu'à accaparer pour eux seuls le nom d'*hommes*, "les hommes proprement dit." Par un simple hasard et par suite de l'ignorance de l'Europe au sujet du monde asiatique, la phraséologie hébraïque, estimée à sa juste valeur par les peuples contemporains qui faisaient usage d'expressions semblables, la phraséologie hébraïque dis-je, fut prise au pied de la lettre et même envisagée comme divinement inspirée par les hommes, qui vécurent bien des siècles plus tard. Maintenant encore nous lisons cette phrase : "tout le monde" appliquée par les Juifs à la Syrie et par les Romains à l'ancien empire romain, oubliant que l'Inde et l'extrême orient qui renfermaient la moitié de la population du globe, étaient laissés à l'écart, quoiqu'ils fussent de beaucoup supérieurs à toute autre nation dans l'histoire de l'humanité, jusqu'à l'apparition des grandes nations européennes après l'avènement de l'ère chrétienne, supérieures dans les arts, les sciences, la puissance et le nombre.

Il serait peu sage de vouloir restreindre toute possibilité de connaissance divine à une seule et à une très petite nation de l'antiquité. Ce serait, semble-t-il jeter du déshonneur sur le Maître de l'Univers. Si faire cela était le résultat d'une étude insuffisante du sujet, on pourrait le nommer ignorance; si on le fait malgré une étude consciencieuse du sujet, c'est une fraude pieuse. Il semble qu'il plût à la puissance divine, qui créa et gouverna le monde, de révéler quelques-unes de ses vérités les plus

importantes aux adhérents de diverses conceptions religieuses différentes. Combien l'exclusion d'une si grande partie du sujet, ne rétrécitelle pas l'horizon des écrivains postérieurs. Augustin d'Hippone se serait exprimé autrement, s'il avait eu sur sa table un exemplaire de la Tripitika, du Bhágavad-gita, du Shu-King, ou du Yasna.

Toute l'atmosphère intellectuelle a changé, et les conceptions enfantines d'une époque ignorante et crédule ne sauraient subsister à la lumière éclatante des discussions modernes. Représentez-vous un Juif sacrifiant un animal dans une synagogue de Londres. Si un ami mahométan ou chrétien demandait à un hindou, instruit dans un des collèges de l'Etat, de décrire les croyances et les rites de sa famille, celui-ci serait confus et aurait honte de parler de son culte domestique. Si l'on interrogeait un Juif d'Angleterre sur la circoncision, il en serait aussi honteux qu'un Africain civilisé le serait de son tatouage, ou un Polynésien au sujet des dents qu'on lui aurait arrachées dans son enfance. La mutilation ou le défigurement du corps marquent le degré le plus inférieur de la dégradation de Religion.

Il est intéressant d'observer les différentes catégories, dans lesquelles on peut ranger les conceptions religieuses au moyen de leurs traits saillants ou de la caractéristique de leurs adhérents. Ces pauvres mortels ne peuvent manquer de tomber dans l'exagération d'un côté ou de l'autre. Nous voyons quelques braves gens, comme les Jaïniens par exemple, qui ne tueraient pas une mouche, fût-ce par hasard; tandis que d'autres ont offert des sacrifices humains; les uns n'ont aucune divinité à invoquer, les autres ont plusieurs objets d'adoration; les uns ne prient pas du tout, n'ayant rien à demander et aucune divinité à laquelle ils puissent s'adresser; d'autres chargent le fleuve en coulant de faire tourner une roue qui débite des prières dénuées de sens; d'autres encore payent des prêtres mercenaires et font dire par eux des psalmodies inintelligibles. Comme nous l'avons dit plus haut, il est de mode d'appeler idolâtrie toutes les anciennes religions du monde, excepté celle des Hébreux: mais pour quelques-unes, ce terme n'est pas exact et pour beaucoup d'autres il ne l'a pas été à leur début. Les conceptions brahmanique et greco-romaine furent toujours idolâtres: le zoroastrianisme ne le fut jamais, et les quelques adhérents à ce système qui survivent encore ne le sont pas non plus; le Bouddhisme et le Confucianisme ne l'étaient pas à leur origine, mais ils y sont arrivés peu à peu par suite de leur avilissement profond. Quelques-unes de ces conceptions ont un clergé tout puissant, par exemple les Brahmanes et les prêtres juifs; d'autres n'en ont pas.

Chez quelques-uns, la pensée de faire du prosélytisme ne s'est jamais présentée; dans les temps anciens, l'idée de faire de la propagande par la force ou en frappant d'incapacité légale ne venait que rarement à l'esprit. Voici quelques subdivisions :

I. Les religions dans lesquelles le prosélytisme est involontaire, comme c'est le cas pour le Brahmanisme par exemple, qui admet chaque année dans son sein des centaines de tribus inférieures non-aryennes, sans en être responsable semble-t-il.

II. Celles où le prosélytisme est permis; le Judaïsme admettait et admet encore les prosélytes d'une manière régulière.

III. Celles dans lesquelles le prosélytisme est un devoir et une obligation, soit par la persuasion, soit par la force. Le Bouddhisme et le Jaïnisme représentent la première de ces deux alternatives. Le Judaïsme, pendant ses dernières années, obligeait les tribus vaincues, Edomites, Ammonites, Moabites, à se faire circoncire.

La nature des croyances religieuses constitue une autre variété :

I. Le Zoroastrianisme, le Brahmanisme, et le Judaïsme étaient des systèmes Nationaux avec une formule de foi, des rites déterminés et des livres sacrés.

II. Le Confucianisme était simplement un code de morale sociale et politique.

III. Vers la fin de l'existence de la religion greco-romaine, la philosophie telle qu'elle était enseignée dans les écoles, prit la place du rituel et des croyances.

IV. Le Bouddhisme n'était que de l'athéisme.

Une autre division peut se faire comme suit :

I. Les religions positives basées sur l'enseignement de quelques hommes qui, de propos délibéré, se séparèrent des traditions du passé : entre autres le Judaïsme, le Zoroastrianisme, et le Bouddhisme : dans certains cas le chef se borna à codifier et à arranger des conceptions existant auparavant par exemple le Confucianisme et le Tao-Tsee.

II. Les religions traditionnelles, dont on ne peut faire remonter l'origine à aucun fondateur unique et qui ne furent pas propagées par une autorité individuelle puisqu'elles faisaient part de l'héritage du passé.

Les religions positives de l'ancien monde, ne firent pas leur apparition comme idées nouvelles, mais, furent plutôt le développement régulier d'une religion préexistante; il fallait consulter les anciens instincts religieux, et même adopter les anciennes formes présentées sous un aspect et un nom différents. On ne peut bien comprendre une religion positive à moins d'avoir étudié à l'aide de matériaux survivants, la religion traditionnelle qui l'a précédée. Les langues présentent quelque analogie; quelques langues sont mortes sans avoir rien produit: il en est de même de certaines conceptions religieuses. La religion et la langue

égyptiennes offrent un exemple du fait en question. Quelques langues ont donné naissance à de nouvelles langues; d'autres sont demeurées stériles.

Ces conceptions antiques ont ce trait commun de ressemblance, qu'elles ne reposaient sur aucune profession de foi et consistaient uniquement en institutions et en pratiques. Le rituel était le résumé de toutes ces religions, il faisait partie de la vie sociale et chacun s'y conformait comme on se serait conformé à toute autre habitude sociale. Les hommes acceptaient sans examen leur religion comme leur forme de gouvernement; ils n'étaient ni tenus de la comprendre, ni assez hardis pour la critiquer; ils n'avaient ni le choix ni la volonté d'en changer; elle formait une partie de leur bagage pour le voyage de la vie. Le temps passa, et d'une génération à une autre survinrent des changements de milieu, d'habitudes sociales, de langage et de conception religieuse, et l'on s'y conforma jusqu'à ce que la fin arrivât.

Un autre trait caractéristique ne tarde pas à attirer notre attention: la religion n'avait pas pour but le salut des âmes prises individuellement, la purification de chaque cœur, elle ne se proposait pas d'améliorer l'adorateur en vue du changement final, elle n'avait d'autre raison d'existence que pour la conservation et le bien-être de la société, elle s'alliait au patriotisme, au chauvinisme, aux luttes pour l'indépendance civile, et aux combats "pro aris et focis." Une nation n'était en aucune façon hostile aux dieux d'une autre nation, aussi longtemps qu'elles n'entraient pas en conflit l'une avec l'autre.

Aucune divinité n'était représentée comme douée de la toute-puissance et de l'omniprésence; chacune avait à s'occuper de ses propres adorateurs, auxquels elles appartenaient et qui les nourrissaient et les entretenaient. Même lorsqu'une religion à conception plus élevée apparaissait, l'existence d'autres dieux n'étaient pas contestée.

Certains traits se retrouvent dans toutes les conceptions religieuses; quelques-uns dans l'une, quelques-uns dans l'autre; quelques-uns dans toutes; tantôt dans une période de leur existence, tantôt dans une autre, avec des différences de noms et de détails, mais au fond toujours les mêmes. Ce sont les traits suivants:

- I. Anthropomorphisme de la divinité, polythéisme.
- II. Séjour de la divinité au milieu de ses adorateurs.
- III. Théophanies, visions, bons et mauvais esprits.
- IV. Culte primitif des animaux, héros, et fétiches.
- V. Culte des ancêtres, domestique, national.
- VI. Autels, reliques, pèlerinages.
- VII. Sacrifices: animaux, végétaux, humains.

- VIII. Prière formelle : orale, par procuration, ou par mécanisme.
- IX. Rituel dépourvu de sens, cloches, musique, danses, processions, encens.
- X. Intrigues de prêtres, sacerdoce, usurpation de pouvoirs.
- XI. Pureté ou impureté cérémonielle.
- XII. Jeûne, célibat, ascétisme, ordres religieux.
- XIII. Jours de repos, fêtes.
- XIV. Doctrine esotérique et exotérique.
- XV. Miracles : bienfaisants et malfaisants.
- XVI. Songes, augures, prédictions, oracles (épreuves).
- XVII. Péchés nationaux : hostilité des divinités.
- XVIII. Signes du ciel.
- XIX. Sorcellerie : possession par les malins esprits.
- XX. Différentes manières d'arranger les morts.
- XXI. Notions d'eschatologie, et jugement après la mort.
- XXII. Mutilation du corps, tatouage, marques de caste, circoncision.
- XXIII. Coutumes abominables.
- XXIV. Conception du sort, vengeance divine.
- XXV. Annales écrites sur des matériaux variés, pierres gravées en relief.
- XXVI. Tradition.
- XXVII. Sainteté de certaines fonctions séculières et religieuses.
- XXVIII. Nécessité des bonnes œuvres.
- XXIX. Absence de spiritualité.
- XXX. Architecture, sculpture, littérature, monuments religieux.

CONCLUSION.

Emerson fait observer que la traduction systématique des livres sacrés de l'Orient jouerait un rôle dans la réorganisation de la pensée religieuse, qui est caractérisée par le désir d'adoucir les lignes de démarcation, de reconnaître dans toutes les religions les éléments de la Vérité, et d'assigner à chacune la place, qu'elle a occupée dans l'éducation de l'esprit humain.

Nous trouvons dans l'histoire la trace de ce fait important qu'une partie de l'héritage primitif, intellectuel et spirituel de l'humanité, quelle que soit la race, la conformation physique, la couleur, la langue, ou la civilisation, a été donnée à différentes nations contemporaines ou qui se sont succédées les unes aux autres. Dans toute tentative faite pour développer les facultés, utiliser les ressources ou élargir les idées, le sens religieux doit avoir une part et une part importante. Il est difficile d'imaginer comment on pourrait mesurer le progrès de la vie humaine si ce n'est par la naissance, le développement, le déclin, et la disparition

des conceptions religieuses. Une limite semble être imposée aux langues et à la religion de même qu'aux arbres d'une forêt; chacun, en son temps doit faire place à des successeurs plus vigoureux, mais langues et religion laissent une emprunte; il ne peut y avoir de mouvement rétrograde dans cette lutte; un progrès doit être fait, et ces deux facultés de l'homme, qui lui permettent, l'une, d'entretenir des rapports avec la société, l'autre, des rapports avec le Maître de l'univers, doivent marcher de pair avec le développement humain.

Ecrivant avec la hardiesse du philosophe, libre de toute idée préconçue sentimentale, et des entraves de la scolastique, sur une question ouverte à la discussion et basée sur une évidence historique positive, je ne puis faire autrement que d'envisager tous ces phénomènes comme des Messages envoyés aux races humaines, noire, brune, rouge, jaune, et blanche, races de créatures se distinguant de la brute par la station verticale *ἀνθρώπος* et par le don d'un langage articulé (*λόγος*), ou, en d'autres termes que ce furent diverses représentations du Moi, de l'Univers, et de Dieu. Ils attestent les aspirations et les désirs du Genus Homo, proclamés par quelques-uns des Grands Héros de la morale, qui apparurent à diverses époques et prononcèrent des paroles ineffaçables concernant nous-mêmes, notre prochain, notre Dieu. Dans les siècles précédents nous manquions d'une connaissance suffisante des faits. Nous étions, dans un sens, trop crédules, dans l'autre, craintifs à l'excès. Maintenant nous voyons clairement à travers tous les siècles se développer un plan suivi, et Dieu, toujours présent, travaillant avec l'homme à toutes les périodes de son existence; un peu ici, un peu là, mais toujours marchant en avant. De même que les différents traits qui apparaissent dans toutes les religions, nous disent que tous les hommes sont frères, malgré leurs différences physiques, de même, l'existence continue d'une dispensation calme et immuable, nous apporte la conviction, que nous sommes tous la même argile entre les mains du même potier, qui nous façonne afin que nous puissions être estimés dignes d'être appelés enfants de Dieu.

N'y a-t-il pas d'autre alternative? Il y en a deux. Je dois d'emblée abandonner la première, à savoir, que toutes les races de l'humanité avant l'ère chrétienne quittèrent la scène de ce monde pour entrer dans les tourments éternels, ainsi que le suggère complaisamment le psalmiste hébreu: ps. ix, 17, "Les méchants retourneront ou sépulcre; toutes les nations qui oublient Dieu y retourneront." Il se peut que, d'une façon générale, quelques personnes conservent encore cette manière de voir. Toute sévérité devant être exclue de cet Essai, je me tais.

La seconde alternative soutenue par des hommes bons, bienveillants, mais ignorants est que, d'une façon ou d'une autre, les grandes nations de l'antiquité se frayèrent un chemin, fondèrent

des empires, construisirent des temples, gravèrent des inscriptions, qui subsistent encore de nos jours, sculptèrent ou peignirent des tableaux que nous pouvons voir encore, écrivirent des documents qui, grâce à une succession de copies, sont parvenus jusqu'à nous, et nous sont intelligibles. Ceux qui nous ont ainsi précédés dans l'empire du monde étaient évidemment puissants et instruits, capables, ici de construire des pyramides, là de tailler des temples dans le rocher, et leurs tablettes et leurs inscriptions témoignent de leur désir de vivre dans le souvenir des siècles subséquents. Si, parcourant le Musée britannique, nous contemplons ces intéressantes peintures, ces documents inscrits sur la pierre, la brique, le papyrus, ou le parchemin, nous sommes frappés du fait que tous semblent avoir été inspirés par un sentiment, sinon le même, du moins presque pareil, et que nous, modernes, nous nommons sentiment religieux, ils étaient tous ce que Paul à Athènes nommait "*θεοσεβεισμοσ*." Les rois y sont représentés comme adorant une puissance plus grande qu'eux-mêmes, lui rendant grâce pour leurs victoires et leur prospérité, invoquant sa protection. Des inscriptions gravées sur les rochers et péniblement déchiffrées par nos contemporains, une voix s'élève, prêchant l'amour du prochain, la miséricorde envers les animaux, la tolérance sur les sujets religieux. Nous reconnaissons que ces hommes, nos prédécesseurs éloignés, étaient des hommes qui, en dépit de toutes les différences de temps, de lieu, de milieu, espéraient, désiraient, craignaient, demandaient les mêmes choses, s'adressant à la même Personne. Devons-nous croire que le Maître des hommes, le même hier, aujourd'hui, et éternellement, si plein de bonté, de miséricorde, et d'amour envers toutes ses pauvres créatures, ne se souciait pas de ces innombrables millions de payens incirconcés, qu'il les abandonnât à leur sort, que son Saint Esprit ne parlât pas à leur conscience, ne répondit pas à leurs prières, et qu'il réservât tout son amour pour les quelques brebis de la race hébraïque jusqu'à l'avènement de l'ère chrétienne, époque à laquelle il aurait commencé à prendre soin de tous ses pauvres enfants sans distinction de couleur ou de race. Nous savons d'une manière positive qu'il aime le monde dès le commencement.

La rétribution de Dieu est lente mais sûre. Le développement si lent des conceptions religieuses ne nous fournit-il pas un exemple de la patience inépuisable et du long support du Maître de l'univers ? Tantôt d'un côté, tantôt de l'autre, échec, aussi bien que succès : manifestation des facultés intellectuelles les plus élevées dans la conception, et de la dégradation la plus abjecte dans la pratique. Si, par lui-même, l'homme avait pu fouler aux pieds la faiblesse inhérente à sa nature, Bouddha l'aurait fait. S'il suffisait de respecter les ancêtres et les devoirs sociaux pour être sauvé, Kong-Fu-Tsee a élaboré un système de ce genre, qui a vécu près de 3000 ans. Si le ciel pouvait être pris par la violence, l'auteur du

Bhágavad-gíta, le Θεσπέσιον μέλος, le Divinum Carmen, de l'école de Sánkhya, quoique son nom ne soit pas parvenu jusqu'à nous, aurait pu y être admis. S'il ne tombe pas à terre un seul passereau sans la volonté de Dieu, il nous est permis de penser humblement, que Socrate, fils de Sophronisque n'a pas vécu et n'est pas mort si noblement sans remplir quelque rôle dans le plan divin en servant d'exemple pour les siècles futurs. Ces sages de l'antiquité, poussés par le Πνεῦμα qui était en eux à élaborer les systèmes égyptien, babylonien, assyrien, brahmanique (avant qu'Abraham fût, ils étaient) n'étaient pas des enfants occupés à construire des châteaux de cartes, ou des édifices sur le sable que la prochaine marée viendrait balayer. Les empires humains dont ils faisaient partie sont détruits depuis longtemps et presque oubliés, mais leurs conceptions vivront à toujours, qu'elles aient été confiées au papyrus ou à la pierre, ensevelies dans une tombe ou transmises verbalement de générations en générations jusqu'à ce que l'invention de l'alphabet eût permis de les fixer sur le parchemin.

Ils cherchaient Dieu, s'il leur était possible de le trouver, et le Saint-Esprit parlait à leur conscience, séparant le bien du mal, et réalisant les paroles d'un poète qui vécut avant l'ère chrétienne :

Confringere ut arcta
 Naturae primus portarum claustra cupiret.
 Ergo vivida vis animi pervicit, et extra
 Processit longe flammantia moenia mundi,
 Atque omne immensum peragravit mente animoque.

Lucretius, I. 73.

IV.

THE RELIGIONS OF THE ANCIENT WORLD. A

LECTURE DELIVERED AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM,

DECEMBER 10, 1894.

IN a lecture on this subject you must not expect to hear from me a word, or the suggestion of a thought, derogatory to the Doctrines of Christianity: you would not have come to me, if you had anticipated any such thing, nor should I have accepted your invitation with such a view: we stand on an entire and unfeigned belief, that in the fulness of time God so loved the world, that He gave us His only Son, that through Him all the world might be saved, not the Hebrew Race only.

My subject relates solely to what happened before the great Anno Domini, so no allusions to Mahometanism, or any Religious conception, whose origin is of a later date, will be found in my remarks. The position of mankind before, and subsequent to, that Epoch is totally different: up to that Epoch God's plan of Salvation had not been made known to mankind; after that date this cannot be said. We are not here to pass judgment on the spiritual position of those, who know not the Lord, but we must note the fact, that only one-third of the population of the world are nominally Christians at the close of the Nineteenth Century, and that the annual increase, by excess of births over deaths, of the non-Christian world, far exceeds the number of converts to Christianity in non-Christian Regions.

I. My first point is, that it is wrong, thoroughly wrong, to scoff and laugh at the Ancient Religious conceptions of the Human Race: they were men like ourselves, of like passions as our contemporaries. Many of the great Nations of antiquity have left behind them splendid architectural monuments, and a vast and noble literature. There were Philosophers in their midst, such as Socrates and Plato, Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, Gautama

Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and others, who have left behind words and thoughts, which the world will not willingly let die. On the monuments they are depicted, in Painting and Sculpture, as worshipping their National and Personal God, flying to Him in adversity, seeking His counsel, returning thanks for His bounty: that the form, which that Worship assumed, differs from ours, and this Epoch, is not to be wondered at. Each generation of men is the creature of its own Epoch: the chances are, that they in their ignorance would smile at our Churches, and Worship: let us be more noble, and show that we are wiser: we know that God is no respecter of persons; that He is a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit and truth; that He searches the heart, and that outward show goes for nothing.

II. We have then to meet another objection, that to show any interest in such subjects, to give any credit for piety, or purity, to the ancient Races of Mankind, indicates a laxity of belief in the Christian Verity: there are some, who composedly consign all the non-Christian Races before Anno Domini to Hell-fire, reserving a modified way of escape to the petty tribe of the Hebrews. In Acts xvii. 26 we read, that God made of one blood all the Nations of men; and another writer tells us, that He hateth nothing that He hath made. All the above-mentioned un-Christian ideas must be brushed away. An inquiry into the Religious conception of the ancient Races is one of the most profitable and interesting of Studies: it fortifies the belief of Christians, because it justifies the ways of God to man.

III. On reaching my third point I must lay down as a fact, that Man has, and is, and always will be, a Religious Animal. Historians record no Race, which has not some indication of a recognition by man of a Power greater than himself, and a Worship: it is the same now among the most barbarous Races, to which Europeans have access. And there is found to be a progress in the Religious conception, as people rise in civilization, and knowledge.

IV. The first stage is Animism, or the Worship of spirits, bad or good, friendly to man, or hostile: the manner in which this has been developed is multiform. The Tree, the Serpent, the Lingam, seem to have been the primeval objects of Worship; rising higher came the Worship of Animals, Totemism, Feticism, Anthropomorphism. We can form a judgment as to what they were by considering the account sent home of what some now are: In East Equatorial Africa, in many tribes, no such things as idolatry or fetish are to be found. There are, however, the greatest superstitions, and ramifications of witchcraft, and the ordeal is very paramount. The natives have some belief in a Creation, and a shady belief in the personality of a great Being who, they thought, had created them. Practically, however,

they have no belief in God, as an Ethical Being, and they are really ignorant of sin, although they know something of moral evil. They recognise murder and adultery as moral evils, and their rulers (and the tribes are well-ruled, even in absolute heathenism, by a patriarchal Government) punish these evils, without recognising them as sins. They believe nothing about a Future life, and although they have a great fear of death, that arose, not from fear of what was coming after death, but because of their intense liking for, and great enjoyment of, life. They do not believe in natural death, but feel certain, that death is caused by some living person. *The great enemy, which has to be fought, is the profound indifference of the tribes to all Religious matters.* In the Encyclopædia Britannica, ninth edition, vol. xx. page 358, word "Religions," all these phases are set out in detail by a most competent scholar, and we may pass this portion of the subject by, and turn to the others: Ethical conceptions, or Book-Religions.

V. The detail of names shows, that they are Geographically confined to Asia, and that they all exist to this day. This gives the Study of them an importance, which is wanting to those Religious conceptions, which passed out of existence in the early centuries of the Christian era, leaving no trace of themselves behind. I mention (1) the Egyptian, (2) the Babylonian, (3) the Assyrian, and (4) the Græco-Latin, which have left a vast literature illustrative of their Religious conceptions, and monuments on different kinds of material, but not one single hereditary worshipper.

The first three in my list are confined to British India: (1) Zoroastrianism is perhaps the most ancient in time: Zoroaster's date is uncertain, but it is placed at 1500 B.C. Its Region was Central Asia, and Cyrus, the great king of Persia, and his successors, represent it in its most illustrious period. There was no Idolatry there: it came into contact with the Hebrews at Babylon, and it is asserted, that it lent to them the conception of Angels, or personified qualities of the great Creator, the idea of a Future State of Rewards and Punishments, and of the Spirit of Evil or Satan, whose name occurs but in three of the pre-Exilic Books of the Old Testament, while the name Beelzebub never occurs at all in the Old Testament. Subsequently it was uprooted from Persia by the Mahometan Religion, and is now represented by a few thousand of worthy and respectable Parsi settled in India: the literature of this Religious conception is very ample and interesting, and has been translated and published in Europe.

(2) Brahmanism is represented by at least two hundred Millions of Her Majesty's subjects spread over an enormous area; with a powerful Priesthood, splendid Temples, a magnificent literature, and an antiquity, to which it is difficult to fix any date: it has

sects, and subdivisions, each containing Millions: it never was either intolerant of other Religions outside of itself, or of divergence of conceptions, which in Europe are called heresies, within. It never was intentionally propagandist, and yet year by year under the slow progress of civilization, tribes, who were previously Animistic, pass into the lower castes of Hinduism: it is distinctly idolatrous in practice, though highly spiritual in dogma. In the last quarter of a century it is giving out of its bosom new forms of Religious conception, highly spiritual and moral, based on its own sacred Books, but borrowing much from the Religious conceptions, which came into existence after the great Anno Domini.

(3) Jainism. Sometimes Jainism is mixed up with Búddhism, and sometimes blended with Brahmanism, from which it issued. Contemporary with the other wise and great men, who left a mark on the Religious History of the world, 600 B.C. lived Párasnath, the founder of the Jaina ascetics, which word means "conqueror of lusts and desires": two centuries later lived Mahavíra, who gave the ultimate form to the conception and the brotherhood. Both Jainism, and Búddhism, in their very essence, represented a rebellion against Priestcraft and the Brahmins: they differ from each other in dogma: Jainism never left India: both lay stress on Morality, Charity, Purity, Patience, Contemplation, Knowledge: both get rid of caste, and are atheistic: ineffable bliss is the object of Jainism, as Nirvána is of Búddhism: they number one and a half Million: they enjoin mercy to all living creatures, and place a cloth over their mouths to protect insects from absorption into their throats: they have a considerable literature, a Priesthood, and forms of Worship, and an antiquity of 2500 years.

(4) With Búddhism we leave the shores of India, and pass into the great round world both in theory and practice: up to this Epoch, 600 B.C., a Religious conception had been a National affair: it was possible to extend the area by colonies or conquest, but Búddhism marks an Epoch in the History of man: it was the first attempt by argument and by example to spread a Universal belief, not by the force of arms, but by the force of words of advice. It is remarked by Beal ("Búddhism in China," p. 82) that the secret of the power of the Búddhist lies in this: it was utterly unselfish: its teachers, following the example of Búddha, lay down, that the greatest good and happiness, that a man can enjoy, is to do good to others: *the thought of self is evil*: the greater love of others than of ourselves is the end of Religion. Can we wonder that such a doctrine, illustrated by the outward living of the teacher, conquered the Far East, and in spite of frightful corruption, and contamination by previously existing forms of Animism, still retains its hold on Millions, far beyond

the sum total of the followers of any other Religious conception. Six centuries later the same Doctrines of pure Altruism, and Christian Socialism, were heard from the lips of one greater than Búddha; but it may be received as a certainty, that there is not the slightest evidence, or reasonable probability, of any historical connection between them: if there be a resemblance (and there is), it is not due to the quoting by our Master of the utterances of His great predecessor in the Far East, but solely to the similarity of the condition, under which the two movements grew in an Asiatic People, and the teaching of the same Holy Spirit to Búddha, the humblest and holiest of the Human Race, pointing out the Noble Way of loving one's neighbour better than one's self. Let us, therefore, guard ourselves against two errors: the first of thinking for a moment, that the teaching of our Master was only a reproduction of the teaching of Human teachers in days gone by; and the second, almost greater than the first, of withholding from seekers after God, like Socrates, Búddha, Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, the honour due to them of being in their particular age and country, and up to the degree of development of their countrymen, and the extent of the Message entrusted to them by the Holy Spirit, charged by the Ruler of the World with a Message to their fellow-creatures, the influence of which has lasted so many centuries, and can never die. When the Fulness of Time came, and the Son of God became incarnate, their work was completed, and, though in a degraded form they linger on, they are out of touch with the Religious conceptions of the present Epoch.

(5, 6) The great Religious conceptions of China, Confucianism and Taouism, may be passed over with a few words: accomplished writers have made all classes familiar with them. Like Búddhism they both imply Atheism: Confucianism partakes more of the character of a Social Moral Code than of a Theology: the Emperor is the pinnacle of the edifice, the structure of which is for this world only: Kong-Fu-Tsee, who lived about 600 B.C., did not pretend to be a legislator, but a careful collector and codifier of existing precepts, oral or written, which date back to a remote past: we seemed to see an analogue of the literary position of Ezra on the return of the Hebrews from Exile, about the same date, when the Books of the Hebrews were codified. Ancestral Worship is a great feature, but there is no word about a Future State, Purgatory, or Hell. The great codifier never claimed the power of Miracles, or the gift of Inspiration, but he clearly felt, that he had a Superhuman Mission: Goodness and happiness in this world was the object of his teaching: he died uttering no prayer, and evincing no apprehension: he was one of the greatest of men. His contemporary, Laou-Tsee, founded the system, called Taouism, which may be described as the Philosophy of Nature.

(7) Shintoism is the old political Religion of Japan: it is scarcely worth notice, and a much longer existence cannot be expected: it is a survival of past ages.

(8) The last on my list is Judaism, the holders of which Religious conception number now about eight Millions, and are scattered over the world. Their Religion is nominally a National one, but for eighteen centuries they have had no Nation or country: it belongs to the Hebrew Race, in whatever Gentile country they have introduced themselves: the fact is crushing to all thoughtful minds, that so many of the seed of Abraham, after centuries of cruel discipline, expatriation, and disappointment of their own fond hopes of a Messiah, should still deny Him, who came of their own Race, and fulfilled their own Prophecies; it seems strange, that a Zoroastrian, Hindu, Búddhist, and Confucianist, should in so many cases accept the Precious Promises, which the Jew refuses, though based on his own Scriptures, and developed on his own lines, and prefers a vain, hopeless alternative of a system of degraded legalism, or an uncovenanted Theism, which stultifies the Records of his Race, for what were the Promises made to Abraham, and repeated by the Prophets, if after the lapse of so many centuries nothing has fallen to the Hebrew, but to be placed spiritually in the category of the ancient Zoroastrian, or the modern Agnostic?

Dr. Westcott, Bishop of Durham, writes thus in his "Gospel of Life" (p. 109): "Our knowledge of God depends on the "Revelation, which He is pleased to make of Himself: the "natural voice of Humanity proclaims with no uncertain sound, "that He has in fact made Himself known in various ways, "and at various times"; and again (p. 123): "The Gospel is "the answer to every Religious aspiration, and need of man: "we must then, if we are to comprehend its scope, try to hear, "and understand, every voice of those, who have sought God, "even if they be only the voice of children crying in the dark." I quote these words, that my hearers may perceive, that I do not stand alone. The Christian Missionary forgets his high duty, when he stoops to ridicule or abuse the Religious conceptions of ancient Races, which he does not himself understand, and which have been permitted by the Ruler of the Universe to possess the hearts of man for so many generations and centuries. I seek to justify the ways of God to man: Millions of Millions, from the dawn of the Creation to the great Anno Domini, were not permitted to pass through their allotted term of life without some penumbra of the great Truth, some influence of the Holy Spirit, some knowledge of Good and Evil, some desire to find God, to worship Him, and, as the Sanskrit Poet describes it, *fly to Him for Refuge*.

A careful consideration of the mysteries of Human life, and

the pages of History, must lead a thoughtful Student of the relations betwixt God and man, as far as we can understand them, to some such answer, as the Christian dispensation supplies; for, in truth, Christianity is so reasonable, so simple, and so sufficient for all Human requirements. But before Christ came in the Flesh, the elder world had to work out the great problem in its own way, feeling and groping through darkness for more light, and find such an answer as it could to the great Riddle of Birth, Life, and Death. History supplies us with solemn narratives of the attempts to feel after God by pious and spiritual men, if haply they could find Him. In our fuller Light we must not despise them. Their temples were not destroyed by lightning; their Priests were not consumed at the Altar by fire from Heaven: God was not in a hurry, as some modern enthusiasts are. He has allowed nineteen centuries to pass by since the Word became Flesh, and countless centuries preceding that great event: we must wait His pleasure for the conversion of mankind: a cold Philosophy, such as that of the Athenian schools, will not effect it, as the mass understand it not; a stern Morality, such as that of Kong-Fu-Tsee, will not attain to it, as a spiritual Power is required to enforce that Morality, and the mass care not for it. At any rate, we can reverently study His dealings with mankind since the day of their Creation.

A few words in conclusion: All these Religious conceptions were, and still are, tolerant: if left alone themselves, they will leave others alone: the curse of Intolerance came into existence with the Religious conceptions after the great Anno Domini, and the followers of the great Teacher of Love and Peace have been the great persecutors. Islam but followed the example of Christianity, and Islam offered the alternative of conversion or double taxation; Christianity offered the alternative of Baptism or Death, until the date of the Reformation.

This is not the place to go into the particular tenets of each Religious conception: there are excellent treatises on the subject, readily accessible, at the dépôts of the S.P.C.K. None of these great ancient Religious conceptions, with the exception of Judaism, stooped to the low-water mark of Religious degradation as to mutilate or disfigure the body made in the Image of God. And with reference to the survival of these ancient conceptions, if any Missionary thinks, that he would much prefer a *tabula rasa*, and to deal with Nations of Agnostics, let him learn, that the latter presents the most dangerous form of spiritual error, to which man can reach.

Hear what the present Archbishop of Canterbury says: "It has been borne in upon us, that a Religious tone of mind, though heathen, is a better field for Christian effort than a non-Religious tone of mind. In those Regions, where Europeans are destroying

“belief in the old Religions, if they have not the Religion of Christ at hand immediately to substitute, they have done more harm to Religion than good: it is not true, that the mind, from which every possible Superstition has been banished, is in a better taste of receptivity for the Truths which we have in hand, than the mind, which still retains its Religious tone, though corrupt: if one single generation intervenes, which has no Religious habits, no thought beyond the grave, no tone, which makes it perpetually look up to that which is beyond it, we shall find it harder to convert the children of that generation than to convert the followers of the decaying Religions of ancient days, however firmly they hold to their own Ideas.” These great lawgivers were each in their Epoch school-masters to lead man to something higher, that in Future days was to come: their teachings were separate Messages to Mankind, an earnest that our Heavenly Father cared for all His poor children, and did not restrict His parental Love to the few Millions of the disobedient, and egotistical, sons of Abraham.

The French theologian, the late Dr. Pressensé, in his book on “The Ancient World and Christianity” (1888), makes remarks to the following purport:

“The Spirit of God has been at work in the Pagan world: Divine lessons are to be found, not in the literature of the Jews alone, but also in the manifold Religious conceptions of all times: to recognise the magnificent equipment of Humanity is to take a higher view of man as man. This is a more excellent lever than the proclamation of the doctrine of depravity. Nothing is gained for the Gospel by depreciating and vilifying Human Nature.”

Ponder over in your hearts, my friends, the way in which the Creator of the Universe has dealt with His poor children: think of His inexhaustible Patience and Long-suffering: His presence throughout all the ages was made manifest by acts of mercy and pity. He chose the Hebrew Race; and the utterances of Jeremiah and Ezekiel before the Exile, and of our Lord at the Epoch of the great Anno Domini, show how miserably the chosen Race failed, not only in duty to their Jehovah, but in the ordinary requirements of Morality to each other. But it is the same God in 1900 A.D. as it was in the time of Abraham, 1900 B.C., merciful, slow to anger, and of exceeding great kindness to the children of men; and man is the same man, desirous of finding out God, and yet slow to obey Him, knowing the right way, and yet prone to Error. The story, which I have told you, reads like a great Parable, but the actors were real men, of the same passions as those of the present day.

V.

THE HOLY COAT OF TREVES.

I AM familiar with the subject of pilgrimages, relics, and modern Miracles, both among Christians of the Greek and Roman persuasions and the non-Christian world of Mahometans and Pagans. There was something so startlingly unique about the appearance of the Seamless Coat of our Blessed Lord, shown to the public only after long intervals, that I took the opportunity of a spare day betwixt the Geographical Congress at Berne, in Switzerland, on August 8, and the Congress of the Romish Church of Belgium at Malines, on September 8, to make a pilgrimage to Treves, join in one of the numerous processions, and be an eye-witness of the relic. I made two visits on two successive days. According to my practice I bought a copy of the authorized account of the Holy Robe, published under the sanction of the Archbishop of Treves in the French Language, and I had the advantage of procuring a copy of the account in English, by an English Romish Priest, who performed the pilgrimage and communicated his views to *The Month*, a Romish monthly, under the initials of R. F. C., and has since published a separate volume, under the name of Richard F. Clarke, of the Society of Jesus, Farm Street, Berkeley Square.

Pilgrimages are the peculiar weakness of all false Religions, and the degraded forms of the true Religion. Jerome, in his letter to Paulinus, about A.D. 416, denounced the growing weakness of the early Christians. I quote his famous passage: "Et de Jerosolomis, et de Britanniâ, æqualiter patet aula cœlestis." However, the practice grew; we may be thankful, that no Protestant Church accepts the Idea of pilgrimage. I have watched the great pilgrimages of the Hindu people to the Ganges, or the Mahometan to some local shrine, and of Christians to Jerusalem, and Loretto, and Lourdes, and Saragossa; no doubt they are all survivals of old paganism, which clings to the skirts of even a spiritual Religion.

The motive of pilgrimages seems to be threefold: (1) To visit spots of which the sacred interest is undoubted, such as Jerusalem

and Palestine. (2) To visit spots where visions of the Virgin Mary are credited, such as Lourdes and Saragossa. (3) To visit spots in some way connected with our Lord's earthly sojourn, such as the Holy House of Loretto, the Sacred Stairs, and the Sudarium, or Pocket-handkerchief of Veronica, at Rome, and the burial-sheet, in which the Body of our Lord was deposited at Turin, the Wood of the Cross, the Nails, the Spear, the Crown of Thorns, and the Holy Coats at Rome, at Argenteuil, and Treves. The pilgrimage to Treves belongs to the last-named class, and Protestants should regard the motive with pity rather than aversion. With the first class of pilgrimages they would naturally sympathize as regards the motive, and no doubt there is a spiritual advantage, or, at the least, joy, in visiting the scenes of our Lord's earthly sojourn. As to the second class, I have in late years visited both Lourdes and Saragossa, purchased authorized descriptions of both in French and Spanish respectively, and no censure seems sufficient for those, who knowing better lend countenance to such palpable impostures. But, as regards the third class, I feel more pity and sorrow than indignation; the details are so like those, with which I am familiar in Hindu and Mahometan countries. It is well said, that their existence is the response of Priests, whether Christian or non-Christian, to that craving of poor, weak man for something *at once tangible and superhuman*, and this feeling has led professors of debased forms of Faith to cling to relics as remedies against the evils and dangers that surround us. The feeling is excusable in an African and South Sea Islander; it may be tolerated in the professors of the non-Christian Book-religions; but deplored when practised by churches calling themselves Christians. It is, in very fact, fetish-worship, for it is not a personage, that is being adored for the exercise of miraculous power, but it is merely a perishable article, the work of men's hands and something akin to the shapeless idol of the savage. It is true that the Archbishop of Treves, in his opening address, remarked, "Our veneration of the sacred relic is *not* due to the fact, that it is the Coat of Christ, but it is intended for Him who wore it." So learned Brahmins have explained to me the motive of the worship of idols in India; so, no doubt, the augurs of the pagan worship in ancient Rome would have expressed themselves; but the fact remains that the ignorant rural priests, and their still more ignorant flocks, take a more obvious view of the subject; that they see a coat; that they adore a coat; that the touch of that coat gives sight to the blind: that veneration of that coat gives ecclesiastical privileges and spiritual blessings of the highest order.

It is just to state, that the belief in any particular relic is not an article of faith; scepticism is allowed as to individual objects; to deny the duty of venerating real relics, as all Protestants do, is heresy. I quote the actual words of the Pastoral of the Archbishop :

"Perhaps you will ask me, my brethren, whether the veneration of the holy relic, which our cathedral possesses, be founded on fact, whether we must acknowledge it to be the Coat without seam, which our Lord Jesus Christ wore on earth. I think it is my pastoral duty to answer this question to the best of my knowledge and conscience. First of all, we must remember that in this case there is no question at all of an article of faith. It is true that a Catholic, unless his faith has suffered shipwreck, must not doubt in the least, that we owe veneration to the relics of our Saviour and of the saints, and that we justly venerate these relics. But when there is a question about the authenticity of a certain relic in particular, then everybody is perfectly free to form his opinion on sound and reasonable arguments. A Catholic, who wantonly or without grave reasons doubts or rejects the authenticity of a certain relic, may appear arrogant and irreverent, but he is not for that to be considered erring in faith. The authenticity of a relic, like any other historical fact, is founded and proved on the testimony of man. The authenticity of no relic, be it the most eminent of the oldest church in Christendom, falls under any precept of Catholic faith.

"According to a decree of the Council of Trent, the Bishops are bound, before sanctioning the public exhibition of relics, to hear the opinion of pious and learned men, and then to give that decision which shall be dictated by truth and piety. Truth demands of us, that we confide in the venerable and constant tradition of our diocese, that we never accuse our ancestors of credulity or fraud unless there be very grave reasons for doing so. Such reasons have never been put forward."

This places a papist in his right to doubt the authenticity of this Coat for reasons given lower down. Perhaps some day the Church of Rome will outgrow the fetish idea and follow the example of King Hezekiah (2 Kings, xviii, 4), "who brake in pieces the brazen serpent that Moses had made, for unto those days the children of Israel did burn incense to it." The worship of any object or personage is a derogation from the honour due to God alone.

Let us first consider the facts. St. Cyprian in one of his writings to Donatus remarks, "When our speech is concerning the Lord God, let us rely on facts" (Extracts from "The Fathers," p. 148). The Coat was displayed for six weeks ending Sunday, October 4, 1891. It had been displayed for a similar period in 1844. The number of pilgrims in 1844 was 1,100,000; in 1891 it rose to 1,925,130. This is not a gauge of faith, but of facility of access arranged for convenient purposes by a Protestant Government. Besides, as would be expected, a great number of Protestant tourists swelled the total. I myself with my wife and daughter passed before the Coat one day, and I and my daughter

on the second day, and the residing Priest ticked us off by his counting machine each day. It is in this way, that railways in India pay good dividends, for every facility is given to Hindus and Mahometans by special train to get to their place of pilgrimage.

We arrived at Treves at night, and had rooms in the hotel, secured by telegraph, and found no unusual crowd, for, in fact, the great majority of pilgrims did not frequent first-class hotels. Under our windows, well in the night, processions were passing to and from the cathedral, singing hymns and carrying torches. There was no difference between this and the usual processions of Roman, Greek, Mahometan and Hindu votaries; in the night air the voices of men and women sound melodious, whether the utterance is "Ram Ran," or "Wah Guruji," or "Hasan Hosein," "Kyrie Eleison," or "Ave Maria;" there is not much religious worship, or union of the soul with God, in either one or the other. Next morning we were early in the field, and joined one of the two great parallel lines, which advanced slowly in ambient half-circles, like the writhing of a great snake, up to the cathedral door. The scene was interesting, and such as has in all ages and all climes been witnessed, at the Ephesian Temple of Diana, at Athens during the annual Panathenaic festival; in Egypt, round all the grand old temples, and at many an old pagan shrine in Italy; for it is a mere function of filing by a dead object in the same way as soldiers file by a living Sovereign or general. The good behaviour of the crowds, counting by thousands, was remarkable. The Germans are a stolid obedient people. In an Irish procession there would have been rows and fighting; here there was not a murmur. Each parish was headed by its own priest, and I was struck by the marvellous coarseness and obesity of these priests: great red faces, stupid expressions, and inflamed noses, showing that they compensated themselves for enforced celibacy by abundant eating and drinking. The countenances of the male pilgrims were bovine, as meaningless as their oxen. There were abundance of old women, and plenty of young people enjoying the excursion. There was a warning against pickpockets on the cathedral door. There was a repetition of a hymn to the Virgin, but no shoutings. The bloated priests strutted along with Falstaff abdominal projections, while sometimes a younger priest looked out on the crowd with a thoughtful expression of countenance, expressing some misgiving as to the reality of this devotion. There were shops selling models and relics, and rosaries, and driving a brisk business, just like the silversmiths at Ephesus, who cried out, "Great is Artemis!" What did the pilgrims know or care! All the eighteen centuries since the Crucifixion were as nothing to them. Had anyone substituted the toga of Cæsar, through which Brutus' dagger went, or the poisoned robe of Hercules, it would have been all the same. It was shocking to think, that the whole affair consisted of pagan

elements clinging to the skirts of Christianity. What good could the Coat do? Could it influence these poor rustics so as to encourage them to virtue, or hold them back from sin? Can they be sustained in the duties of a holy life by an article of dress, even admitting it to be genuine? There was a marked absence of the better and more educated classes, not to speak of the gentry. This clearly was a cultus of the uneducated villagers, the Pagáni of modern times. They came from the neighbourhood and from the adjacent provinces, showing that they were devoted to their *local* Deity. The worshippers of the Coat at Argenteuil, in France, were clearly jealous of their German rival, and the Coat at Rome would no doubt think poorly of these provincial relics. Still, as we paced round and round in our half-circles, it was difficult to imagine any influence of soul or scene in the most enthusiastic of these worshippers. To the ordinary agriculturist the standing in a "queue" to get access to the pit-door of a theatre partook as much, or as little, of the elements of worship as this senseless meandering in front of the cathedral door. The crowded gháts of Banáras, the courts of the sepulchre at Jerusalem, the road to Eleusis, were more cheering or suggestive of worship. For once in my life I appreciated the effect of the corybantic antics of the Salvation Army, their music, and noise, and the pirouettes of the Salvation-lasses. They may be more ridiculous, but the actors seemed more in earnest.

We got into the cathedral at last, and passed along the nave in Indian file. As we passed a table covered with objects, a civil Priest volunteered to draw my attention to a nail of the Cross (I think that I must have seen in different places at least a dozen nails of the Cross); the skull of Helena, the Mother of the Emperor Constantine; a tooth of St. Peter the Apostle, and the body of St. Matthew. The Coat was now in sight, far up above the chief altar, and we ascended the flight of stairs on the right hand, and at length came in face of it behind a glass, but an old priest obligingly took crosses and rosaries, etc., from the hands of pilgrims, touched the Coat with them, and returned them. I did not trouble him, but as I looked with a feeling of shame for him, I thought of the augurs described by Cicero, and the sleek, half-naked Priests in a Hindu Temple, who did very much the same thing. It was only by an effort, that I could convince myself, that I was in the nineteenth century, and in Europe. The follies and degradation of the Human Race are so similar in all ages and all climes.

The Coat itself (and I write with a print before my eyes) would not be called by that name in Europe; it is, in fact, a short shirt with short sleeves. The materials, whatever they may be, seem to be of a character superior to what would be worn by the son of a carpenter, the leader of a band of wandering

preachers and healers, who lived upon alms. But this matters not, and I sweep away at once the additional legend prepared for the deception of poor credulous souls, that this article of dress was fashioned and made for her Divine Son by the Blessed Virgin, *when He was a child, and that it grew with his growth*; He increased in wisdom and stature, and His coat grew with Him; and that this was the garment, the touching of which healed the woman of the issue of blood.

I now pass to the second class of facts. Truth may be (1) positive, such as the fact that the sun rises; (2) founded on universal experience, such as the fact that contact with a person suffering from a contagious disease will probably convey the disease; (3) founded on trustworthy testimony. The existence of the Coat, and its being worshipped by thousands, is a fact of the first class; the testimony on which it is attempted to connect this poor perishable article of Human dress with our Divine Lord does *not* belong to the third class of positive truth.

Father Clarke writes as follows: "We know nothing of the early history of the relic; but, if we believe in Christian relics at all, we may assume, that none of the memorials of the Passion were more carefully preserved than this. The absence of any documentary evidence for its possession by the Christian community in those early days is no more an argument against its authenticity than is the absence of any writ of transfer, and proof of purchase, any argument against the right of some family to the lands, that they have held as an inheritance from remote antiquity. The mere fact that they are in possession, and that there is no ground for disputing their right, and that an unbroken tradition proclaims the land to be theirs, is quite sufficient."

I thank the Father for this illustration. I know a family, which has held lands near Boston, in Lincolnshire, for five hundred years, since the reign of Edward III. Here is a fact which no one can gainsay, but the Peerage states, that the family moved into Lincolnshire from Yorkshire, where they had resided in the reigns previous to Edward III; of this there is no proof whatever, and no one with his senses would give it any credence. Let us assume (and as will be shown further on it is a mere assumption) that the Coat had been in the Cathedral of Treves, since Helena presented the relic in the fourth century, we have still a gap of nearly three hundred years, and a geographical area of thousands of miles from Jerusalem to Treves to get over; and there is not a tittle of evidence to show what the soldier did with the seamless robe, which fell to him by lot on the afternoon of that mournful day. A perishable article of clothing passed in the usual way at the execution of criminals into the hands of a rough soldier, probably not an Italian, but a member

of one of the many Nations, which made up the Roman army, and it disappeared. When our Lord rose from the grave upon the third day, clothes were miraculously provided for Him, and of the seamless robe nothing is heard in the early centuries.

But it may be argued, that it is impossible that there can be better evidence, that the necessities of human existence place a barrier against the perpetuation of evidence. Be it so. This argument cuts both ways; it shows the absence of proof of genuineness of this pretended relic. But as a fact, every traveller in Egypt has looked upon the face of Rameses II, the Pharaoh who persecuted the Hebrews, in his garments, which are fifteen hundred years before the Christian era; if he visits the great museums of Europe he will come face to face with inscriptions which tell their own tale; the lines to record the valour of those who fell at Potidæa, B.C. 432; the Moabite stone B.C. 900; the sarcophagus of Esmunazar B.C. 400; and the Latin lines inscribed by the Emperor Adrian upon the colossal vocal statue of Memnon at Egyptian Thebes: "Ego Hadrianus divinam vocem audiui." The rocks in India in several places faithfully record the inscriptions of Asoka in the second century B.C., calling for mercy and toleration. If it had been the Divine will, that the relics of the Passion should be preserved to future ages for the saving of souls of generations yet unborn, they might have been placed away in a sealed tomb, such as that of the Egyptians and Etruscans, and been brought forth to the light of day, not on the evidence of a fond, foolish, and lying, tradition, but surrounded by external and internal evidence, and an environment of human weaknesses and human strength. We have not to go far to find an example, for the mutual hatreds of different Nations and Churches have combined under the grace of God to place the text of the Old and New Testaments beyond, outside, and above, the arena of controversy.

With this Coat this has not been the case. I proceed to trace its history back from the year 1891 up to that century when we lose all trace of its existence. In the year 1844, forty-seven years ago, there was the first really great Exhibition, the means of communication having improved, and the great European Peace having commenced. There is no doubt whatever of the identity; the Coat had been safely stowed away in the cathedral, and the seals of the casket were found in 1891 unviolated. In 1810, or thirty-four years previously, it was exhibited, and there is no doubt whatever of the identity; but previous to this exhibition, during the troublous times of the Napoleonic wars, the Coat had been removed, in 1794, into Germany, to Ehrenbreitsten, Bamberg, and Augsburg, whence it was brought back. Considering that its dimensions are so small that, folded up, it would be only a light parcel, there might reasonably be raised questions

of identity, especially as it had not been seen by mortal eye for 155 years, or five generations of men; for the fact must be recorded that from A.D. 1655 to A.D. 1810 it had never been exhibited. During the 140 years preceding it had been exhibited, but not on the modern scale of publicity, about eight times. The Pope had, indeed, by a bull dated A.D. 1515, ordered, that it should be shown every seven years, but the troublous times, that accompanied the Reformation, had prevented the order being fully carried out. Three years previous to the above date, in 1512, it had been exhibited to the Emperor Maximilian, and this appears to have been the first public exhibition that ever took place; it had never been seen during the previous 316 years, or nine generations of men, since the year 1196, when Archbishop Jeane had placed it away and locked it up out of sight, and it was with fear and mis-giving that the Archbishop of the time complied with the request of the Emperor Maximilian to show it to him, A.D. 1512.

These facts are not taken from hostile statements, but from the authorized books sold on the spot in 1891, and purchased by me in September. Now, if the object of a relic is to rouse a pious and moral feeling; if the pilgrimage, the sight of this relic, and the contact of rosaries and crosses with its decaying fragment, are means of grace, what shall be thought of the fact, that opportunity of availing themselves of this grace had only been offered twelve times in seven centuries?

Beyond this date it is not pretended to trace the existence of the Coat at Treves, except by mere tradition. In the "*Gesta Trevirorum*," the work of an anonymous Author, it is mentioned, and the Empress Helena, a woman of obscure birth, in Bithynia, in Asia Minor, who at the age of eighty visited Palestine in search of relics is said to have presented this Coat, with other relics of the same kind, to the Cathedral of Treves, a city in which her late husband, Constantius Chlorus, had held his court, when, as associated with the Emperor Diocletian, he had ruled over the Provinces of Britain, Gaul, and Spain. In the absence of positive testimony for the very existence of the Coat, we have the negative testimony, that Eusebius, in his sermon before the Emperor Constantine on the site of the Holy Sepulchre, in 332, never alludes to it. The anonymous pilgrim, who went to Palestine in 333, and left in his diary a description of the holy places, never alludes to it. The deed of Pope Sylvester, 314-355, has not survived the criticism of its contemporary genuineness, though quoted in the "*Gesta Trevirorum*" 700 years later. It cannot be asserted, with any degree of certainty, or even probability, that this Coat came across the sea from Palestine, and even if this were proved, we vainly ask through whose hands it passed during the 300 years which elapsed between the Crucifixion, A.D. 33-34, and the visit of the Empress Helena to Jerusalem. It is amazing to reflect how the

reason of man is darkened by fanatical prejudices and dogmatic errors.

Here comes in the necessity of supporting a weak cause by further fond inventions calculated to deceive weak minds. It is admitted, that in 1810 there were no bonâ-fide miracles; in 1844 there were many; in 1891, in September, I heard of none at Treves, though I made inquiry, but the Newspapers were full of them. No doubt in due time a document will be issued with religious and medical certificates of miraculous cures. This is the only form which modern miracles can assume. In the Old and New Testaments there is some variety in the manifold evolution of the Divine Power, the dead were raised, bread and wine were created, the tongues of the dumb were loosened, lunatics were restored to their senses, money was produced to pay taxes, miraculous drafts of fish took place. At places like Treves, Lourdes, or Loretto, the miraculous power shrinks to the curing of a paralytic, the staying of a running sore, the clarifying of imperfect vision, in fact, *medical* miracles, as opposed to *surgical*. At Saragossa alone I found notice of a case of a leg cut off by a scythe, and fastened on so neatly as to leave only a red ring round the injured limb. We find no mention of barren women becoming mothers: this often happens after a Hindu pilgrimage; no instance of cruel wrongs of oppression being righted; none of the manifold sorrows and sufferings of life being assuaged. Nothing beyond the healing of a certain class of corporeal ills, and precisely those, with which the modern Faith-healer is so successful. In fact, the pilgrimage, the excitement, the elevation of the heart to God, the magnetic influence of hope and Faith, effect the cure.

The Bishop feels this also. In 1844 in his closing sermon the good man remarked, that many sick came to Treves and returned to their homes, as far as their physical ailments were concerned, none the better; but there were miracles not visible to the naked eye, which in the sight of God were much more precious, the healing of the Soul, the tears of pious emotion coming from a contrite heart, one single act of Christian Faith, hope, and Love coming from a notorious sinner, one Soul converted: *these are the real miracles*. I thank the good Bishop for these words, and stretch out my hands to him across the abyss, which separates a Religion of Spirit and Truth from a mere empty ceremonial surrounded by a high wall of lying traditions, and downright impositions, and pray that light may be vouchsafed to the souls of his successors.

Every part of our Lord's dress seems to have been found, though really it is not clear from what source information has been derived of the kind of dress worn by the people of Judæa at that period. We read of the garments divided at the foot of the cross,

the seamless robe, the purple robe, the sandals, the embalming sheet, the swaddling clothes. The seamless robe is pressed into use, an evidence of an indivisible Church. History tells us, that the Church of Christ has from the earliest days been divided by hopeless schisms; the whole argument is a mere structure of hypotheses, guesses, wild assertions, and vague assumptions. One assumption is that Nicodemus, or Joseph of Arimathea, bought this coat of the soldier. The following is a fair specimen of the mode in which a theological argument may be developed:

"Just as Christ is actually the Victim offered for our sins in the Mass, so we may say that Christ still virtually wears the Sacred Robe."

A Latin hymn is given by the same writer, Father Clarke, p. 323, addressed to the Coat:

O vestis inconsutilis
Pro dulci nato virgine
Arte parata textili:
Quis te sat ornat laudibus?

I am informed, but I did not myself hear it, that some of the pilgrims exclaimed, "Heilige Rock, bitte für uns."

Great stress is laid upon the opinion of a committee called to examine and report upon the robe; it consisted chiefly of Cathedral authorities and devoted religionists. They would have been more than men, if they had said a word against this relic: it would be hard to ask the ecclesiastics of Cologne to report upon the skulls of the three kings, or the bones of the eleven thousand virgin martyrs, for which that city is famous.

Let us think out the matter philosophically, for, after all, this is a question of reason, not of faith. Our Lord's words, something better than His coat or sandals, or even His crown of thorns, have come down to us, thanks to Jerome, as fresh and full of life, as if uttered yesterday, thoughts that breathe, words that burn, warnings that terrify, consolations that comfort and sustain. "Never man spake as this man spake." Familiar as some among us may be with the words of the Hindu sages, the deep thoughts of the Egyptian "Book of the Dead," the sublime utterances of Buddha, Kong-Fu-Tsee, Socrates, and Zoroaster, no words, that have echoed through the corridors of time and been blown round the world, warning, soothing, and correcting, are like His words. Is not that enough for the conversion of souls? To the Jew it was replied, "They have Moses and the prophets;" but the Christian has something more: "the everlasting Gospel." Shall a misguided hierarchy of blind worshippers of a dim and remote past with one hand withhold this Gospel from the people, and with the other hold up a perishing garment, such as the moth frets and the fire

consumes, and the thief steals, and man puts to the miserable use of his daily life, and sing hymns to it, and offer prayers to it, and have rosaries and crosses brought into contact with it, and paralyzed arms stretched out to it, as if it contained a living virtue, derived from Him, who is supposed to have worn it eighteen and a half centuries ago, and able to work a limited power of healing certain complaints, like the quack medicines which in these days are so freely advertised as working instantaneous cures?

The garments, the spear, the crown of thorns, and the nails, the knife used at the last supper, the clean linen cloth of Joseph of Arimathea, the pocket-handkerchief of Veronica, are but the mean surroundings of His mortal life, when He condescended to live among men in the form of a servant.

If Christians are to hold their own in these days against the rising tide of Scepticism, Agnosticism, and Atheism, the outcome not only of mediæval ignorance, but of nineteenth century intellectual enlightenment, they must keep clear of these germs of polytheism, which are contained in the worship of the good men and women of past ages, and that form of fetichism, which creates a cultus of hair, skulls, teeth, bones, and articles of dress. If we wish to guard the belief of the miracles of the Bible, we must refuse to give credence to any of a date later than the closing book of the New Testament.

The Churchman, 1892.

VI.

THE CONGRESS OF THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLERGY AT MALINES, BELGIUM, SEPT., 1891.

ONE of the features of the age is the Periodical Congress: it has, at least, the advantage of bringing people together, and thus friendships are formed, and prejudices removed. A great deal of nonsense is spoken, for the speaker is safe from instant rebuke and correction, and a great deal of thin argument is applauded, which does not bear the strain of a perusal in the printed report. On the whole, such meetings are advantageous, both in things secular and things Religious. I have attended Congresses in all the chief capitals of Europe, on various subjects, and am familiar with their features.

Last September I was in Belgium, when the Congress of the Belgian Clergy took place in the metropolitan city of Malines, under the patronage of the Cardinal Archbishop. I was present at the last meeting in the cathedral, and saw the men, secular and ecclesiastic, who took part in the debates: it lasted from Tuesday, September 8, to Saturday, September 12, was well attended, reported in *extenso* in the local Journals, and was neither controlled, nor interfered with, by the Civil Government.

The first Congress took place at Malines in 1863, twenty-eight years ago, followed by two more held at Malines in 1864 and 1867; the object put forward then was to defend their religious liberty and public rights against the Liberal Party in Belgium, in which insignificant country, as in Switzerland, there is always a struggle going on, as the unquiet spirits, having no frontiers to defend or foreign wars to wage or prepare against, let out their unquiet feelings in intestine disturbances. The clergy and laity met on terms of equality; as a rule, laymen presided at the meetings. The one thing wanted, both on the first and last occasions, was a constitutional opposition. All the members sang the same song, which naturally produced a sameness in the

discussions, and rendered all results of a practical kind imaginary ; for the people who have to be dealt with are the very persons, who put in no appearance, and were not represented. Foreign countries, including Great Britain, were represented, but by members of the Roman Catholic Church.

On Tuesday, September 8, the Congress assembled in the halls of the Seminary ; at 11 a.m. there was grand Mass in the cathedral, at which the Cardinal officiated, and all the members of the Congress were present ; at mid-day the Congress was opened. The great hall had been provided with a crucifix and a bust of the Pope. M. Victor Jacobs, a leading member of the Parliament, took the chair as President. The Cardinal Archbishop and other civil and ecclesiastical notables took their places on the dais, and, after the recitation of the *Veni Spiritus*, made the opening address. The Cardinal's name was Goossens. He expressed his joy at seeing the assembly of Catholics, and stated that the previous Congress in 1863 had resulted favourably to Religion and true liberty, or, in other words, *the Church had got the upper hand*. With the usual formula, so common in English evangelical reports and proceedings, he effusively thanked God, that in the face of the evils threatened by the enemies of the Church they could see the number, and the value, and the power, of the Church's defenders. The object of the Congress was to unite all Catholics in love for their Mother-Church, veneration and obedience to their Sovereign-Pope, and devotion to their suffering brethren. Their desire was truth and charity. On all sides Socialism was exciting to revolt, and the overturning of the existing order of things. The Congress preached submission, and peace for the common weal. To know God was life, to serve Him was liberty, to love Him was the greatest happiness. But God does nothing in this world except by *the agency of His Church, and for His Church* ; the cause of God and of the Church is one. St. Francis of Sales had remarked, that the Church and the Pope were one ; the Congress is a new proof of our devotion to the Pope. The liberty of the Pope is essential to the dignity of the Church, for it means the liberty of our soul, and the security of our belief. Society can only be saved by a recourse to Christianity in its most complete and vital form, the Church ; all our attempts are vain without God, the God of the Church. The Pope has himself declared, that the only solution to the problem of the time is through the Church. It is a mistake to suppose, that we are preoccupied with things spiritual ; we labour also for the temporal good, and the true welfare of society.

The Cardinal then turned to another subject, which to an outsider betrayed the *raison d'être* of the Congress after an interval of a quarter of a century ; in fact, during the preceding months, a

Socialist Congress had been held at Brussels, and this was the reply of the Church: it was Mrs. Partington's mop to oppose the approaching wave of the working-man's assault on Property and Capital, Civil Government and Morals. He remarked that a great transformation had taken place in the minds of men, and that the Pope, remarking it, had issued his encyclical letter *Rerum novarum*. The Church, following the example of Christ, had evidenced at all times its desire to comfort human misery, and must do so now. He then opened out the question of Religion as opposed to Godless Education. He then proceeded to attack the public Press, at least, the non-Catholic portion. There would be ground for despair, but that his Eminence was quite sure, that God was with them, and would help them. The remarks that Jesus had made to His Apostles, "O ye of little Faith, why have ye doubted?" had been repeated by the august lips of the representative of the same Jesus. Seated on the throne of St. Peter, he embraced the whole Human Race. Leo XIII, our admirable Father, our infallible Doctor, cast on this Congress looks of most special tenderness, and covered the assembly with his protection. When the Cardinal sat down, a telegram was read, which had been sent to the Pope begging for his blessing, and of the reply received from Rome. The President then read the reply, which was prepared to be sent to the Pope to thank him for the blessing. A telegram was also sent to the King of the Belgians, and then the President proceeded to deliver his opening address; it was excessively long, occupying five columns of the local paper, and was clearly read from MS., as the President was so weak and infirm, that he had to leave Malines very soon after. It was, in fact, a pronouncement on the part of the Clerical Party in Belgium, partly in the style of a prayer, partly of a pulpit-discourse, partly of a speech of a Statesman. The whole world seemed to be ignored, except Belgium; the only worker of good works was the Church, the Pope being the motive power, while behind him, at a respectable distance, stood the Lord Jesus. Throughout the Congress the Holy Spirit was ignored, as well as the possibility of those, who were outside the Church, doing acts worthy of commendation; on the other hand, the name of the Virgin Mary, or of any of the Saints, was never mentioned; St. Peter was only alluded to as the predecessor of the Pope.

A programme of the Congress had been carefully prepared, and the President drew attention to a remarkable difference between it and the programme of preceding Congresses in 1863, 1864, and 1867. All allusion was omitted to the defence of Religious Liberty, because it had been won, and a large portion of the time would be dedicated to Social questions. By Religious Liberty, a Roman Catholic always means Papal domination; according to this view there is no Religious Liberty in Great Britain. Now, in

Belgium there were certain points, in which there was a division of opinion amidst the Catholics, and it was thought prudent to stifle the discussion by omitting the subjects, upon the principle, that prudence was a cardinal virtue. On the other hand, Social questions were the questions of the hour, and the Congress of Malines was called upon to re-echo the sentiments of the Papal encyclical *Rerum novarum*. Roman Catholics always assure us, that the infallibility of the Pope extends only to decisions of dogma, but the world may well be astonished, that the recluse of the Vatican, an Italian Bishop, who, probably, has never visited a manufacturing district, who has never listened to the strong words uttered in the congresses of workmen, should undertake to decide the question of wages, time of labour, protection of women and children, suspension of work on certain days, and all the tangled claims of the Socialist; yet this is just what the Pope has pretended to do, and what the President of the Belgian Congress, who, being a Parliamentary Statesman, ought to have known better, pressed upon this irresponsible collection of Bishops, Priests, Professors, pious Catholics, and women occupied in their particular branch of good works. It implies a sheer oblivion of the necessities and dangers of the nineteenth century, to suppose that anything practical could be done by an exclusive Church, to which but a portion of the parties concerned belong, narrow-minded ecclesiastics, and an old man secluded from the public gaze, who could only issue mild platitudes instead of the thunders of his predecessors. Those who had to sit out the dreary recapitulation of the heads of the Pope's encyclical, as given by the poor, suffering and exhausted President, M. Jacobs, were much to be pitied. The first public assembly was then closed.

At the evening meetings of the Sections a great deal of talking took place; in each Section there was a reporter, who brought with him cut-and-dried resolutions on each subject noted on the programme, and laid them before the Section. This system not only carefully closed the door against forbidden subjects, but also against lawful subjects irreverently handled. In one Section it was insisted, that catechetical teaching of adults was desirable and necessary, and Fénelon's advice should be followed, and *care taken to read and explain the Gospel*. In another Section the question of looking after abandoned and vagabond children was taken up. It was urged that the asylums provided by the State were not sufficiently Christian, and the more asylums which the State provided, the more vagabond children were corrupted by them, and that the Church was the only proper guardian. In another Section came up the thorny question of the mode of burial of the poor, the providing of religious consolation for the parting Soul, and of prayers for the repose of the departed. The decision of this Section partook of the character of a pious wish rather

than of practical action. In another Section, to the subject of the marriage of the poor was tacked on a request to Catholic ladies to hunt up concubines and persuade them to go through the form of marriage, as has been done at Antwerp. In another Section it was urged, that Catholics should devote more time to the serious study of the work of the great Doctors of the Church and the remarkable encyclicals of the Present Pope, and that tracts should be compiled on these subjects in a popular form. It makes one shudder to think of Thomas Aquinas, and Augustine, and Liguori, and even Leo XIII, being thrust into our hands in the form of a tract. A tract of the light kind, issued in Paternoster Row, is difficult to digest; but such a tract, as contemplated at Malines, would absolutely choke anyone except a theological student prepared to swallow anything. In another room a scheme was discussed for forming clubs or associations in the University for the purpose of social discussions.

On Wednesday, September 9, there was a great deal done in the Sections. The first Subject was on catechizing by volunteers, which seems a Papist form of a Sunday-school. In one brief paragraph three Subjects are noted: the Worship of the Sacred Heart, the partaking of the Communion on the first Wednesday and Sunday of each month, and the *Apostolat* of Prayer. The practical subject was brought forward by a Layman of rest from work on the Sunday, and the cessation of all railway-traffic for the purpose of pleasure-excursions. A resolution was passed on this subject in great detail of a character, which would gladden the heart of the Society for the Observance of the Sabbath. Private families were urged to give their servants opportunity of attending Divine service, and never to give parties on Sunday. Artisans were to be encouraged to throw up the service of masters, who required them to work on Sunday. All this was decided by a little knot of enthusiasts seated in a little room in the Seminary at Malines in a country, where the fourth commandment is avowedly thought nothing of, and no change is manifested in the appearance of the streets, or the manner of living of the people. In another Section it was proposed, and resolved, to constitute Catholic and anti-revolutionary leagues like those lately constituted in Germany. This was another device to meet Socialism. It appears that there exists in Belgium societies of mutual help, but upon a secular basis. This did not satisfy the extreme Papist, who cannot imagine the existence of anything good outside his Church and the control of the Priest, and it was resolved to recommend the creation of rival societies with the same object, but with Religion starved down to the model of the Romish Church as their base. All such schemes, being contrary to the spirit of the age, are destined to be useless. In another Section a long discussion took place on the important subject of supplying

decent habitations to the workman. This seemed a matter totally beyond the sphere of the Congress. Resolutions were passed of a comprehensive character. With the State alone could rest the power of carrying out such a scheme, but it was to the interest of the Church, that it should be put forward and urged by Priests and Catholic laity. Questions of education were discussed in other Sections.

Another remarkable subject came under discussion: "Is it possible to have a Christian theatre?" The Idea seemed to be, that all existing theatres should be got rid of, and Christian theatres substituted. This resolution, after a faint opposition, was carried, and marks the extreme want of a practical sense in the Congress. How would they proceed to carry out their scheme? The next proposal was to exclude the study of the nude figure from the Christian Art of painting. This proposal also was adopted.

The discussion then went off to the proper decoration of the interior of churches, and the symbolical orientation of the Church itself. It appears, that this ancient superstition of the early centuries had in late years been lost sight of in Belgium, and it was resolved to call attention to it. The next discussion was upon the Images, a subject which, according to the speaker, left much to be desired. A dead set ought to be made against a certain class of Images, and none allowed to be bought or sold, which had not obtained the approval of the Bishop. This also was adopted. It must be recollected, that the Papist modes of Worship, as exhibited in Belgian churches, is of the type of Northern Europe, and not degraded by the dolls and absurdities, which meet the eye everywhere in Italy and Spain, and the reform proposed in the above resolution is clearly in the right direction. At the general meeting of this day the proceedings of Sections were formally approved, and the subject of the relation of Science to the Catholic life came on for discussion, a very large one. And one of the chief speakers had recourse to the Flemish Language, a dialect of Dutch, which, of course, placed the French-speaking portion of the audience out of court. The speech, as given in French, was neither to the point nor profitable. I quote the closing phrase as a specimen of Flemish oratory: "To-day the barbarians have again arrived, but Leo XIII. is at the gate of Rome, and will compel these barbarians to retire. Yes, the Pope will make them retire. May Jesus Christ give us this extreme blessing!"

Another speaker would not let himself be beaten, for, said he, "The general adhesion of Christianity to the teaching of the Pope is the certain token of victory. The Vatican had adopted the appearance of Mount Sinai, no longer in the midst of lightnings, but in the solitude of captivity. Christians not only find in Leo XIII. a wise man, a philosopher, and an *economist*, but the

"head of Christianity. The utterance of the Pope is the watch-word of God."

The absurdity of such utterances by the little Belgian Church can scarcely be exceeded; but, if the comparison of their little Church to that great indescribable collectivity called Christianity is absurd, what shall be said of the blasphemy of calling the Vatican Mount Sinai, and the utterance of the poor old man in the Vatican the watchword of God?

On Thursday, September 10, the sections were busy. In one allusion was made to St. Peter's Pence, which were sent to Rome to supply the Pope with the means of living, as he preferred to live on the bounty of the Catholics rather than on a civil list provided by the Italian Government. This brought forward conspicuously the necessity of restoring the temporal power of the Pope, and the foolish Belgians voted a resolution to this effect. Rejoicing in an independence themselves of foreign rulers by the kind protection of the Great Powers, they did not hesitate to deny to the people of Rome, and certain provinces of Italy, the same independence, which they had won for themselves by their great pluck. One speaker drew attention to the weakness of the Belgian Missions on the Congo, remarking that the Protestants occupied thirty-one stations, and the Catholics only six. By a singular blending of subjects the same section recorded a vote in favour of free seats in the churches during Divine service: anyone, who has attended Belgian churches, knows how each chair has to be paid for. In another section the great and difficult subjects of provision of pensions for aged labourers, of co-operative societies, so as to give the labourer a share in the profit, of co-operative stores and of labour strikes, were touched upon in an airy and academic way, clearly indicating, that no one present had approached the foundation, or even the outskirts, of these great social questions, which are destined in the twentieth century to shake Society to its very basis in spite of all the feeble efforts of Governments or Churches. Another section had the hardihood to express opinions with regard to the public Press, which were purely academic. The proprietors of the leading journals in Belgium of all shades of opinion must have laughed at the idea of a little coterie of ecclesiastics and flaneurs, attempting to control the many-headed monster.

In another section Education was discussed. A resolution was passed, which sounds strange to the ears of independent nations, that, "according to the desire of the Pope young men should be sent annually to Rome to form themselves under Episcopal auspices for sacerdotal life in the bosom of the Church of Rome, *the mother and mistress of all Churches*, and to learn sacred science from sources opened and constructed by the Pope." It is difficult to understand by what process of reasoning the Church of Rome is *mother* of the Greek and the Asiatic Churches, or

mistress of the British and American Churches. The old question so fully discussed in the fourth century of the Christian era was re-opened in the nineteenth, whether the study of the non-Christian classics of Greece and Rome should be tolerated, and an uncertain resolution arrived at, that a judicious choice should be made of authors to be studied, and whole works should be taken up rather than portions. It was then resolved to found a Society for the concentration of Catholic forces on the ground of Science, religious, philosophic, and historical, and to call it by the name of Leo XIII. Every Belgian conception appeared to be of the most grandiose nature. To them the world seemed only to be commencing its existence; in fact, no other Nation existed except Belgium, and no idea could get beyond the encyclicals of Leo XIII. It will be interesting to inquire what kind of mouse was the outcome of the parturient mountain. Another section recommended, that more attention should be paid to Christian art, as opposed to classic or pagan art.

In the general meeting of the day more serious subjects came under discussion. It was determined, that the colony of the Congo should not only be opened to civilization and commerce, but to Religion also, that Missionaries should be sent out, and funds supplied for their expenses. All this was well, but it was well-known in Brussels and Amsterdam, that the Belgian administration of the Congo Province was an entire failure, and had entailed misery upon the poor natives. It was then proposed by an ardent Priest, a survivor of the Congress of 1867, to found an association of prayer for the return of Russia to Catholic unity. The Greek Church in Russia might naturally offer prayer for the return of Rome to their fold. An appeal then was made in favour of a freer use of the Flemish language, as a safeguard of Faith, Morality, and Natural Dignity. As the use of this non-literary dialect is freely permitted, it seemed scarcely necessary to use such high-flown language as is attributed to the speaker, "*that he left the subject with all confidence to the blessings of the Lord.*" No resolution was passed by the Congress: it is too well-known, that the life or death of a Language depends upon causes beyond the control of kings, or parliaments, or priests. An eloquent appeal was then made in the anti-Slavery cause. An address to the Pope was then read to the meeting, assuring him of their obedience, and claiming the restitution of the temporal power on the grounds of Natural Justice.

On Friday, September 11, one section took up a subject, which was clearly beyond the sphere of mere Religious dilettante, of the planting of convict-colonies in the Congo Province. It is characteristic, that a measure, utterly condemned and abandoned by Great Britain, should be recommended seriously by good men in Belgium. So much time had been wasted in academic discussions, that there

was no time to discuss measures to arrest the abuse of alcoholic drinks: colourless resolutions were passed, which will be mere waste-paper. In another section the question of Religious retreats for prayer and meditation was discussed. To a certain order of minds this kind of practice recommends itself, and being an entire cessation from the daily labour, to which man was born, corresponds with fasting, which is a cessation from taking that moderate nourishment necessary to sustain the power of the body for labour. To those who take a healthy view of the duty of man to his Maker and to his fellow-creatures both practices seem open to condemnation. Another speaker urged the return to Christian usage in the family, of a place for the crucifix over the fireplace, the practice of family prayer, and the practice of parents blessing their children; neither discussion nor resolution followed this proposal. The subject of libraries for general use, of the adoption of penniless orphans, and of encouraging the study of mathematics in Colleges, came under discussion. Religious Education and Religious literature came under lengthy consideration. The subject of decorating the interiors of churches with painting in many colours was not forgotten.

In the general meeting of this day the irrepressible subject of the union, or rather the absorption, of the Greek Churches cropped up. It was asserted, that the objection of the Oriental Churches to seek absorption arose from the mistaken idea, that union meant subjection to Latinism; but the Pope was not specially Latin, as he belonged to the world at large. Considering that the Pope is always an Italian Bishop, and the objection of the Oriental Churches is to there being any Pope at all, these remarks are beside the mark.

Father Fletcher represented the Romanists of England, and a Belgian friend tendered him the consolation, that for forty years the Passionists had daily recited an "ave" for the conversion of England. Father Fletcher might indeed be thankful for small mercies, but the very existence of such expedients for the conversion of souls seems to indicate the hopelessness of the wish. Father Fletcher then begged the assistance of Belgium to convert England, and the foundation of a special Belgian Society for that purpose.

The Abbé Garnier, from France, whose name deserves special mention, made some memorable remarks. He mentioned the conversions, which he had made by distributing a popular edition of the Gospel. "If Christ," said he, "does not reign over the whole world, it is because we too much forget the Gospel." He then uttered the following words: "The present evil social system is often charged with being the cause of the abolition of the Sovereign-power of the Pope, but the men, who did this wrong, were brought up in ecclesiastical colleges, where, unfortunately, they

"found in the course of instruction more Paganism than Gospel. "In France an organization had been formed to distribute and "encourage the study of the Gospel in all parishes. The chief "impression, which he wished to fix on the Congress, was the "necessity of re-establishing the Kingdom of Christ. In the early "centuries the Gospel was in every hand. Socialism is the first "result of the violation of Christian duty."

These remarks were applauded, and small tracts were circulated gratis, two of which found their way into my hand. One is a list of books recommended; foremost among them are the four Gospels and the Acts in French, at the cost of less than half a franc. But more remarkable is a small leaflet called "The League of the Gospel." External ritual is denounced as an imperfect substitute for real Religion: it is only a lawful accessory, not the principal object. Jesus Christ has left us the Gospel, in which none of this ritual is mentioned. Without a perfect obedience to the Gospel there can be no true Christianity. Christians ought to live according to the Gospel, and abstain from theatres and dancing, and Christian women should not wear low dresses, or read novels, as all these pleasures have a dangerous proximity to sin. The education of children should be strictly Religious, and the Gospel should be the basis. The Sunday should be strictly observed: all labour should cease, and the Church should be visited. The Bible should be read in the family daily. Prayer should consist not in long readings, but in the soul having recourse to God, dwelling in thought on God, and being in union with God. After providing for the wants of their families Christians should contribute the remainder of their income to the establishment of the Kingdom of Christ. All, who wish to join the league, should sign a token of personal adhesion.

I attended and studied the proceedings of this Congress three days after I had accomplished a pilgrimage to the Holy Coat at Treves, and gone carefully into the details of this gross imposture, and the contrast between the debased Paganism of the one and the advancing Christian life of Abbé Garnier was overpowering; and yet this Proteus-Church of Rome tolerates and approves of both.

This being the last day, certain orators were allowed full time for their eloquence. The stamp of man is well known at English meetings, especially religious ones: "*Vox et præterea nihil.*" In one great display about Arts, Sciences, and Letters occurs a passage suggesting, that the young men of Belgium might indeed read Comte and Schopenhauer and other wicked books on the condition that they had previously read St. Thomas Aquinas, Bossuet, and Shakespeare. I wonder whether the great English dramatist ever found himself in such a category before? The Congress ended with a telegram from the Pope, conveying his blessing to 2,500 Belgian workmen and their families.

On Saturday, September 12, there was an early meeting held. The Abbé Garnier begged, that a resolution might be recorded in the sense of his speech yesterday in *favour of family prayer and daily reading of the Gospel*. He reckoned without his host; the Belgian episcopate had had time to reflect on the consequences of too great familiarity of the laity with the Gospel, and the President ruled that the subject, which seemed to be the foundation of Christian life, and to go, as it were, without saying, should be shelved till the bishops had time to reflect, whether it might be brought on the agenda of the next Congress.

An Irishman, described as an examiner of natural sciences at Dublin, then put in his word, that the social difficulty was also an English and Irish question. He then got on the subject of the use of the Bible. "They often talk in England of a double Bible: 'the revealed Word of God and the Bible of Nature. The English 'accuse the Roman Catholics of having as little of one as of the 'other. As regards the Word of God, such an assertion is false, 'and as regards the Bible of Nature the same defiance is offered 'to the men of Science as has above been thrown in the face of 'the British Biblical Societies. Science is a good thing, but a 'priest is a more necessary thing. While here in Belgium you 'have the great sun of free Science, in England the spirits lie in 'darkness. Still, among Protestants there are hearts of gold, which 'cannot see the truth, though they desire to do so. Your prayers 'are requested, as you have triumphed by your perseverance." Here is the true ring of the Irish blarney, with the Irish bull of hearts having the power of vision.

At eleven o'clock the Cathedral of St. Rombaut was crowded. The Cardinal-Archbishop and his bishops were seated in the nave in front of the pulpit in all pomp and splendour, and a bishop delivered the closing sermon. The text was Ephesians iv, 15. I had a good seat by the courtesy of the attendants, who recognised a foreigner, and I listened with attention. There was a copious and eloquent flow of words, accompanied by a superb action, but very few ideas, either new or convincing; but this is a phenomenon, with which we are familiar in England also. The Belgian preacher seemed to realize the impossibility of the existence of any good of any kind, human or Divine, outside his Church. The Christians of Belgium were invited to be the *salt of the earth* and the *light of the world*, for they had the truth, and truth commands the world. He closed in calling for the blessing of God upon all, who had attended the Congress. The Cardinal-Archbishop then addressed the congregation, all standing. He was a man of noble appearance, and his words were full of dignity. He thanked all, who had contributed to the success of the Congress, and called upon them to be men of action as well as words. He then gave his blessing, and the Congress dispersed. There was a banquet in

the evening and toasts. One of the lay members proposed the health of the strangers, and rendered special homage to the English, *who had bit by bit conquered religious liberty*. This was a singular sentiment from the native of a Province, which had formed part of the Kingdom of Philip II. of Spain, and had had the advantage of being governed by the Duke of Alva, one of the most bigoted and bloody of Roman Catholics. The lessons of History seem soon forgotten.

It is difficult to say whether any possible advantage can be derived from such a Congress. Many of the subjects discussed were totally beyond the sphere of action and intelligence of ecclesiastics. Narrow-mindedness, ultramontaniam, and blindness to the progress of the nineteenth century appear to be the chief features of the Belgian Church as represented at Malines. No ripple is heard of the wave of the assault of the higher criticism on the Scriptures; no allusion made to the spectre of downgradeism, atheism, agnosticism, and opposition to all Religion, which alarm all thoughtful Christians. Those who led the Congress seem to have learnt nothing from History, and forgotten nothing of an evil past: they seem blind even just before dawn.

The Churchman, 1892.

VII.

LETTER TO A CLERGYMAN ON THE SUBJECT OF ORIENTAL CHURCHES.

DEAR SIR,

I have delayed replying to your two post-cards of the 23rd ult., and the 1st of this month, until I could make sure of your identity, which I have done to-day by referring to the *Clergy List*.

I willingly accept the advice, and even the reproof, of earnest men, although entire strangers, and I thank you for your communications, and reproofs.

With regard to the Bishopric of Jerusalem, the two Primates, and the Bishop of London, are about to nominate a new Bishop. As a Member of the Committee of two great Episcopal Missionary Societies, I have gladly voted in favour of meeting the expressed wishes of the Heads of my Church, and supplying the needful income.

With regard to the Greek Church, I have had the opportunity of visiting the places of Worship of that Church in Athens, Constantinople, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Troitska, Kief, Odessa, Smyrna, Damascus, Jerusalem, Alexandria, and Cairo. I am also familiar with the ritual of the Hindu Temple at Banáras. A pious Brahman would recognise the similarity of the two worships: an unknown Language: a prostration to, and kissing of, pictures: an entire absence of spirituality, and reasonable service, and a gross ignorance on the part of the worshippers of the saving truths of the Gospel. Is it to be wondered, that an anxious sinner, seeking his personal salvation through the alone merits of his Saviour, should turn for the waters of Life away from such a broken cistern, and seek them, where they are to be found? There is one redeeming feature of the Greek Church, which honourably distinguishes it from the Church of Rome, that the Bishops are not opposed to the circulation of the Bible in the vulgar tongue: herein is their great hope of Reform in God's own time.

You state that you never heard one of the School of Thought, to which the Missionaries in Palestine belong, preaching the whole Gospel. I fear that your parochial duties must have kept you very much to your own Church, and that you have not had the opportunity of attending such Churches, as St. Paul's, Onslow Gardens, to the congregation of which I am privileged to belong.

To the Rev. F. T. Wethered, Hurley Vicarage, Great Marlou.

VIII.

ON THE ADMISSION OF WOMEN TO RELIGIOUS COMMITTEES.

(1)

DEAR FRIEND,

I beg to intimate to you that I have given notice, that I intend on July 17 to propose the following resolution :

“ That Women be eligible to seats on the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible Society.”

This does not imply, that there *must be a certain number* of women on the committee, but that, if the name of a woman be proposed, it shall not be ruled out by the Chairman, on the ground, that women are, under the organic Laws and Regulations, ineligible. Whatever may have been the practice in past years, there is nothing in the laws, which justifies exclusion.

I recognise unmistakably, that the women of the Twentieth Century will be fit for, and therefore entitled to, a much larger share in the administration of Religious and benevolent associations : our sisters have generally more leisure than their brothers ; they are animated by more fervour, and more holy zeal ; in many instances they have exhibited unequalled devotion, and great capacity.

In many quarters the battle has been won : no Board of Parochial Guardians, no Hospital-Committee, no Missionary-Committee for the selection of female agents, or the administration of associations for the conversion of women, would give satisfaction, if composed entirely of men. More than this, learned Societies, such as the Royal Asiatic, Zoological, Botanical, Statistical, Anthropological, Societies, and the British Association, admit women to membership, and place no bar on their election to the governing body, *if deemed fit*.

In our own Society what would our District Secretaries do without the persistent, stirring, and able assistance of the women of the community ? Some years back I was fortunate enough to persuade our committee to introduce Bible-women into Asiatic countries ; later on I proposed, that the post of Honorary Life-Governor should be conferred on women : it was rejected in committee, but the idea gained ground, and was gradually accepted, and on entering the committee one day, I found that my rejected resolution was being carried. We already employ women as

translators, and proof-correctors, and I feel sure that, as time goes on, new doors for sanctified influence will be opened to them. If the world consists of 1400 Millions, half that enormous number are women. Are we to place half the population of the world under a disadvantage?

When two years ago I took leave of the committee of the Church Missionary Society after half a century of membership, my final proposal was to admit women to the committee, because in very deed the names of several women most competent for that office, must have occurred to all. However, two members of the general committee, who knew little of the work of Missions, or of the onerous duties of the corresponding committee, moved the previous question, and without discussion the matter was dropped, but I myself feel a solemn conviction, that the new century will not open upon us without the presence in all Religious committees of one, two, or more, godly women. We are plainly resisting the enlightened and holy tendencies of the age in excluding our qualified sisters from the fulfilment of their legitimate aspirations, and the display of their undoubted capacity for giving wise counsel, for controlling details of administration, especially as regards female converts, and for representing their sex in the foremost ranks of their Master's battle against ignorance and sin.

My connection with all associations must soon end : I have given such time, talents, and money, to the most blessed work of the Bible Society, as were at my disposal, but I wish to be remembered after my departure as one, who for many years strove to remove the social inequalities of the two sexes in every department of secular and Spiritual life.

I trust that my friends, during the interval, which will elapse before the resolution is brought forward, will think out, and discuss among themselves, the important subject, so that, if the resolution be not accepted, the public may be informed what were the solid reasons for rejecting it.

1893.

(2)

WHAT WOMEN HAVE RECEIVED FROM THE BIBLE, AND WHAT SERVICES THEY CAN RENDER IN RETURN.

“The kingdom of heaven is like unto leaven, which a woman took and hid in three measures of meal.”

Since the earliest Epochs and in all countries, women have been more or less oppressed by the stronger sex ; whether in a high Oriental civilization, or in the low level of the Red Indian of North America, in Africa, and Oceania. But from the earliest days,

wherever the spirit of the Bible prevailed, women were treated with respect, Love, and honour: there was, indeed, Polygamy up to the time of the Captivity, but we find no trace of it after the return from exile. Daughter, sister, mother, were words accompanied with a blessing, as they suggested blessings. The Jews had need to learn of our Lord, but in this particular there was less cause for reproof. By placing the mark of His disapproval on divorce, He corrected the only flaw in the relation of the sexes. Throughout the Epistles of St. Paul we find tender salutations full of respect and Love to his dear fellow-workers, and no doubt they were worthy of the honour, though History is silent as to the Nature of their services to him personally. Nothing, however, is more striking in the Gospel-narratives, than the fearless and persistent devotion of the daughters of Jerusalem to their Lord, who had been deserted by his male followers with the exception of St. John. First at the sepulchre; last at the cross!

It would be out of place here to chronicle what women have done for the work of Missions. I wish only to record how much they have done and are doing for the British and Foreign Bible Society:

1. What would become of our local organizations in this country, if women were not forward in every detail! How altered the appearance of audiences, if women were not present to hear the speakers! How vain would be the efforts of secretaries and deputations without those "sisters, who laboured much in the Lord!" How strange, on our annual gatherings, would Exeter Hall appear in the absence of the devout women, a great multitude, who show so impressively by their numbers, how deep is their devotion to the work of their Lord.

2. Love is more valuable than wealth; still to carry on this great work money is required, and if the gold and silver in our treasure house could cry out, how many coins would say, "Directly or indirectly, by the influence of mother, daughter, and wife, a woman sent me." If Eve tempted man to sin, to how many good actions have women led men by good example and gentle persuasion!

3. In the foreign field women have not been absent in their labours in the *Depôt* or as *colporteurs*. We all recollect the notable instance of that good lady at Neufchatel, who so many years, without remuneration, from simple Love of the Book, kept the *Depôt*, and did the work of a silent evangelist. Two years ago, at Moscow, I was in the *Depôt*, when a woman entered and began to fill her empty sack with Bibles, and I found that she was a book-hawker, who went her daily round, content with the small percentage upon her sales. She looked for her full tale of wages for her work to heaven, and to her Master there.

4. In the home-field we bless the name of Bible-women, and of the dear departed friend, who set on foot the enterprise. In the

streets and the homes of the poor, in the docks and the manufactories, wherever sinners are collected together, there Bible-women are found. Not many, that are wise in things of this world; not many that are great, as man calculates greatness; nor may they be beautiful to the eye that sees only the outward form; they are only humble handmaidens of the Lord, but their names will be written among the angels.

5. In Oriental countries, where women are by the custom of the country secluded from the men, what chance would a poor woman have to know the Truth but for the appearance of her sister from Europe and North America, some to teach, some to heal, and some to bear about the Book of Life, to read it to ears which never heard the story of the great promises before, to leave it in the hands of those who have found out its value? is not this the leaven which a woman took and hid in a measure of meal? Will it not be remembered in the great day, when all things are revealed?

6. Let me allude to even higher things. All gifts come from the Lord, and as they belong to Him, to Him must the first-fruits and the last gleanings be rendered. Women have not been wanting, to whom this great gift has been granted of a sanctified power of rendering the meaning of inspired words in the Hebrew and Greek into the vernacular spoken by the Natives. Let us reflect how mighty such a gift is; how blessed are they who have been chosen to exercise this gift. Some may have converted Souls by their living voice: this is a great grace, but to the sister, whose voice speaks beyond the grave, we must say, "Thou excellest them all."

Thus I have noticed briefly the good work of our sisters. The Lord will reward them!

Bible Society Reporter, 1890.

IX.

THE GREAT AND INESTIMABLE GIFT OF SELF-SACRIFICE.

I RISE up from my annual duty of carefully reading, noting in the margin, and making extracts from the annual reports of a certain number of British, American, and Continental Missionary Societies of the Protestant Churches in the English, French, and German Languages, and a feeling of sadness comes over me, greater because the one feature, which is missed, is so very evident in the Missionaries of the Church of Rome, however averse I am to the doctrines and practice of that Church.

Quoniam tales, utinam nostri!

The feature, which is missing, is the heading of this Essay.

I find in these reports a great deal about the marriages and birth of children of the agents; of their leaving their duties, as escorts to their sick wives; as throwing up their life-vocation entirely, because the climate does not suit their wife's health. The compiler of the report dwells impressively on the sorrows of parting, on the joys of meeting, and allows himself a poetic licence in describing the sweet picture of the beauty of European family-life exhibited by these humble individuals in the jungles of Bangál, and the cities of China. No doubt matrimonial blessings are lawful; for the compiler of the report to describe them so gushingly seems out of place in the narrative of the evangelization of the non-Christian world, as it would be equally in the report of a military authority occupying a foreign country. We have no precedent in the Acts of the Apostles for such domestic amenities, more suitable to the life of an English banker's clerk than an evangelist.

We must try to rise a higher level, if we wish to go forward, a level of "self-sacrifice." I throw together, with a kind of feeling of despair, a few remarks and quotations, the result of long meditation. What we miss in Protestant Missionary Reports is the practical working-day evidence of "the great and inestimable gift of self-sacrifice."

Some degree of this great gift is the only real test of a man or woman being in earnest; some degree of entire devotion, self-renunciation, spiritual consecration. Altruism, as opposed to egoism, is the only thing, which discriminates the Spiritual man from the worldling. What is desired, the absence of which is manifest, is more self-abnegation; more sacrifice of pride, preferences, prejudices, personal comforts; more casting down of cherished idols of the home, of the flesh, of the environment; more laying of ourselves down on His Altar, in submission to His will. Does not each one recollect the time of his conversion, of his call, when the Lord suddenly met him and made Himself known, when a tongue of fire sat on the youthful head, and the simple heart spoke within? How many have forgotten their first Love! The Lord has not failed in His promises; His servants have failed in theirs by only rendering half-service and lukewarm Love, diluted with domestic anxieties, petty household cares, and wayward self-inclinations. Let us recall to our recollection Columbanus the Briton, and Boniface the Anglo-Saxon, men of our own nationality, in poverty, in labour, in life-exile, in persecution, in celibacy, in self-denial, without murmuring or complaint, without frothy declamation on platforms, always rejoicing to the last hours of their lives. Does no drop of their blood, the ichor of their consecration, run in the veins of this frivolous and self-indulgent generation?

God's wisdom rules, and man's unwisdom distorts that rule. We dare not check the noble flame; we would wish to guide it; the consecration of life, talents, fortune, and anticipations in early youth; the laying of oneself down on the Altar, there to remain for the term of this life, and crying out, "Lord, make use of Thy poor creature as Thou thinkest best." Such things as these cannot be despised. There is something in them of the ancient Roman, purified by Christian love. Many go abroad in the naughtiness of their youth and strength to hunt the wild beast, nobler than themselves, in Abyssinia, to collect shells in the Indian Archipelago, to develop new and baneful commerce with unhappy Africa, to cut down a few poor Africans for the sake of diamonds or gold dust. Why not do something to get at the poorer derelicts of the Human Race? If life be not spared, then to be with Christ is far better. If life be graciously prolonged to old age, what a gloomy retrospect to have done nothing for one's fellow-creatures!

Hear what Dr. Pierson of New York, U.S., said at Mildmay Hall, London, in 1893: "It does seem to me, that the whole Church, with the exception of a very small number, is yet in a state of apathy on the subject of Missions. I cannot sympathise at all with those self-congratulatory remarks, heard in crowded Missionary meetings, as to the good things done,

"great successes attained, great generosity, and great self-devotion. As yet there has been comparatively nothing done; the few successes here and there, the conversions beyond what our efforts warranted us to expect, still leave immense territory to be possessed."

In his "Divine Enterprise" he writes: "The high office of a Missionary is not a learned profession, into which a man may go at his option, to accumulate money or gratify ambition; such professions are highly honourable, but have no relation to evangelization. There is a Divine voice, by which men are called, the voice of the indwelling Spirit, which qualifies certain persons to witness for God. All lower motives, all family ties, must be brushed away. Cross-bearing is the one condition of discipleship. The Church, which ceases to evangelize, will soon cease to be Evangelical."

The Bishop of Calcutta writes as follows: "There is one thing about Missions, which often attracts attention. Complaints are heard, that the life of Missionaries too closely resembles secular life, and that their self-indulgence repels the religious instincts of an abstemious people. The Cowley Fathers and the Universities' Brotherhoods have done much to remove the ground of these complaints. I have never thought, that the Missionaries, who take proper precautions for their health, have erred, but in every country it is necessary to accommodate oneself to the customs and ideas of the people. An example has been set, which must be productive of good, and has redeemed Missions from the aspersions cast upon them. In this age the world is suffering from self-indulgence. Civilization is teaching us practices, which we heartily wish could be swept away. We must seek an ideal of a noble life sacrificed for the good of our fellow-men."

Hear the tiny cry of a woman-worker from one of the worst climates, living in 1887 a solitary life of devotion to her Master: "I would say to each one seeking happiness on earth, 'give yourself to the Lord, all that you are, and all you have' (and that is not much), that He may use you as He seest best, and earth may become a paradise, all so bright and fair, so full of love and joy."

Hear General Booth of the Salvation Army: "The Mission of the future must and will be sustained by those, who are possessed of the true spirit of Christian enthusiasm. We must have Missionaries, who will be strengthened and stimulated by the actual possession of the Spirit of Christ, the lack of which is the chief reason for the lack of success in our day; only, when you have the spirit, purpose, and consecration of the Apostles, can you hope for success.

"How far below this is the present standard! The motives,

“ which prompt many, is little beyond a pastime ; they have
 “ nothing on hand to occupy their time, so they will go on a
 “ Mission to the heathen. With others the motive is duty ; they
 “ feel, that they ought to do something for their Saviour and their
 “ generation. They owe much to God, and they hear the heathen
 “ calling out for someone to come over and help them.”

Another witness writes as follows : “ The recognition and reali-
 “ sation of a Divine call to work is one of the most powerful
 “ motives ; it gives courage to know, that God has sent them to be
 “ His representatives, and has promised His presence ; nothing
 “ will terrify him, who goes at Jehovah’s bidding, but there is a
 “ sense of responsibility as well as of courage ; he *must* work the
 “ work of Him who sent him. A most loving Master has given
 “ His servant his appointed work. Many workers of experience
 “ have felt the need of this Divine Ordination, and the strength
 “ and encouragement which it brings.”

Hear the echo of the cries of men and women, who have passed
 beyond, collected at random : “ I consecrate my life to Thee ; I
 “ give up parents, the hope of husband or wife or children, the
 “ possibility of earthly wealth and fame. I count all lost for
 “ Christ. I think of nothing, dress, food, home, equipages, except
 “ so far as is necessary, absolutely necessary, to keep this poor
 “ body in working efficacy. I think nothing of Society, of the
 “ fulsome adulation of Exeter Hall, of the penny-trumpet of the
 “ missionary monthly periodical. I am content with third-class
 “ deck-passages on ocean-steamers ; I have no care for furloughs
 “ or pensions ; I am ready to be cast aside, if unfit for the duty,
 “ or to die at my post ; in all things I wish to follow the example
 “ of Paul.”

Hear what Dr. Butler, Dean of Lincoln, in 1893, said to the
 students of the Missionary College of Burgh regarding Paul and
 his companions : “ Freely, faithfully, they had offered themselves,
 “ body, soul, and spirit, a reasonable, holy, and living sacrifice,
 “ while He, whose they were, and whom they served, Himself
 “ sustained them, was Himself their shield and their exceeding
 “ great reward. He whispered in their ears : ‘ It is I, be not
 “ afraid,’ and to their faith and love He for His part added joy and
 “ peace.”

Bishop Anson of Qu’Appelle, Canada, in an address delivered
 to the Lichfield Diocesan Conference, expressed his sense of the
 great need of community-life in the foreign missions of the
 Church : “ The Church needs in her Mission-work a more evident
 “ setting forth of entire self-sacrifice in those, who are witnesses
 “ for a crucified Saviour, the want of which is frequently noticed
 “ by those who have experience in India. Accustomed as many of
 “ that Nation are (historically and in everyday life) to witness
 “ acts of great self-denial and asceticism in their own religions,

“ the thing, which most chiefly appeals to their feelings, is a life of very evident self-sacrifice for the cause that is advocated.”

Sir William Hunter remarks that “ for many centuries in India every preacher, who has appealed to the popular heart, has cut himself off from the world by a solemn act like the great Renunciation of Buddha. He must be an ascetic, and must come from his solitary, or monastic, communing with God with a message to his fellow-men. The English Missionary appears to the Native as a charitable man, who keeps a good cheap school, speaks the Language well, preaches a European version of the Incarnation and Triad of the Creator, and drives out with his wife and a large family of children in a pony carriage.”

Let us ask ourselves whether Elijah, Elisha, Isaiah, Amos, and John the Baptist, would have succeeded among an Oriental people (and the Orientals change very slowly, if at all) if they had appeared weighted with the impedimenta of a European married Missionary. Bishop French in his Arabian Mission, and the Missionaries of Rome, do more nearly recall the great Ideal.

General Gordon writes: “ Where will you find an Apostle? A man must be everything! everything! everything! No half or three-quarter measures will do.” The use of liquors, even moderate, of tobacco, the presence of wife, children, of smart, or at least decent, clothing, good animal food, comfortable home, conveyances, social amenities, European notions, the ideas of the so-called “ gentleman and lady,” all these things appear to the Native as stumbling-blocks, when they think of a “ man of God.” General Gordon goes on: “ He must be dead to the world, have no ties of any sort, be ready for death, whenever it may please God to take him: there are few such among the Protestants, very few, and yet what a field!”

Hear from Livingstone the true view of Missionary sacrifice: “ For my own part, I have never ceased to rejoice, that God has appointed me to such an office. People talk of the sacrifice I have made in spending so much of my life in Africa. Can that be called a sacrifice, which is simply paid as a small part of a great debt owing to our God, which we can never repay. Is that a sacrifice, which brings its own blest reward in healthful activity, in the consciousness of doing good, peace of mind, and a bright hope of a glorious destiny hereafter? Away with the word in such a view, and with such a thought! *It is emphatically no sacrifice.* Say rather it is a privilege. Anxiety, sickness, suffering, or danger, now and then, with a foregoing of the common conveniences and charities of this life, may make us pause, and cause the spirit to waver, and the soul to sink, but let this only be for a moment. All these are nothing, when compared with the glory which shall hereafter be revealed in, and for, us. I never made a sacrifice. Of this we ought not

“ to talk, when we remember the great sacrifice, which He made, who left His Father’s throne on high to give Himself for us; “ Who being the brightness of that Father’s glory, and the express image of His person, and upholding all things by the word of His power, when He had by Himself purged our sins, sat down on the right hand of the Majesty on high.”

Let us consider the evangelization of the world in its outline :

1. The highest form of benevolence which a great conquering Nation can exercise towards Subject Races.

2. The bounden duty, and service, of every Christian, who values the precious words and promises of his Master.

3. The form of benevolence, which causes the workers the greatest earthly joy, whether Church, family, individual, whether the controlling authorities at home, or the agents in the field.

4. The form of service, which causes, or seems to our limited understanding most calculated to cause, glory to our Master by redemption of Souls.

5. The continuance of a work, which has been going on since the beginning of the world, and which has been manifestly blessed in its results. Where it has failed the Human agent is to be blamed.

6. A vivid realisation of the value of even one Soul even of a man of the lowest type, and the capacity of that Soul for immortality. Time, influence, talents, sacrifice of everything, even of life, seem small in comparison with the saving of one Soul. The Master and His followers were prepared to sacrifice, and did sacrifice, everything, that by all means they might save one.

In the Serampur Mission Rules we read the following: “ Finally let us give up ourselves unreservedly to the Lord. Let us never think, that our time, our gifts, our thoughts, our faculties, or even our clothes, are our own. Let us sanctify them to God and His cause.”

The sacrificial character of this ministry, which is its great strength, the desire God-willing to fill up what remains of the sufferings of Christ, does not preclude the sanctification of mind and intelligence, acquired talents and natural gifts, to the same blessed service. God’s service differs from man’s service in this: length of service does not count in apportioning the reward; we are accepted not according to what we have done, or left undone, but as to what we are. The law of self-sacrifice is the Divine Life flowing through all the members of the Church.

Hear Consul-General H. H. Johnstone’s words: “ A thoughtful Study of Human History makes me believe, that it is less the formula of belief than the practical purposes, to which Religion is put, which makes the Faith of an individual or a Nation beneficial or adverse in its effect.”

Hear Dr. Muirhead of the L.M.S. of Shanghai: “ I have lived

in China. I have worked in China. I am going back to die in China." This has the true ring of the Apostle.

Consider the great sacrifice of our Lord, the nature and extent of which we can hardly estimate; of His Apostles, "Lo! we have given all things"; of the early Christian Missionaries; of men like Buddha and his company; of the Hindu and Chinese sages in all times. They literally gave up everything; that was the secret of their power.

Either leave the work of the Mission alone, or do it thoroughly. Look back in the long centuries since the Ascension, and cry out, "Mea culpa: we are guilty concerning our brother." Read the lives of Missionaries, who have gone before, who have lived on to a good old age, like Caldwell, Sergeant, John Newton, Robert Clarke, or who have died like Sharkey, and Raglan, and Philip Smith. Mark the dying words of Sharkey. I copied these words in my note-book many years ago. He was taken dying on board the steamer. His last words were: "I have preached Christ's righteousness as the only ground of a sinner's acceptance with God, and now I cast myself upon that righteousness." "Do you find it sufficient?" said his friend. "Quite sufficient; my mind is perfectly easy." Of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. Read the dying words of many a Missionary of the Church of Rome.

It is well stated in a monthly Religious periodical: "It is impossible to limit man's duty to his own personal salvation without regard to the welfare of the souls of others; each member of Christ inherits an immediate claim on himself to become Christ's ambassador to others, for we are all members of each other. This brings out the paramount necessity of absolute self-sacrifice. Those who run in a course, and desire to win, relieve themselves of all that is superabundant, unnecessary, and likely to obstruct."

The Annual Report of the Universities' Mission to E. Equatorial Africa does not tell us of marrying and giving into marriage, as in the times of Noah, or of children being born or dying, but contains the following words: "The Missionary, who gives his life to foreign Missions, strengthens the Church at home more than if he were to stay in England. The Church makes way not by its actual numbers, but by the loftiness of its faith and the depth of its self-sacrifice. It is not for us to analyse the reasons why Churchmen have been hitherto so lukewarm about Missionary work; let us roll away the great reproach from those, who profess a special enthusiasm for the Kingdom of God."

From the Baptists at Harley House, Bow, comes an echo to the above cry: "In striving to evangelize the people of Kongoland we are simply obeying the command to preach the Gospel to every creature. Is it not better that some Missionaries should die

“ rather than that the Ba-Lolo should perish? Are not some deaths gain?”

Let Protestant Missionaries reflect on the self-surrender and humility of the Missionaries of the Church of Rome, as evidenced in the *Lettres édifiantes*: “ L’unique grâce, que je vous demande, c’est de me donner tout ce qu’il y aura de plus pénible et de plus mortifiant dans la mission.”

And again: “ J’aurais souhaité, que vous ne m’eussiez pas laissé le choix d’aller en une ou en l’autre des deux missions, mais que vous m’eussiez déterminé. Je n’ai quitté ma patrie que pour obéir à Dieu.”

Hear Bishop Selwyn the elder’s opinion of John Paton: “ Talk of bravery and heroism, the man who leads a forlorn hope is a coward compared with him who in Tauna, left alone without a sustaining brother, regards it as his duty to hold honour in the face of all dangers. He might have found an asylum in New Zealand, but he was moved by higher considerations.”

Hear John Paton’s remarks on the above: “ I feel confident, that the Bishop would in like circumstances have done the same. I was born in the Scottish Church, and am descended from those, who suffered persecution, and I should have been unworthy of them, if I had deserted my post for danger only; yet not to me, but to the Lord who sustained me, be all the praise.”

Hear Dr. Welldon’s words: “ We are met here to ask for the sacrifice of men’s lives, and everyone, who makes such a request, must ask himself first, whether the call is not addressed primarily to himself, and whether he is so sure of the Faith which he professes, that he is justified in the sublime audacity of the above-named request. Nothing on earth can shake the Missionary’s call. It comes to one and another: who shall say how? It comes like the breath of Heaven, takes the form of deep pity over the sins of the world, and an intense longing to do the Master’s command. It is accompanied by a feeling of personal responsibility and thankfulness, and is irresistible, however it may come.”

Read the “ Conversion of the World,” of which I give an extract: “ Would you indeed win Souls to Christ? Would you make your calling a reality, and not mere barren emotion, the effervescence of a passing moment, a sudden impulse, a sort of fancy, a romance, which will not bear the strain of trial when it comes? Then go forth in the Spirit of the Apostles. You must be constrained by the Love of Christ. You must make up your minds to face dangers and difficulties. You must cast away from you much of that, in which the world, and many people also not of the world, harmlessly enough find content and happiness (for it is *lawful* to them, but not *expedient* for you). You must be the soldiers of a crucified Lord.

“There, there is real zeal, which forgets and ignores all hindrances for the sake of that which it undertakes, which suffers no earthly considerations to interfere with its actions, which puts Christ before father, mother, sister, wife, child, and possessions. This brings Christ at once to your side; and where He is, His servant cannot fail. Failure follows, when love of self prevails, ruling where Christ alone should rule, where men aim at a comfortable home, a good station in Society, the pleasure of married life, a regular income, when every kind of inferior object traverses the great Work for Souls. This is the reason, why so very many of our Missions fail. The Missionary is quite a decent and respectable person, kindly and friendly to all, a good husband and father, possibly a fair preacher, but he lacks the kind of zeal, the method of life, which dominate mankind. To raise the world men must live above the world, like all those who at all times have stirred the heart of man, and lifted it to better things, and compelled men to come in and follow Christ.

“Go forth, altogether forgetting yourselves, determining to know nothing save Christ crucified, much indeed to know, leaving, like the Apostles, home, brethren, sisters, father, mother, wife, children, lands, for Christ’s sake. Make up your minds to put aside earthly honour, comfort, and wealth, looking through that atmosphere of earthly interests, and natural Instincts, and loss of home and domesticity, and the like, which *“things envelop and crush out all intensity of service.”*

Take Brainerd as an example. In a letter to his brother, 1743, he writes: “This is the most lonely, melancholy desert, eighteen miles from Albany. The Lord grant I may learn to endure hardness as a good soldier.”

In his diary we find: “God has renewed His kindness in preserving me one journey more, though I have often been exposed to cold and hunger, and have frequently been lost in the woods.”

He took leave on starting of all his friends, solemnly dedicated all his earthly possessions to the Lord, paid for the education of a fellow-labourer, and died at the age of 33, unmarried. His name will live as long as the English Language on both sides of the Atlantic.

Henry Martyn visited Van der Kemp at Capetown in 1806. He asked him, if he ever repented of his undertaking. The old man replied: “No! I would not exchange my work for a Kingdom.” He had often been so reduced for want of clothes as to have scarcely any to cover him. The reasonings of his mind were: “I am here, Lord, at Thy service; why am I left in this state?” It seemed to be suggested to him: “If thou wilt be My servant, be content to fare in this way; if not, go and fare better.” His mind was thus satisfied to remain God’s Missionary with all its concomitant hardships.

Hear General Booth once again (I do not always agree with him): "The only class, who can grapple successfully with the heathen difficulty, are those who are full of the Love of Christ. With them it is a passion; the same spirit which consumed the very being of the Apostles has entered into them, and carried them forth from friends and home. Some call this 'the enthusiasm of humanity,' and men must have a spirit of devotion, perseverance, willingness to sacrifice, capacity to love in the face of scorn, hatred, prison, and death, which constitute the spirit of Christian enthusiasm, and proceed from Christ alone."

I quote the following from a letter to my address from the Secretary of one of the Church of England Societies: "The cause of failure of Missions is the lack of the self-sacrificing spirit. The Protestantism, that loves comfort, and tries to make the best of the present world, can with difficulty beget anything possessing the ascetic spirit, and this is the spirit that won Europe for Christ. We require a national protest against 'Luxus,' which is sapping and ruining the citadel of Protestantism. Contrast in India the Missionary of Rome with the representative of an English Missionary Society. The latter must have his home, his wife, and European luxuries, and English social conventionalities, to sustain him in his fight for the Religion of the 'homeless' Christ."

The problem of converting the world has not changed; it is the agents in the great work that have changed. Let me judge Britons by Britons, contrast Christians of the sixth century with those of the nineteenth. Stand forth, Columba, Columbánus, Aidan, Boniface, Gall! Let us place aside the spurious halo of mediæval Miracles, the outcome of a credulous age, and consider the self-consecration, the crucifying of self, which distinguished them. They had not behind them the appliances of civilization, the protection of a flag or of a Consul-general, the paternal care and regular supply of resources by a committee, but they grasped the Idea, they conceived the Plan, they carried it out, and Europe represents the result. Let this be our great example after Christ!

They practised celibacy, they built an asylum, calling it a monastery; they went forth with nothing but the Gospel. The men of the nineteenth century go forth with outfits, and wives, and salaries, and a claim to be called "gentlemen," with foolish contention about the colour of their hoods. When we think of Paul, and Columbánus, and Boniface, how very different the methods seem! Far be it from me to go to the other extreme, the ostentatious poverty of the mendicant friar. If once the principle of self-consecration and self-sacrifice were admitted, the comfortable way of doing the thing would disappear, the effect of which is so chilling now to the enthusiasm of the Church. The present system will never generate in the nation

a desire to spend and be spent, and the same crave for salaries and domestic comforts spreads to the Native agents. Is such a state of things a reflex of the story of the Acts of the Apostles in many fields of Mission? In the Missions in the islands of the South Seas the life of an Apostle was lived, and the result is a crop of indigenous teachers content with a little and ready to die.

It would be to the advantage of the great cause, if all young aspirants to the great office of Evangelist were to study the lives of the great Missionaries of all the Churches, whether of Great Britain, Geneva, or Rome, and read the "Imitation of Christ," by Thomas à Kempis. The dream of the pleasant manse, the sweet partner of the holy labours, the nursing of children, must be reverently placed aside for at least one decade of service, or longer; the decade is the minimum of service. I have not studied the subject in the field and the committee-room for fifty years without arriving at the conviction, shared by many, that a man cannot serve God and his family at the same time in the Mission-Field.

X.

TRANSLATIONS OF THE BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER.

DEAR MR. SECRETARY,

I take the liberty of bringing to the notice of the Translation-Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge the urgent necessity of preparing in great detail a catalogue raisonnée of all the translations of the Book of Common Prayer of the Church of England into foreign Languages. Great mischief, and possibly heresies, may arise in the next generation, if certain terms are used, susceptible of a double, uncertain, or wrong interpretation by Christians outside the orbit of English thought. The uncivilized barbarian may accept the terms, and mechanically give to them the significance taught to him by the first Missionary; but the civilized Nations, such as those of India and China, will speculate on the possibility of two or more meanings, and, if the ignorance of the translator has made use of a wrong rendering, great dangers may arise.

I have had this subject on my mind for many years: I am not satisfied with many of the renderings of purely technical words in Languages, with which I am well acquainted, and which may be

called classical Languages of Europe and Asia : I cannot but feel that there is danger : as a rule, the Bishops are not acquainted with the Language ; and some young man does the work, who has slight, or no, knowledge of Hebrew or Greek, and not a full knowledge of the modern Language, which he is handling.

What is required is, that under the superintendence of you, as Secretary, a young clergyman, trained in a School of Theology, and well taught in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, should be specially employed to make such a catalogue and record how much of the whole Prayer Book has been translated in each Language, and what are the renderings of certain terms. There is always an opportunity of consulting Missionaries, who are at home, or in their field ; and thus gradually errors would be detected, and a correct terminology arrived at, as the Languages of the world are divided into scientific families, and such abstract words would be the same or similar in all the Languages of each family : if there be a divergence, the reason must be asked.

I am acquainted with the interest taken by the Primate in the subject, and having been for many years on the Translation-Committee the subject is familiar to me. In the translation of the Bible we seek only for *philological* accuracy, and leave it to the Church to interpret : but the Book of Common Prayer has to be treated in a different way. Take the words "Persons of the Trinity" : we must carefully define what the Church means, lest an ignorant Hindu arrives at totally different conceptions from an inaccurate rendering of the term.

I trust that you will pardon this intrusion. Being conversant with many Languages, and having dwelt for many years among foreign Nations, I see difficulties, which might escape the observations of those, who have not had such opportunities.

XI.

ON MISSIONARY LITERATURE.

I WISH as it were to lay a foundation-stone of future operations, and rather suggest a *modus operandi* than an *opus operatum*.

It is easy to understand the magnitude of the subject, but not so easy to think out the mode of coping with it: it is most desirable to collect in the Church-House a complete Mission-Library, and competent persons must indicate what are the books that are to be placed in this Library, how they are to be obtained, how they are to be grouped, and what additional ones shall be (1) purchased or (2) compiled.

No time should be lost in sending a circular to friends of Missions, intimating, that it is proposed to form a Mission-Library, and asking them, or the representatives of deceased friends, to present to the Library all Missionary Books no longer required. I have myself from time to time transferred scores of books to the Missionary College at Islington, the Missionary Bureau in the City, and the Missionary Union Library of the District, in which I reside: if this circular be issued, large contributions will come in. Then will follow the labour of weeding out duplicates, and distributing the books on the proper shelves.

There are two branches of the subject: I confine my remarks to the first: the first is the collecting of existing books: the second, "preparation of new books," requires a separate treatment at a future period. I make, however, one *urgent* suggestion: Grant's Bampton Lectures are quite out of date: could the subject of Missions be entrusted to another Bampton or Hulsean lecturer, a man with some experience of the foreign field, such a man as the late Bishop French? I have prepared an abstract of Missions to the non-Christian world commencing, as it ought to commence, with Missions to the Jews, passing on to the Mahometans, and the different shades of Asiatic post-Christian error, thence onward to the great Book-Religions, Brahmanical, and Búddhist, and their numerous off-shoots, thence to Zoroastrianism, Confucianism, Taouism, and Shintoism; thence to the Animistic Conceptions in Asia, Oceania, Africa, and North America. Notice should be taken of the new forms of error springing up around us, from the contact of the non-Christian Beliefs with Christianity, viz., Aria-Somáj, Brahmóism, Theosophism, Mormonism, etc. To grapple with all these forms of error, the Missionary of the Church of England should be prepared: there is a literature connected with

all, and it is idle to expect from the same, or same kind of, Missionary, a capacity to deal at random with all. In fact, Mission-work has developed into a science, and the proposed University-Lecturer should recognise this and handle his subject scientifically, as he would any other branch of Human Knowledge brought up to date. Extracts from Encyclopædias, and casual Reports, and vague and general remarks will not be sufficient, as they were in a less enlightened generation.

It will be better at starting to restrict ourselves as regards the collecting of books to the work of the Missionaries of the Church of England. A circular should be sent to those Missionary Societies requesting the favour of a complete set of their Annual Reports, and Serials: this opens out the question of what these Societies are. The first subdivision is Male and Female.

MALE.

- I. London Jews Society.
- II. Parochial Jews Society.
- III. Society for Propagation of the Gospel.
- IV. Church Missionary Society.
- V. Universities Mission to East Africa.
- VI. Melanesian Mission.
- VII. South American Mission.
- VIII. Mission of Cowley Fathers.
- IX. Diocesan Missions of Colonial Bishops, restricted to their own Diocese or Province.
- X. University Mission to Delhi (ancillary to S.P.G.)
- XI. University Mission to Calcutta do.
- XII. West Indian Mission to Rio Pongas in Africa.
- XIII. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge.

FEMALE.

Church of England Zanána Mission.

But in addition to the Serials of the above-mentioned Societies, and the separate volumes published by these Societies, which are numerous, and copies of which I propose, as above mentioned, to solicit from these Societies, we must cast our eyes on the world-wide field, and recognise the great fact, which it is of no use to ignore, that the Church of England is not the only one in the Mission-Field, and that there are three varieties of Enterprises not of our own fold:

- I. Associations supported by the Church of England, and other Churches.
- II. The Church of Rome.
- III. British Nonconformist Churches.
- IV. European, and North American, non-Episcopal Churches.

The wise man profits from contemplation of the work of his neighbours, and is instructed by their failures and mistakes. This want is largely met by the excellent "Bibliography of Foreign Missions" Reports, Biographies, Histories, and Miscellaneous works compiled by the Rev. S. M. Jackson, and G. W. Gilmore (reprinted from the "Encyclopædia of Missions," New York, 1891). This classified list, though very full, is of course not up to date. Books on the same subject have appeared since its publication, and some have been omitted from its pages which should be added. Friends of Missions should be requested to examine this Bibliography, and to note the names of books which they suggest for inclusion in a supplemental list. Year by year, or after the lapse of five years, a supplement should be published.

It is essential, that in the arrangement of the Books in the Library and in the Catalogue raisonnée the order should be primarily Geographical, and by Subjects in the second place, and that one separate *Book Case* and Chapter in the Catalogue be set apart for Books on the General subject, or Books which embrace more than one Geographical division of the Globe: the same remark applies to Maps, many of which are of extreme value.

I now approach the subject of Translations of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer.

As regards the Bible, I attach to this Report Appendix A, which I have prepared showing the Translations of the whole, or portions, of the Bible now (1892) used by the Missions of the Church of England. Copies of all these Translations can be supplied to the Library of the Church-House without charge, merely for the trouble of applying for them to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, the British and Foreign Bible Society, and in some rare cases some particular Missionary Society.

As regards the translation of the Book of Common Prayer, there are greater difficulties. Arrangements should be made with the Editorial Secretary and the Foreign Translation Committee of the S.P.C.K., for a list of the Translations of this Book. It is a matter of extreme importance, as this Book is the standard of the theological belief and formularies of the Church of England: inconsiderate additions, inaccurate translations of terms, omissions without weighing the consequence, may generate fatal divergences of belief and practice. With regard to Bible-Translations there is no such danger: there can be no possible additions, or omissions, and the Translations are made with impartial linguistic accuracy, with neutral terms for such words as Priest and Baptism.

The names of other books relating to Mission-work suggest themselves, such as the Pilgrim's Progress, El-Kindi, Manuals of Devotion, Hymn-books, Commentaries, Catechisms, etc. The S.P.C.K. has done a great work in this direction, and copies can be supplied to the Library of the Church-House.

Works written to aid Missionaries (*a*) in knowledge of non-Christian systems are available. Of works written to aid Missionaries (*b*) in opposing in argument non-Christian systems, there exist very few. New works of this kind should be prepared in a faithful, yet conciliatory, spirit.

The subject of Educational Books for the Christian converts, and the non-Christian people generally, is a very large one, and has not been neglected as regards India by the Christian Literature Society for India, and other Societies in London or elsewhere: it is a very large subject indeed, and must stand over.

APPENDIX A.

BIBLE-TRANSLATIONS USED BY MISSIONS OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, 1892.

ASIA.

No.	Language.	Dialect of a Language.	Language Region.	Missions using the Language.
Arabic	—	—	Palestine Arabia India	C.M.S., L.J.S., S.P.G.
Hebrew	—	—	Palestine	L.J.S.
O.T., N.T.	—	—	—	—
Persian	—	—	Persia	C.M.S., L.J.S.,
—	—	—	India	S.P.G.
Osmánli-Túrki	—	—	Empire of Turkey	C.M.S., L.J.S.
Bangáli	—	—	N. India	C.M.S., S.P.G.
do.	Mahometan	—	do.	do.
Santál	—	—	do.	do.
Malto	—	—	do.	C.M.S.
Mandári or Kól	—	—	do.	S.P.G.
Hindi	—	—	do.	C.M.S., S.P.G.
do.	Urdú	—	do.	do. do.
do.	Dákhaui	—	S. India	C.M.S.
Gónd	—	—	N. India	do.
Panjábi	—	—	do.	do.
do.	Dógri	—	do.	do.
do.	Chambáli	—	do.	do.
do.	Multáni	—	do.	do.
Sanskrit	—	—	India	C.M.S., S.P.G.
Kashmíri	—	—	N. India	C.M.S.
Balúchi	—	—	do.	do.
Pastu	—	—	do.	do.
Sindhi	—	—	do.	do.
Maráthi	—	—	W. India	C.M.S., S.P.G.
Gujaráti	—	—	do.	do.
do.	Parsi	—	do.	C.M.S.

No.	Language.	Dialect of a Language.	Language Region.	Missions using the Language.
Támil	—	S. India	C.M.S., S.P.G.	
Telúgu	—	do.	do.	
Karnáta	—	do.	S.P.G.	
Malayálam.....	—	do.	C.M.S.	
Koi	—	do.	do.	
Asámi	—	N.E. India	S.P.G.	
Barma	—	India (Further)	do.	
Karén	—	do.	do.	
Malay	—	Indian Archipelago	do.	
Dyak	Sea	I. of Borneo	do.	
Siuháli	—	I. of Ceylon	C.M.S., S.P.G.	
Portuguese.....	India	do.	do.	
Wen Lí	—	China	C.M.S., S.P.G.	
do.	Easy	do.	do.	
Mandarín	—	do.	do.	
Canton	—	do.	do.	
Hakka	—	do.	C.M.S.	
Fuh-Chau	—	do.	C.M.S., S.P.G.	
Ning-Po	—	do.	C.M.S.	
Shang-Hai.....	—	do.	do.	
Amoy	—	do.	do.	
Japán	—	Japán	C.M.S., S.P.G.	
Ainu	—	do.	C.M.S.	
Korea	—	Korea	S.P.G.	

AFRICA.

Arabic	—	{ Egypt Algeria and Tunisia Morocco	C.M.S., L.S.J. L.J.S. do. do.
Hebrew	—	do.	do.
O.T., N.T.			
Nyika	—	E. Equatorial	C.M.S.
Sagalla	—	do.	do.
Giriáma	—	do.	do.
Tavéta	—	do.	do.
Chagga	—	do.	do.
Bondei	—	do.	U.M.
Swahíli	—	do.	C.M.S., U.M.
Gogo	—	do.	C.M.S.
Kagúru	—	do.	do.
Ganda	—	do.	do.
Yao	—	do.	U.M.
Nyanja	Chimalávi	do.	do.
Malagási.....	—	I. of Madagascar	S.P.G.
French	Creole	I. of Mauritius	C.M.S., S.P.G.
Zúlu	—	Zúluland Natal Ma-Tabéle-land	S.P.G.

No.	Language.	Dialect of a Language.	Language Region.	Missions using the Language.
	Xosa alias Káfir ...	—	Kafraria	S.P.G.
	Chuána	—	Be-Chuána-land	do.
	Súto	—	Ba-Súto-land	do.
	Hausa	—	W. Equatorial	C.M.S.
	Nupé	—	do.	do.
	Ibo	—	Basin of Niger	do.
	Idzo	—	do.	do.
	Igára	—	do.	do.
	Igbira	—	do.	do.
	Yáriba	—	Yáriba-land	do.
	Mendé	—	British West Africa	do.
	Temne	—	do.	do.
	Bullom	—	do.	do.
	Susu	—	French West Africa	do.

AMERICA.

Eskimó	Hudson Bay	Hudson Bay	C.M.S.
do.	Labrador	Labrador	S.P.G.
Tukudh	—	Alaska	do.
		(United States)	
Shimshi	—	Metlakatla	do.
Nishkah	—	River Naas	do.
Kwagutl	—	Vancouver I.	do.
Hydah	—	Queen Charlotte I.	do.
Tinné alias Slavé ...	—	River Mackenzie	do.
Chipewán	—	Athabaska	do.
Beaver	—	River Beaver	do.
Cree	—	Moosonee	do.
Blackfoot	—	Alberta	do.
Yahgán	—	I. of Tierra del Fuego	S.A.S.
English	Negro D.	Surinam	S.P.G.
Karíb	—	Guíána	do.
Akkawáy	—	do.	do.
Arawák	—	do.	do.

OCEANIA.

Maori	—	New Zealand	C.M.S.
Fiji	—	I. of Fiji	S.P.G.
Mota	—	Banks' I.	M.M.
Florida I.	—	} Solomon Islands	do.
Isabel alias Bogótu I.	—		
Uláwa I.	—		
San Christobal I. ...	—	} New Hebrides	do.
Auróra I.	—		
Whitsuntide I.	—		
Lepers' I.	—	} I. of New Guinea	S.P.G.
Motu	—		
Hawaii	—		do.

NOTE TO ACCOMPANY APPENDIX A.

C.M.S. = Church Missionary Society.

S.P.G. = Society for Propagation of the Gospel.

L.J.S. = London Jews Society.

U.M. = Universities Mission to East Equatorial Africa.

S.A.S. = South American Society.

M.M. = Melanesian Mission.

N.B. : All other Church of England Missionary Societies are either Diocesan, or ancillary to one of the Societies above-mentioned.

A Language means the Standard-Form of any particular National, or Tribal, form of Speech ; a Dialect means some deviation from that Standard-Form not intelligible to those who use the Standard-Form.

In some Languages and Dialects the whole Bible has been translated ; in others only portions, more or less considerable portions : additions are made every year by translations in new Languages, or by translations of larger portions of old Languages.

A great variety of forms of Written Characters are used in such translations.

The whole are on sale, or obtainable, at Missionary Stations, where they are in use.

Languages of Europe are excluded from this list.

APPENDIX B.

NON-CHRISTIAN BELIEFS, WHICH MISSIONARIES OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND HAVE TO FACE.

I. Juda-ism	(1) Old	Accepts the Old Testament
	(2) New	and adds the Talmud.
II. Mahometan-ism	(1) Sufi-ism	Accepts the Old and New
	(2) Babi-ism	Testament, and adds the
	(3) Wahábi-ism	Koran.
III. Brahman-ism	(1) Sikh-ism	Accepts the Sanskrit Sacred
	(2) Jain-ism	Books.
	(3) Many other varieties	
IV. Búddh-ism	(1) Shaman-ism	Accepts the Pali Sacred
		Books
V. Zoroastrian-ism	—	Accepts the Avesta Sacred
(Parsi)	—	Books
VI. Confucian-ism	—	Accepts the Chinese Sacred
	—	Books.
VII. Taou-ism.	—	do. do.
VIII. Shinto-ism	—	Accepts the Japanese Sacred
		Books.

IX. Anim-ism	Infinite varieties, Devoid of literature in Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America	
X. Aria-Somáj	Varieties	Extensive literature.
XI. Brahmo-ism	Varieties	do. do.
XII. Theosoph-ism	—	do. do.
XIII. Mormou-ism	—	Accepts the Mormon Sacred Books.
XIV. Hau-Hau, Te-Whiti, of New Zealand	—	No literature.

A division of the subject as regards the existing non-Christian Beliefs at once suggests itself, and should never be lost sight of in oral addresses, or written works :

- I. Religious conceptions anterior to the great Anno Domini, and the Fulness of Time, when the Son of God became incarnate
- II. Religious conceptions formed after this great Date, in full knowledge, and in defiance, of Christian Teaching.

Under the first head will come :

- I. Juda-ism.
- II. Brahman-ism.
- III. Búddh-ism.
- IV. Zoroastrian-ism.
- V. Confucian-ism.
- VI. Taou-ism.
- VII. Shinto-ism.
- VIII. Anim-ism.

Under the second head will come :

- I. Mahometan-ism.
- II. Aria-Somáj.
- III. Brahmo-ism.
- IV. Mormon-ism.
- V. Hau-Hau, Te-Whiti.

Many of the books written on the subject of the first head are extremely reprehensible and devoid of Christian spirit. We should read the addresses of St. Paul at Athens, and at Lystra. The Great Creator is, and ever has been since the day of the Creation, Father of all His poor children, and wishes nothing, that He has made, to perish. In His own great wisdom He permitted many

centuries to go by, and many scores of generations of mankind to pass from their cradle to their grave without the opportunity of knowing His Holy Will, for, with the single exception of the Mission of Jonah to Nineveh, He never sent Prophet or Evangelist to teach them His Law or His Gospel. But to many Millions He did not leave Himself without a Witness and a Message, for He sent to different portions of His poor children at a remote and uncertain date the Hindu Sages, and Zoroaster, and at a later and historical date the great cluster of Holy Philosophers, Socrates, Pythagoras, Gautama Buddha, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, all of whom have left behind them words, which the World will never allow to die, but the nature and purport of which has only been revealed to astonished Europe during this century. If the Holy Scriptures of the Hebrews still maintain, and will ever maintain in our opinion, their pre-eminence among the utterances of Man before the great Anno Domini, they have lost the merit in past centuries erroneously attributed to them of being the unique and sole representatives of Religious Thought and High Morality in Ancient Days, and it is now clear, that God in sundry times and divers manners spoke to our Fathers, evidencing the all-embracing and everlasting love, which He entertained towards man created in His own image, and endowed with a knowledge of Good and Evil, and that at the time of the great Anno Domini He so loved the world, that He sent to them His own Son, fulfilling His wondrous plan, and reconciling the world to Himself.

I have been led to these remarks by the outcome of the thoughts of many years, as I have been shocked by the perusal of many utterances of Christian Ministers. They make them in ignorance, and for that reason they should study the excellent books now published on the subject of the Ancient Religions, and they will not fail to see how in every clime the Soul of Man is found to turn to its great Creator, even as the sunflower turns to the sun, that the soul seeks communion with its God, has ever tried to expiate its errors, seek protection from, ask counsel from, humbles itself before, a mysterious unknown Power, greater than itself.

If we could suppose, that the Human Race had vegetated for two or three thousand years before Anno Domini, like plants, or ruminated like cattle, without any idea of Divine things, any conception of the Supernatural, any fear of God in this world and the next, we might well despair of sowing seed in such a prairie soil; but the narratives of every explorer, the annals of every country, the translations of every papyrus-roll, and clay-cylinder, tell us unmistakably the same truth, which St. Paul uttered, that man felt after God if haply he could find Him, that he ascribed to Him his victories, and founded on Him his hopes. This shows the extreme importance of a full and sympathetic literature for the instruction of Missionaries.

Many of these Ancient Religious Conceptions have lasted on from centuries after Anno Domini: and why? because of the slackness of the so-called Christians, who in past centuries neglected the commands of their Master; and the men of this century blame and abuse the poor heathen for wandering in darkness, from which no Christian light until this century has shone forth to free them.

1892, added to 1894.

XII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE TIME OF OUR LORD.

A book entitled, "Books which influenced our Lord and His Apostles," was published in the course of last year. This is a book with a pretentious title. My attention was called to it by a friend, who expressed his sense of the charms of its novelty and its importance, as it could now be understood, whence the wonderful Truths of the Galilean Carpenter were derived. The background of the Ideas of the people, amidst whom He moved, was now revealed. The family, into which the Messiah was born, were Essenes. The books, which He had accepted, were the Apocalyptic volumes, or at least those portions, which can hypothetically be shown to have existed before His birth. This was the view of my informant.

These are bold assertions, to explain the source of the Wisdom of Him, of whom it is recorded that "never man spake like this man." The author seems satisfied that the Apocalyptic books, written by recluses of Engeddi, on the Dead Sea, were among the Synagogue-Rolls in such a petty town as Nazareth. I quote his words: "It would only be by an act of special favour, that the sacristan could admit this strange youth (Jesus) to see these sacred books and peruse their contents (p. 16); but he grew in favour, and the privilege granted could not be recalled, and there He sits and reads the strange vision recorded in the Book of Enoch, or of Baruch, about the Son of Man, who was to sit on the throne of His glory, before whom all shall appear; and of the blessings of the days of the Messiah."

And again: "The doctrinal soil, on which the great Sower would sow the precious seed of the Kingdom, was of necessity the product of the apocalypics."

This is a pretty picture, but totally inadequate to explain the process of the development of the new Idea, which would revolu-

tionize the world. The great Sower appeals to the Scriptures, which certainly did not include these books, and the great Truths spread over the world by their own force, and have found a home in the hearts of Millions, who have never heard of the existence of these visionary productions. It may be doubted, whether Paul ever heard or read of any books of the Essenes, supposing that the Author is right in attributing these books to this sect, of whose nature, origin, final fate, and even meaning of the name assigned to them, so little is known. Of the Pharisees, Sadducees, and Herodians we have notices in the New Testament, but nothing about the Essenes. As to the influence of such books on the great Master we must reply a distinct negative; as to their influence on the Apostles and Evangelists, the fishermen Peter and John, the great scholar and traveller Paul, the Gentile Luke, the untraveller James and Jude, we need scarcely trouble ourselves. Other and more potent influences are evident in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The allusions to the Book of Enoch by Jude, and to Jannes and Jambres in Paul's second Epistle to Timothy, do not take us very far. At any rate the sentiments, placed in the mouth of Moses in the Assumption of Moses (p. 323) that "God created the world on account of His people (the Jews)," *i.e.*, that the world, with its Millions, existed only for the convenience of Israel, does not indicate the fount, from which the waters of the Gospel flowed. The Gospel had in this time got beyond this national blindness. The spirituality of the New Testament leaves such Ideas centuries in the rear.

The books called the Apocalyptic are well known to every student of Biblical literature, who has read Westcott, Lightfoot, or Davidson (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1875). Of only three can it be said, that they existed before the Christian Era. Westcott remarks (Introduction to the study of the Gospel, p. 115), that "the great outline of the Apocalyptic visions offer a study parallel to the teaching of the Apostles." So much may be conceded. No doubt extravagant ideas were influencing the minds of the Jews at the time of our Lord's ministry, and we can trace the survival of some in the popular belief of Christendom, notably Angelology, Demonology, Eschatology, the Millennium, and the future triumph of the Jews.

The authenticity and genuineness of the Old and New Testament were by Divine Grace fenced about by early translations into Languages spoken by people having no communication with each other. Even the Church of Rome never dared to tamper with the text of Scripture, as there existed always the totally independent versions of the fallen Churches of the East. But as to these poor waifs on the stream of time, found in Church libraries after a disappearance for centuries, what security have we of their text being untampered with? As no doctrine hangs

upon these, the Church would accept them as genuine until cause be shown to the contrary. Dr. Davidson (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Ch. II., p. 75) states his opinion, that "much of the Messianic matter has been interpolated by a Jewish Christian, since the Christology is higher than that of the period; while on the other hand the Angelology and Demonology are developed in a manner savouring of Christianity."

Exception may be taken to incidental remarks of the author. It is an accepted fact with linguistic Scholars, wholly apart from theology, that at the time of our Lord's sojourn on earth the common people of Palestine spoke Aramaic only, and that *this was our Lord's sole vernacular*. It would be as reasonable to state, that the people of India of the common sort spoke English, because the English have ruled portions of that country for a century. The Gospels have come down to us in Greek, and the Septuagint is not always quoted, for we find independent translations in the Aramaic Language, of the Hebrew original, showing that the Greek Gospels were formed from Aramaic oral, or written, narratives. Our author transfers to the illiterate people of Galilee, Judea, and Samaria, the notions with regard to books, which exist in Great Britain in the nineteenth century. There was no printing, and no means of circulation. A book written in manuscript at Engeddi would share the fate of many monkish lucubrations of the Middle Ages, and never get beyond the walls of the convent. It is not pretended, that the Essenes went about preaching and teaching this doctrine; this is just what the Apostles did, and, when the time came, their teachings were collected into the Gospels.

The Everlasting Nation, 1891.

EDITORIAL NOTE.—Dr. Cust discusses, in his usual clear and incisive terms, one of the many literary inventions, with which the intellectual atmosphere is charged. What is termed "the higher criticism" takes this form. Any careful reader will, without hesitation, determine that very little of it falls logically under the head of "criticism." But it appeals successfully to the ignorant, and the worldly-minded. It meets the cravings of the unregenerate heart, which, despite the warnings of conscience, would fain, if possible, demonstrate that "there is no God." In this light the Hibbert Lectures, delivered lately by Mr. Claude Montefiore, need our future consideration. Our able contributor speaks of "the *Gentile Luke*." We are aware that Luke has been so spoken of, but we have never been able to trace any adequate reason for the conclusion that Luke was a Gentile. In addressing Theophilus (Luke i., 2, 3), he speaks of the Gospel-revelation as having been delivered "unto us, which from the beginning were eye-witnesses and ministers of the word;" and "it seemed good to me also, having perfect understanding

of all things from the very first, to write unto thee." How could such a declaration apply to any but unto the *Jewish* followers of our Lord? They, and they alone, formed that *entourage*, which was associated with Him in His sacred work, and who became the first witnesses of the Gospel which He proclaimed.

XIII.

DIFFICULTIES IN BIBLE-TRANSLATION.

LETTER TO BISHOP OF RANGÚN.

MY DEAR BISHOP,

The need of a revised translation of the New Testament in the Burmese Language is a fact of the utmost importance, not only for itself, but for two other reasons.

(1) At least ten Languages in the Irawádi-Basin will follow the precedent of the leading Language of the Region.

(2) A great principle is involved, viz., whether the first comer into a Region has any divine, or human, legal, or moral, right to claim a prescriptive right to control the translation and distribution of translations of the Scriptures for ever after.

Let me dispose of the last reason first.

It carries with it absurdity at the first glance, and gross intolerance at the second. In the French translations there are two versions: in one the neutral term "Priest" (Presbyter, Elder) is rendered by an equally neutral term "Prêtre": in the other by the term "Sacrificateur" (Sacrifactor, Hierews, Kohen, Sacrificer, Offerer to the Gods). (Liddell's "Latin Dictionary.")

Had Missionaries of the School of thought, which adopted those terms, been the first in the field, would the Evangelical Churches have submitted to the necessity of using those terms for ever in their form of worship? Not for an hour. And yet the American Baptists try to impose upon the other Communities in Christendom a yoke, which they will not touch with their fingers. They have, without permission, taken the Télugu translations, prepared on the neutral system, and have made such changes as suited them. I do not blame them for this: the Scriptures are not bound: we have taken similar liberties with the Septuagint, the Vulgate, Luther's German, and the principle is maintained, that a translation is only a shadow of the inspired Hebrew and Greek, and belongs to no Church, Nation, or Association, either legally, or morally. The same liberty I claim for others, I claim for myself. You are in strict right before God and man in insisting upon having a translation in the Burmese, and in the other Languages of your diocese, which your congregations can use without having to substitute oral

for the written words, or to accept renderings, which their consciences cannot approve.

It is often asserted, that it is a misfortune to have two versions of the same Scriptures current at the same time amidst the same population. Abstractedly it is not desirable; practically it should be avoided, unless greater evils are introduced by such apparent uniformity, which in fact only imperfectly conceals discord.

The Church of England has no objection to "Immersion" as an alternative of "Sprinkling": but it would be intolerable to read in our Churches "John the Dipper," "I dipped also the House of Stephanus," the "Dipping of John was it from Heaven?" To have a rendering of one set of words in the printed text, and another set of words in the oral delivery would create confusion in places of Worship, Sunday-Schools, and private readings at home.

In Great Britain at this moment the Psalms are read with edification in three versions. (I) That of the Prayer-book. (II) That of the Authorised version. (III) That of the Revised version. It may be regretted, especially as regards the Prayer-book-version, but it has no bad consequences.

I address you, as a Layman, and a Layman of sufficient intellectual and spiritual stature to look over the fence, which divides Denominations and Congregations, and see only the figure of Christ and His Gospel. This is not only Theory but Practice. I am a member of the S.P.G. and S.P.C.K., as well as the C.M.S. and the B.F.B.S. I have taken the chair at the Annual Meeting of the Baptist Missionary-Society in Parker's Temple at Holborn Viaduct. As a Vice-president of the British and Foreign Bible-Society I deal with all Denominations with impartiality. To love the Lord and His Gospel is our only shibboleth.

The Baptists in this matter (the American Baptists, not our own good English friends) are thoroughly in the wrong. They openly assert, that philologically they alone are right, and that all the world is wrong. As a fact the word "baptizo" only occurs thrice in the Septuagint and clearly means "dipping," II Kings v, 14, Eccles. xxiv, 37, Judith xii, 7. That is not the question. They wish to enforce their denominational eccentricity of Immersion upon other Congregations; our policy is to leave the matter open, and to use neutral terms, which the minister may interpret, as he thinks proper, and practice according to the law of his Church.

I find that you applied to the S.P.C.K. some months ago, and we at once agreed to meet your wishes, and print your revised translation of the New Testament. I am a member of the Translation-Committee.

Lately at the Editorial Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, of which I am Vice-president, and member of the Editorial Committee, a letter was read from you, asking the Bible-Society to help you. This seems, as if you were moving two

Societies to do the same work. This causes friction and may produce discord.

I do not think, that either Society will make you a lump-grant to enable you at your own discretion to revise and print. This is a new view of the case, and I doubt whether I could support it. We like to do the work ourselves, for which we pay and are responsible.

The S.P.C.K. will undertake a revised translation of the New Testament, if you as Bishop move them to do so, supported as you are by the S.P.G. They will add no conditions, but their resources are limited, and I again call your attention to the fact, that you have ten Languages behind the Burmese, which must follow the leading Language. Could the S.P.C.K. undertake this? I doubt it.

The B. and F. Bible-Society, being informed of your application to the S.P.C.K., seemed ready to meet your wishes, and are addressing you.

They admit the necessity of a revision, owing to a lapse of fifty years since Judson's translation, but they would have a joint Committee of revision, on which no doubt the Baptists would have a preponderating number of members. There would be controversy and delays, and in the meantime a large supply of the Denominational "Dipper" Scriptures would be put into circulation among your converts.

You must ask yourself: can your work be carried on without an immediate supply (say five years) of the New Testament with neutral terms?

If it cannot, it may be expedient to invite the S.P.C.K. to supply you at once with copies of the present translation with the terms altered for Baptism, and leave the greater question to be slowly worked out. If you wish to have an idea of the time required for revision, send over to Madras and enquire how many years the T  lugu revision has been going on.

1892.

LETTER TO *The Record Newspaper*.

Sir, In your issue of last Friday I read the following words:

"It has been agreed, that the Bible Society should print the version of the New Testament made by the Baptist Missionaries in Kongo, with the insertion, in brackets, of '*Greek*, baptize,' '*Greek*, Baptism,' etc., after the Kongo words for 'immerse,' etc., wherever they occur. Similar insertions are to be made in future editions of the Baptist version of the New Testament for Orissa, a German Lutheran Mission having now broken the Baptist monopoly of that District."

As the matter has been transferred from the privacy of the committee-room to the publicity of the Press, I am bound to state, that I protested against this New departure, and protest still.

Let me illustrate the consequences.

Luke iii. 1 will read as follows: "In those days came John the Dipper (Greek, 'Baptist') preaching in the wilderness of Judæa."

Mark xi. 30 will thus be rendered: "The dipping (Greek, 'Baptism') of John, was it from Heaven or of men? Answer me."

Romans vi. 3 will read thus: "Know ye not, that so many of us as were dipped (Greek 'baptized') unto Jesus Christ were dipped (Greek, 'baptized') unto His death"?

And so on, whenever allusion is made to the First Sacrament, three or four times in the same page.

To me this appears to be wrong and inexpedient, and may form a dangerous precedent.

Already in French versions the neutral word "Priest" is represented by some as "*prêtre*," and by others as "*sacriste*." It is possible, that the High Church party in England may suggest such a translation as the following: Heb. iii. 1, "Wherefore consider the Apostle, and High Sacrificer (Greek, ἀρχιερεύς) of our profession, Jesus Christ."

Up to this time the Bible-Society has never added to or omitted any portion of the inspired Text, as exhibited in the Authorised English Version, and it would be wise not to attempt to do so.

Alternate readings in the margin of a Philological character are quite legitimate, and have hitherto been sufficient for all purposes.

The basin of the River Kongo is exclusively occupied by English and American Baptists. Let them have their version with the words "dipper, dipping, dipped," and nothing else. The Kongo Languages stand by themselves. But the case of the Uriya Language is quite different. The country of Orissa is part of the Bangál and Madras Provinces, and the Language is a member of the great North Indian Language-family, spoken by 200,000,000, with more than twenty versions of the Bible; it would be extremely injudicious to introduce this innovation in one member of this magnificent family.

But the real trouble lies beyond. In the Province of Burma there were till lately only Baptists, and the versions in Burmese and Karén were made with the "dipper, dipping, and dip" terms, and the American Baptists actually dispute the right of the English Missionaries of the Established Church, sent out by the S.P.G., to alter the terms of a version made and printed nearly half a century, and have published a lengthened protest. On the other hand, the Bishop of Rangún may well demur placing in his Churches and Schools a version prepared upon the above stated principle in the dominions of the Queen of England.

I should have remained silent, had not the advocates of the opposite policy appealed to public opinion.

1892.

XIV.

THE SOCIETIES FOR PRODUCING, AND CIRCULATING, CHRISTIAN LITERATURE : RELIGIOUS AND SECULAR.

THE Bible, and the Bible alone, is the basis of all Christian literature, but none the less, auxiliary Societies are required to assist the student, and promote the study of that Book. The Bible-Society keeps to its unique and proper duty. In London their exist two notable Societies, which carry out a very great and blessed work, and neither of them attract the attention and support, which they deserve.

It so happens, that the Old and New Testament, the Divine Library of Jerome, on their human side, occupy a very peculiar position. The thoughtful mind is struck by the remarkable phenomenon of a library, the volumes of which extended over one thousand years, and the actions described in which touched, only just touched, the three great Monarchies of Western Asia, Assyria, Babylonia, and Persia, the solitary African Monarchy of Egypt, and the two great Empires of Greece and Rome. Now the Bible can only be understood in all its allusions after a study of the contemporary literature of those countries, and the advance of knowledge has been so constant and rapid, that no books of a date of more than a quarter of a century are of any value. We live in an age of progress. The old grandmotherly style of the preachers and teachers of the Georgian period is of no use at all now. Our knowledge of geography, and archæology, has wonderfully expanded. Comparative philology has come into existence. A new and correcter idea of history has been formed. The Book of non-Christian Religion, and the buried records of Egypt and Assyria, have become accessible, and the desire to arrive at Truth has been aided by the continued exertion of the two Societies, to which we allude.

Here a caution must be introduced. The Bible never grows out of date, or falls below the contemporary mark of Human Knowledge. No suggestions of alteration, or new editions, of the Bible can be tolerated, but the work of these auxiliary Societies is specially Human, liable to change, modification, and actual supersession, by later and fresher treatises. This principle is enunciated distinctly, as in some Societies the right of this generation to modify, alter, and re-edit, the tracts of the good men of the last generation is disputed, and actually the children of writers of tracts of the

last generation protest against any alteration being made in the works of their revered ancestors.

The Christian Knowledge Society has a great many branches of usefulness, but our remarks are restricted to those, which relate to literature. They are twofold: the Foreign Translation-Department, and the supply of books in the English Language. It is difficult in a few lines to describe the excellent work of the Foreign Department in several score of Languages of the five divisions of the world. An enormous amount of good has been done without attracting the notice which it deserves. Bishops and Missionaries come home from their distant spheres with their manuscripts, the result of long tedious years of labour, and seek a publisher, that they may carry back a supply of printed copies for their flocks. The Society steps in, prints without cost, under the superintendence of the authors, and presents a supply to the delighted applicant. It really is Missionary Work of the truest character. In the case of Missionary Societies, it is a great relief to their funds. Branch-Societies in different central stations, and Missionary printing presses, supported by grants, are doing the same good work. The kind of literature supplied consists of Commentaries of the Bible, Hymns, the Book of Common Prayer in shortened form, Selections of Picture-Cards, Grammars, Vocabularies, Catechisms, and Translations of esteemed English Works.

In the English Language there is a supply of serials, books, maps, pictures for the walls of School-rooms, literature of a most interesting and improving character, with a sound healthy tone pervading the whole. There is something to suit all tastes, but, as it is a Church of England Society, the great bulk of the books are in harmony with the views of that Church, but in the Supplemental Catalogue, place is found for esteemed books, such as Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress." Great liberality is displayed in grants to Missionary Societies abroad, or Institutions at home, and members of the Society are entitled to 25 per cent. reduction of price. Printing presses are granted to Missionary stations in every part of the world. Encouragement is given to the preparation, as well as printing, of important works, and the revision of translations, for instance, of the Book of Common Prayer, which will exert an important influence upon Native Churches growing up into independence under their own Bishop. More might be written, but the scope and the merits of this great Society have been sufficiently indicated. Perhaps it is a little too old-fashioned, holds no annual meeting, and does not lend itself to the new ways of conciliating a popular support; but those, who for a long period have been familiar with its operations, know that the Northumberland-Avenue-Office represents the precise centre of gravity of the Church of England, and that, whatever may be the thoughts and practice of Churchmen within the comprehensive girdle, they will realise

that to the S.P.C.K. that famous line of Virgil applies, and to its great honour :

Tros Tyriusque mihi nullo discrimine agetur.

The Religious Tract Society differs from its elder sister in the fact, that its constitution is Catholic, and that it is the handmaid of all the Churches, and not primarily restricted to one denomination. It has a vast foreign department, and those, who have travelled in Europe, or North Africa, or Western Asia have brought home a good report, and tell of a lively memory of benefits conferred, and of a livelier hope of favours still to come. As the Bible-Society resembles the Arsenal of Woolwich, which supplies the great guns, so the Missionary world finds in the S.P.C.K. and R.T.S. a never-failing supply of small arms for the fight against Atheism, Agnosticism, vice, and ignorance. The Missionary counts the Press, the *pure* Press, his greatest ally, and the *impure* Press his most deadly foe, especially where education of the young is extending, and men and women are commencing to use the faculties entrusted to them by their Maker. It is sad to say, that there are immoral and anti-Religious Tract-Societies in existence, and associations for promoting non-Christian knowledge. In a list of books published in one year in Bangál, notice is made of a collection of 100 songs, 300 copies distributed gratis. Some of these songs, dealing with so-called Religion, are disgustingly obscene. Allusion is made to this subject not by way of aggravation, but to point out the extreme importance of supporting and enlarging the resources of these Societies, for their opportunities are boundless, and their benefits are beyond description. In a late sermon one of the leading preachers of London has expressed the necessity of the case well. He alludes to the home-work in these Islands :

“ Here it is that this admirable enterprise of yours, which fills so large a space in the life of the Church in England, brings its great and manifold labours to bear. The Divine Revelation was given through humble Human channels, and it will be the subject of mockery and attack, as long as the world lasts. We want to know what supports there are for the Human intellect against these subtle assaults, and where it is that the attacks are mistaken ; and we come to your most thoughtful and able Series of *Present Day Tracts*, written not so much for men of Science as for the ordinary reader, who is anxious to understand the bearing of the momentous problems at issue. We wish to have the results of Science in a form that the learner can grasp ; and we come to your list of Educational and scientific Works. We desire to help our Bible-students to a full Study of that ancient and most marvellous Hebrew literature, the inspired records of the chosen people of God, which contain His Word and Will for

“ mankind; and we have recourse to your abundant and fascinating
“ treatises on the newest phases of Discovery in Bible-History,
“ your Commentaries, your Introductions to the Books of the
“ Bible, your By-Paths of Bible-Knowledge. We wish to have
“ true and Scriptural views of Church-History, not biassed by
“ theories of development or artificial Human mechanisms; and we
“ come to your most important and valuable library of Church-
“ Histories, of Christian Classics, and of exemplary biographies.
“ We want pleasant, useful, and informing reading for our children,
“ and we find it in your immense stores of wholesome, attractive,
“ and inspiring literature for the young. We need an almost
“ unlimited choice of suggestive papers on every phase of simple
“ Christian thought and life for our villagers and artisans, and we
“ have it abundantly supplied in your multitudes of well-written,
“ pointed and pungent tracts. Thus, in every direction, you are
“ helping men, women, and children to think the thoughts of God,
“ instead of thoughts of corruption and disaster.”

The “Pilgrim’s Progress” has been translated into eighty-six Languages, and is acceptable everywhere. No such compliment has been paid to any uninspired product of the Human brain. It has so much of the flavour of the Gospel in it, that it comes nearest to it of all published Works in world-wide diffusion. The Religious Tract-Society has already utilised thirty Languages in what may be called the newly discovered Continent of Africa. As there are 600 Languages on the Language-list, there is plenty of work cut out for the Pure Literature-Societies. One error should be guarded against. It has been said that the greatest enemy of the “good” is the “better,” or “best.” Perhaps the real enemy of the “good” is the “goody-goody.” Some books have got into circulation, neither the Society nor the country need be mentioned, for all devourers of Missionary, or quasi-Missionary, literature will realise my description, that they go “against the intellectual stomach,” the worst kind of precociously pious children, and outrageously sanctimonious old women, both male and female. Such literature does not strengthen the fibres of the intellect, or warm the heart, or rouse the conscience, evoking a heart-voice, where there has been previously a dull silence. On the shelves of both Societies there is abundance of books, that fulfil the fourfold conditions above stated, and the perusal of which is good for all sorts and conditions of men, for, while Human actions are described, thoughts of God are suggested. Conspicuous amidst the multifarious literature of the day are the two excellent periodicals of the Religious Tract-Society, the *Sunday at Home* and *Leisure Hour*. To many a quiet home they bring a ray of light, holy and sunny light, as they mark the foot of time by their issue at stated intervals, and link week and week, month and month, year and year together with a golden thread, furnishing materials for family-conversations, private medi-

tation, and often quotations into private commonplace books, one of the best machines for uplifting mind, heart, and soul into higher and higher regions of thought. These periodicals tell us most convincingly, that the lewdness of the Divorce-Court, the wickedness of the Police-Court, and the sensationalism of the three volume-compound of fiction, frivolity, and foulness, do not comprise the whole of the possibilities of Human existence, that it is possible for a writer to be pure, and yet not dull, and to exclude tales of gross social misconduct, and yet pass under review stirring and interesting incidents, the perusal of which leaves the reader stronger and better.

The Christian Literature Society for India may with justice be noticed after the two powerful world-wide Societies above noticed. They are, indeed, ubiquitous, belonging to the world at large. This smaller Society was founded in 1858, as a memorial of the great Sepoy Mutiny, and its labours are restricted to British India. In the past thirty-four years it has done excellent work. The schoolmaster is abroad in India, and necessarily the Education is secular. It is an anxious problem for the future as to how the hundreds of educated men, turned out yearly from the State-institutions, will support themselves, as an observer remarked years ago, the cry may be, "You have taught us English, the Sciences, and to despise the Religion of our parents. Give us bread to eat." A vast amount of poisonous literature, obscene and sceptical, finds its way from Europe.

"The great object of the Society is to supply suitable literature to the educated Natives. The thousands of youths, who leave the School every year are inadequately supplied with healthy literature, and the Society hopes to supply this defect by the distribution of good, wholesome, and Christian works. In the last two years over two-and-a-quarter Million books have been issued by the Society, and this branch of work is fruitful in many ways. 'At one time,' it is stated, 'it saves a hopeful youth from the contaminations of vicious books, at another delivers an inquiring mind from the meshes of error, at another nourishes high and noble desires, and at others brings rest and peace to the heart of the weary and heavy laden.' After leaving School, the youth is more liable than ever to be influenced by pernicious literature, and the aim of the Christian Literature Society for India is to counteract this evil."

"The indirect results of Christianity were not only permeating the whole land, but the impact of the Gospel upon the thought of India was splitting the old Hindu rock in every direction. As a result of earnest Missionary enterprise, there was being created a capacity for intelligence and for information and for learning, that must be fed, and if that capacity, if that appetite, were not met by literature, which would secure to the men who

“ had heard the Gospel its full import, then that capacity would
 “ be met with a literature, that would make everything the Mis-
 “ sionaries had done in the past in the way of Education the most
 “ destructive instrument they could have put into their hands.
 “ The great danger was that nineteen-twentieths of the 500,000
 “ students in English were leaving the schools of India, fitted
 “ with every Science, but without having been taught Christianity,
 “ and therefore they were bound to meet these educated classes
 “ with such a literature which, while it reached their intelligence,
 “ would also reach their hearts.”

The level of the moral tone of a Nation is not to be measured by the number of persons who attend Church or Chapel, but by the literature exposed on the bookstalls and the character of the books used for teaching purposes in the schools maintained at the public cost. Let the governing bodies of the great public Schools and the Educational Board ponder, that it is not their duty to teach dogma, or ritual, or Church History, but so to present to the rising generation the great principles and practice of Christianity, that they may make an indelible impression on the opening mind.

Nil dictu fœdum, visuque, hæc limina tangat,
 Intra quæ puer est.

In British India, although there is an entire silence on the subject of dogmatic Religion in the State-Colleges, and rightly so, yet still the selection of books for study is controlled by the Council of the Universities, of which the Bishops and ordained ministers are members; and, moreover, every student in a State-college, on completing his course, receives a present of a copy of the Holy Scriptures from the British and Foreign Bible-Society, and the three Societies, whose praises have now been recorded, strive to stand in the gap, and supply healthy, and interesting, and instructive pabulum for the opening intellect, and not for the male portion of the community alone, but for the female also, whose claims for consideration are now respected. Fifty years ago, a Native gentleman would have declined to allow his wife and daughter to learn to read, because there was nothing but degraded and filthy literature for them to read. This cannot be said now. A beginning has been made, and the time is at hand, when the powers of indigenous writers will be developed, and as happened at the time of the Reformation as regards Latin, the great and highly developed Languages of India will supersede the alien English, and there will be a vast, and we hope pure, vernacular literature, obeying its own laws, flowing in its own channels, and developing its own idiosyncrasies, excellencies, and defects.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1892.

XV.

SOME FEATURES OF BIBLE-TRANSLATION.

THIS paper consists of a few remarks on: I. The form of Written Character, in which the translations of the Bible appear. II. The different meanings of the terms *Language*, *Dialect*, *Patois* or *Jargon*. III. The nomenclature.

I.

An old clergyman last month asked at a Missionary Committee what the difference between "translation" and "transliteration" was. The reply is simple. Translation means the rendering of a book from one Language into another; transliteration means the rendering of the Written Character of a book into another and totally distinct Written Character. Familiar instances of this are the editions of the Hindi Bible, in the Nágari, Arabic and Roman characters, and of the Swahili in the Roman and Arabic characters.

Now Written Characters are of three kinds:

- (1) Ideogrammatic, as some of the Chinese translations.
- (2) Syllabic, as some of the translations in Canada.
- (3) Alphabetic, in very numerous varieties, nearly all of which are represented in Bible-translations.

The *Ideograms*, otherwise called hieroglyphics, represent ideas, and are, in fact, the survivals of actual pictorial representations of the idea. Some of the Languages spoken in China are thus represented, but it is a remnant of the old world, and this form of Written Character appears only in China.

The *Syllabics* in Canada are not a survival of ancient form, but a revival of an obsolete method, and very questionable in policy. A syllabary is composed of syllables: a consonant and a vowel, or a vowel between two consonants; it was a common method in antiquity, but has been gradually superseded by Alphabets.

The *Alphabet* consists of symbols, which represent one sound only, a consonant or a vowel. It is susceptible of infinite varieties in the form of the symbol, and in the nature of the sounds represented by the symbols. Some Alphabets have been formed on a complete logical system, divided into groups according to the part

of the mouth which is used to express the particular sound: guttural, palatal, lingual, dental, labial; of this the Nágari in India is the most complete type. As the Alphabet of one Language was adopted for the use of another of a different linguistic family, and therefore with different sounds, additional letters have been formed, or the old letters have been differentiated by additional dots. The Persians adopted the Arabic Alphabet for their Arian Language with additional letters; thence it was transferred to the Urdu Dialect of the Hindi Language with a great many more additional letters.

II.

Lax use of the words *Language* and *Dialect* has caused difficulty.

These words are often used in general literature, especially in travels, inaccurately; in dealing with Bible-translations it is well to be precise. A Language is the recognised form of speech of a Region, such as English, French, German, Arabic, Hindi, etc., but in portions of these Regions a dialectal variety of the standard-Language is in use, differing from the standard-Dialect in Vocabulary, Grammar, and Pronunciation. The English spoken in Scotland is decidedly a Dialect, and another Dialect is coming into existence in North America. In France and Germany there are also recognised Dialects. The Arabic has clearly a Dialect in North Africa, and the great vehicle of ideas called Urdu or Hindustáni is scientifically a Dialect of the Hindi Language, which has a great many other marked Dialects. In China it is a mistake to apply the term "Dialects" to the different Languages, which exist amidst that vast population, other than the great Book Language or Wen-Li, and the two Dialects of the Mandarin Language. They are all totally distinct Languages.

A *Patois* or *Jargon* is something of a lower degree than a Dialect, which often has a literature and Bible-translations of its own. In Switzerland each Canton has its own patois, but in the Religious services, or in Bible-translations, only the German or French Languages are used. The effect of the Press and State-Schools is to crush out patois, unless there is some National or Religious element to give it life. This is the case with the so-called jargon of the Jews in Europe. They have newspapers in that form, their correspondence is conducted in that form, and therefore Bible-translations have been granted to them in their jargons. I never could approve of it scientifically, but a net must be made large enough to catch all souls. There are other patois, which are gradually passing into the higher stage of Dialects, such as the Creole Dialect of French in the Mauritius, the Negro Dialect of English in Surinám, the Indian Dialect of Portuguese in Ceylon. Translations have been supplied in these,

and it is possible, though not probable, that they may develop into strong Languages, for the English and French Languages came into existence in some such way. Moreover, other patois are coming into existence from the contact of strong Arian and Semitic Languages with the weaker Languages of Africa, Asia, and America, which have not yet been stiffened by an indigenous literature. It is well to recollect, that old Languages are dying out, and new ones being born in different parts of the world, and the lists of Bible-translations will be their certain register, as the patois grows into the Dialect.

III. NOMENCLATURE.

It may seem pedantic, but it is not really so. Great attention has been paid by the Royal Geographical Society, the Admiralty, and the Government of India, to the introduction of a uniform orthography of proper names. Rules have been laid down, and Maps and Directories have been prepared on uniform principles. It is true, that such rules can only apply to the English Language, as used by the English people: any uniformity of nomenclature with the Languages of Continental Nations is hopelessly impossible: for instance, the Russians and Germans insist upon attaching a suffix to their proper names, not such a suffix as belongs to the Language described, which would be correct enough: ergo, in India we write correctly, Bangál-i, Hind-i, Panjáb-i, Maráth-i, because the letter "i" is the suffix of the Indian Branch of the Arian Family: but in the Russian Catalogue on my table Bangál-skii, etc., and in the German Bangál-isch. In some families of Languages no Grammatical suffix is necessary: ergo, in the Dravidian: Tamil, Télugu, correctly represent the name of the Language, but in the Russian Catalogue they appear as Tamil-skii, Télugu-skii, etc.

At one time our catalogue had the same or even worse blemishes: the first Missionary to an Island gave the Language a name according to his sweet fancy, and we had to deal with English suffixes tacked on at random: ergo, the Language of Tonga was written Tonga-n, of Uvea Iaian, which name appears in the Table of Languages of 1894: the Language of Tahiti was called Tahiti-an: another set of Missionaries preferred the suffix "ese": thus we have Japan-ese, Java-nese, Efut-ese, etc., etc., Sinhal-ese.

In the Bántu Languages of South Africa another difficulty arose: Missionaries would not in all cases throw away the Native Prefix: they accepted Yao, and Swahili, and Bondei, but insisted on writing Lu-Ganda, Ki-Pokómo, Otji-Hérero. Even on the West Coast some are not content with Ashánti, but will write Otshi.

Great improvement is evidenced in our present Table of Languages: of course the names accepted in European literature, such as English, French, Spanish, etc., cannot be changed, whether wrong or right:

but as regards the new names, which appear for the first time in European books, they should represent accurately the name of the people, who speak it, and no foreign suffix should be attached to it. Nothing can be better than Tamil and Têlugu in India; Shanghai and Hakka in China, Aino in Japan, etc., etc. Karnáta should be substituted for Kanar-*ese*; Barma for Burin-*ese*; Siam for Siam-*ese*; Japan for Japan-*ese*; Tibet for Tibet-*an*.

A stress-accent on the vowel, on which stress is laid, is advisable: otherwise how can such names be properly pronounced, as Bádaga, Marwári, Pokómo, Panjábi, etc., etc.

I have striven in all my Books on Bible-Translations to introduce a more accurate nomenclature, and more correct orthography, and I think, that it has advanced a correct understanding of the Subject.

British and Foreign Bible-Society Reporter, Aug. 5, 1894.

XVI.

THE PAPAL BULL ON THE SUBJECT OF THE STUDY OF THE BIBLE.

THIS important document, "De studiis Scripturæ Sacræ," was issued by Pope Leo XIII, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate, in the Latin Language, from the Vatican, which is described as "apud S. Petrum Romæ," and is addressed to all the ecclesiastical authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, and to those in communion with Rome. In its Latin form it consists of forty-three quarto pages of Vatican-Latin, certainly not Ciceronian. (A few years ago what may be called an Irish Bull was issued by the Vatican, in which the word "boycott" appeared surrounded with ancient Latin forms. "Higher criticism" is described as "Libera Scientia," and "falsi nominis Scientia"; also "Critica Sublimior.")

This Bull, called "Encyclical Letter," has been translated into English, and printed at *The Universe-Office*, and is sold at the cost of one penny. Translations in the French Language have reached me in one of the daily papers of Brussels, and in the Italian Language in one of the daily papers of Rome. Rome has spoken not only "Urbi," but "Orbi."

Nor does the trumpet give an uncertain sound. It starts with the assertion, that supernatural revelation is enclosed as much in unwritten traditions, entrusted to the Church, as in the Canonical Books. Every passage of importance in the Bull is supported by reference, given at the bottom of the page, to some ancient Church-authority. For a long time the Holy Father has conceived the

idea of reviving and recommending the noble Study of the Holy Writings, and of directing it in a fashion more conformable to the necessities of the actual Epoch. He cannot tolerate, that Christian people should be troubled by those, who are urged by an impious audacity openly to attack the Scriptures, or by those who abet deceitful and impudent innovations. He calls on the Clergy to undertake the defence of the Scriptures, and apply themselves more strictly and zealously to read, meditate, and explain them. He cites the example of our Lord and His Apostles: he cites the word of Jerome, that ignorance of the Scriptures was ignorance of Christ. A Daniel has indeed come to judgment.

After bestowing unstinted praise upon the Scriptures, the Holy Father takes credit to the Church of Rome for at all times having taken care, that the treasure of Holy Writ should never be neglected: his idea seems to be, that the reading of a certain portion on Sundays and Festivals, in an unknown and dead Language, is sufficient for the salvation of the Souls of the laity. He does not mention that, except in rare instances, translations in the vernacular were absolutely forbidden, and every possible obstruction given to the diffusion of translations of the Scriptures: that Bull after Bull has been published by deceased Popes, even by Pius IX, in 1849, representing the Bible, when translated into the vulgar tongue, and issued without Catholic comments, as *poisonous*; that in 1889, in the City of London, Father Clarke, a Jesuit of Farm Street, Berkeley Square, was not ashamed to write, that Papists should not be allowed to read the Bible in the vernacular, unless the translation had been approved by the priests, and had notes explanatory of difficult passages. In the long panegyric, which the Holy Father passes on the labours of the Church of Rome in Bible work down to the present day, there is much said, and truly said, of commentaries, careful editions, and elaborate texts, which have their value; but not one word on the diffusion of any portion of either Testament in a portable form in the vernacular, at a cheap rate, so that the humblest Christian might have free access to the Scriptures for domestic reading or prayerful study. The characteristic feature of the Church of Rome was, is, and ever will be, that the priest should stand betwixt the Scriptures and the individual soul.

The battery is now opened against the Higher Criticism, "Critica Sublimior." Formerly only the right of private judgment in the matter of interpretation, independent of the authority of the Church, was claimed; but the sons and heirs of the above, who are the rationalists of the present epoch, invoke the decisions of a new "free Science." Among their number are "theologians and commentators, who, under the most honourable of names, dissemble the audacity of a spirit abounding in insolence."

By means of books, pamphlets, and newspapers, they spread

a deadly poison ; by meetings and speeches they sink it more profoundly in the public mind ; by mockery and jibe they excite the still fresh, credulous hearts of youth to a contempt of Holy Writ. The Prisoner of the Vatican, surrounded by schoolmen and theologic "sabreurs," winds up his tirade by quoting the stock quotation of I Timothy, vi, 20, with the air of an old English rector addressing an agricultural congregation in some ignorant county, rather than with the enlightened frankness of a man in authority, versed in Human affairs, addressing the civilized world on the subject of a gigantic intellectual phenomenon, which cannot be trodden down in these days of free thought, but can be wisely controlled, and by sweet reasonableness be confined into the channel of legitimate inquiry, and the result of which may be confidently expected to conduce to the greater stability of Christian verity, and a fuller appreciation of God's dealings with His poor creatures in times past and present.

The Holy Father suggests, that great care should be taken to secure a supply of Professors, who have "traversed in a satisfactory manner the cycle of theological studies," culminating, of course, in the works of St. Thomas Aquinas. The training is, it appears, to be mainly exegetical, or interpretative, which is something very different from the gifts and knowledge and acumen required to cope with the forces of Higher Criticism. The Holy Father proceeds to make a concession, that in conducting this exegesis, the Professor is at liberty to go behind the text of the Vulgate, in defiance of the Council of Trent, and consult the earlier versions, and "even the primitive Languages of Greek and Hebrew." "Such references, according to Augustine of Hippo, will be very useful." This shows what a great gulf fixed there is betwixt the Vatican and the Bible-House, for in the latter no translation of the New or Old Testament is approved, which is not taken direct from the *Textus Receptus* of the Greek and Hebrew respectively.

No one is permitted to expound the Scriptures in a fashion contrary to the ruling of "our holy Mother" the Church, and the unanimous consent of the Fathers, and yet the Bull tells us, that the Church of Rome does not arrest or retard in the slightest degree the researches of Biblical science, but protects them from error, and assists real progress, for it is the same God "who is "the Author of Scripture, and of the doctrine, of which the "Church is the storehouse. Every interpretation, which puts "the sacred Authors in contradiction with themselves, or which "is opposed to the teaching of the Church, is foolish and false." Such rulings are calculated to crush out all independent thought.

The following passage shows how entirely the Vatican is out of touch with modern thought, and the most elementary principles of Human knowledge : "Undeniably the studies of the heterodox,

“wisely utilised, may sometimes aid the Catholic interpreter; but it must be recollected, after the numerous proofs given by the ancients, that the unaltered sense of Holy Scriptures is to be found nowhere outside the Church, and cannot be given by those who, deprived of the true Faith, cannot read the marrow of Holy Writ, but only nibble at the rind.” Clearly the Privy Council of the Vatican are as unconscious of the progress of Human thought at the end of the nineteenth century as the advisers of the Lama of Tibet.

Sometimes the clouds seem to part, and a glimmer of the light of the nineteenth century is perceived. Take this as a specimen: “To secure a vigorous defence of the Scriptures it is not necessary to preserve the entire sense, that every one of the Fathers, or the interpreters who succeeded them, made use of to explain the Scriptures. They gave the opinions in vogue at the Epoch; in matters relating to *physical phenomena* they may not always have been able to judge according to the Truth, or avoid emitting certain principles which are now anything but proven.” But is not this to concede the principle of the “*Critica Sublimior*,” that “the origin, integrity, and authority of every kind of book is traceable to their intrinsic characters alone,” which a few pages back had been so much condemned? The principle being conceded, it remains only to consider the degree, to which that principle should be applied. *Hinc illa lacrymæ.*

Watching with interest not unmixed with anxiety the development of Higher Criticism, reading every book published in England, France, and Germany, on both sides of the Subject, with Love and admiration for the Holy Scriptures ever increasing, I cannot but feel, that the leaders of the moderate Higher Criticism have scored a point by the appearance of this Bull. Nothing could have been more fatal to the movement than the approbation of the Vatican: *Damnari a damnato viro* is a great advantage. In the French Papist periodicals all the Protestant Missionary Societies are called *Sociétés Bibliques*, as they possess a characteristic, which differentiates them from the Missions of the Church of Rome, that their teaching is based upon the Bible. So long as the Bible was not studied in Hebrew or Greek, as it is now, there was no Higher Criticism; the phenomenon is the outcome of the intense interest felt in this marvellous book. There can be no Higher Criticism in Papist circles, because there is no more access to, or knowledge of, the Bible by the laity than there is of the Veda or the Korân. With knowledge came danger, but it is better to have the latter than to be totally devoid of the former. The Holy Spirit can protect its own utterances; and the Pope might as well try to mop up the sea, as stay the incoming wave of scientific inquiry.

It is painful in our own Protestant countries to hear old-fashioned, ignorant clergy denouncing from the pulpit, to still more ignorant

congregations, the books put forth by men as holy, as devoted, but much more learned than themselves. How much wiser would it be to follow these criticisms in the Hebrew and Greek originals, and thank God, that His Word is no longer on the table under an antimacassar, a mere record of births, diseases, and deaths of the family; no longer on the shelf, but by the side and on the table of hundreds of earnest men, a lamp to their feet and a light to their path. Slowly, slowly the blemishes, which like dirt have accumulated during ignorant and unsympathetic centuries, are removed. In the Revised Version we no longer read in the text of John v about an angel coming down periodically to stir the waters of the pool of Bethesda. From the first Epistle of John, chapter v, the verse of the Heavenly witnesses has disappeared. In Judges xv we find that the wonderful story of water coming out of the jawbone of the lion, to satisfy the thirst of Samson, has quietly disappeared. These are but samples of the corrections, which will slowly but surely be applied to the sacred Text, and context, as they are reverently and carefully studied by competent scholars; and no Bull of a Pope will arrest this quiet reconciliation of the Scriptures with that Science, with which God has gifted His children.

Religious Review of Reviews, 1894.

XVII.

"ROME HAS SPOKEN."

IN a late number of *The Missions Catholiques*, the weekly organ of French Roman Catholic Missions, appeared a notice strongly recommending the faithful to supply themselves with a copy of the French translation of the whole Bible, lately made by l'Abbé J. B. Glaire, and published under the special sanction of the French Episcopate, and the written authorization of Pope Pius IX. A copy was at once sent for from Paris. The work is in four volumes, and costs ten francs.

On July 5, 1870, the assembled Bishops of France addressed the Pope to this effect:

"Profoundly afflicted to see the Protestants supplying Catholic families with Bibles to an alarming extent, and exerting in this way a great influence by lowering in their eyes our holy dogmas, and attracting children to their Schools, the assembled Bishops, desirous of arresting so great an evil, petition your Holiness to examine the French translation of the Old Testament, made by Abbé Glaire, and give it your imprimatur.

"One cannot doubt, that this will be a powerful means of arresting the progress of the evil, experience having already proved, that the publication of the New Testament by the same Author, and previously authorized by your Holiness, has produced most salutary fruits.

"It is incontestable, that nothing in *the present time can prevent the reading of the entire Bible* in the world. Is it not, then, a great advantage to substitute a faithful and authorized version to translations which are incorrect, and which have no ecclesiastical sanction?

"In short, a French Bible, authorized by the Pope, will deprive the Protestants of all pretext for accusing *unjustly* the Catholic Church of cutting off the faithful from the Word of God."

The Pope, on January 22, 1873, after an interval of two and half years, authorized the proposal on these conditions:

- I. The version is to be an exact translation of the Latin Vulgate.
- II. Nothing in it is to be contrary to Faith or Morals.
- III. The Notes are to be taken from the Fathers of the Church, or from learned Catholics, under the decree of the Congregation of the Index.
- IV. The license now given to the French Bishops is not to be deemed as a formal and solemn approbation of the French translation.

The Cardinal Archbishop of Bordeaux declared, on March 4, 1873, "That the translation made by M. Glaire was a correct rendering of the Latin Vulgate, and that he and the Bishops were convinced, that it would be of great use to the faithful, and that it would with advantage replace all translations previously existing, for the correctness of which there was not the same guarantee."

The Archbishop of Paris expressed similar opinions. The Archbishop of Bruges added the following remarks: "That the Latin Text was interpreted where required by the original Text (Hebrew), and accompanied by explicatory Notes, as required by the Council of Trent. He considered this new version more faithful than most of the French versions, and satisfying the requirement, long felt in France, of a sure and authorized translation, which can be put without danger into the hands of the faithful."

The translator modestly tells us, that he had prepared himself for the duty by forty years' study, and that he approached the difficult task with great diffidence. He had wished to make use of the translation of Sacy, but found that Sacy was a paraphraser rather than a translator. He could have nothing to say to the translation of Genoude, which did not adhere to the Latin Vulgate, but abandoned it *occasionally for the Hebrew and Greek*.

He had tried to make use of the translations of Bishop Bossuet, but found that, with all his prodigious erudition, Bossuet was ignorant of Hebrew, which he (the translator) *deemed indispensable for Scripture exegesis!*

He had adopted the edition of the Latin Vulgate published at Turin, and approved by the Congregation of the Index, 1856, and had made his translation a literal one, rendering, where possible, word for word, with a view to preserve the admirable simplicity of the Bible, to imitate the example of St. Jerome, who made his version a literal one, and so evidence his respect for the Scriptures. He wished his translation to preserve all the linguistic peculiarities of the Hebrew and Greek.

All the remarks of the translator indicate patient research, deep humility, and a perfect knowledge of the object to be attained, and the means of obtaining it. He quotes, perhaps unnecessarily, a number of opinions of competent critics and Protestant divines, in favour of the excellence of the Latin Vulgate. There is no question of the extreme value of this venerable translation, which clearly points to the existence of Hebrew texts, which were available to St. Jerome, but have since perished. It is, therefore, a most interesting version on the ground of its antiquity, and the great name of its Author.

The Romish Church does not permit a Bible to be published in a vernacular without notes, and those notes are to be quoted from the works of Church-authorities. Thus, in Gen. iii, 15, we find in the note, that it is distinctly affirmed, that it is the Virgin, who bruised the serpent's head when she gave birth to the Saviour.

It is obvious, that this step taken by the French Bishops is a great step in advance, upon which they are heartily to be congratulated. It was the Latin Vulgate which converted Luther and Melancthon; and if this version is, as we believe it to be, a faithful literal version of the Vulgate, the Holy Spirit will assist it to further conquests *by its own intrinsic unaided merits*. All that Protestants ask is, that the Bible should have free course in the Language understood by the people, and the great charge against the Church of Rome is, that it would not allow this, and against the ignorant priesthood of countries in a far lower state of culture than France, that they destroyed the Bible when it came into the hands of the people, and called it *a cursed book*. Our own Reports year after year give undoubted evidence of this fact.

We may thus thankfully record the fact that, since 1877, the whole Bible, in a correct translation of the Latin Vulgate, is accessible to every Frenchman who can afford ten francs. It is no vulgar, ignorant translation, but the conscientious work of a learned ecclesiastic, who fortified himself in his translations by reference to the Hebrew and Greek. The notes, some of

them, are very faulty, but we know how little in our reading we care for the notes of a book, and the notes bear a very inconsiderable proportion to the text.

One remarkable feature is "a table of references in alphabetical order to texts of the Bible, which establish the Catholic dogmas against the errors of Protestantism." To this we can in no way object. By this standard we are prepared to stand or fall. It may be, that the table does not contain all the texts necessary; on the Romish side it is meagre. On referring to the words "Virgin Mary," we find the only reference to be Luke i. 28, 48; for the right which she has to be venerated and invoked, we are referred to the general subject of angels and saints.

British and Foreign Bible-Society Reporter.

May, 1884.

XVIII.

BIBLE WORK.

(1) EAST AFRICA.

IN 1844, Dr. Krapf, of the Church Missionary Society, was driven from Abyssinia and settled at Mombása, on the East coast of Africa, South of the Equator. He was joined by his countryman, Dr. Rebman, and these ancient heroes held the fort alone for a long period, and in their tours and palavers with the Natives became aware of lofty mountains and vast lakes, which have since been revealed to the world by British Explorers. All the vast Region of Eastern Equatorial Africa, including the sources of the Nile, Kongo, and Zambézi, have been now amicably partitioned between the Queen of Great Britain and her young grandson, the German Emperor; but it is significant, that the existence of this Region, with its tribes and Languages, was revealed by German Missionaries, the honoured and faithful servants of the great Evangelical Missionary Society of Great Britain.

This Region has now been annexed to two great earthly Kingdoms, and brought under two spheres of material influence, but nearly half a century back it was annexed to the Heavenly Kingdom of Christ, and brought under the spiritual influence of the Gospel. Evangelization and Bible work do not recognise the temporary boundaries of earthly Kingdoms. It is the same wide-open Bible, and the same evangelical Doctrine, that is preached by both Nations

within both Regions. There are German Missions established in the sphere of British influence, and British Missions are honoured, and are doing a great work, in the sphere of German influence. The British and Foreign Bible-Society has been the willing hand-maid of both Nationalities, and looks over the fences of Churches and Nationalities.

In Abyssinia the Society had translated and published the whole Bible in Amháric, the leading vernacular, a Semitic Language, and the four Gospels in Tigré, a sister-vernacular; it has also printed new editions of the venerable Gíz or Ethiopic, the work of Frumentius, in the fourth century of our era. The Hamitic family of Languages in Abyssinia is represented by a Gospel in the Bogos; a Gospel in the Falásha-Kara, for the use of the poor lost sheep of the House of Israel; the New Testament and part of the Old in the Shoa Dialect of Galla; a Gospel in the Ittu Dialect, and a Gospel in the Bararetta Dialect of the same Language, which is spoken over a vast area.

South of the Equator the whole Bible is available in the great *lingua franca* of the Swahili, entirely in the Roman, and partly in the Arabic, Alphabets. This great work was commenced by our lamented friend, the late Bishop Steere, and completed by the members of the Universities' Missions to East Africa. In the Language of the Nyika tribe, within the sphere of British influence, two Gospels are in circulation. In the Language of the Bondei tribe, within the sphere of German influence, one Gospel is in circulation. Far in the interior of the British sphere a Gospel in Ganda, spoken in the north-west corner of Victoria Nyanza, has been published, an earnest of more to come. Far in the interior of the sphere of German influence a Gospel has been published in the Language of the two tribes of Gogo and Kagúru; still farther south, on the frontier of the German and Portuguese spheres and beyond, four Gospels and the Acts have appeared in the Language of the Yao tribe.

For many centuries the people of East Africa, from Abyssinia to the mouth of the Zambézi, have lived their lives and passed away without the knowledge of Salvation. We regard it as a blessed omen, that the work of enlightening them was commenced, carried on, and will now with redoubled vigour be continued by the two great branches of the Teutonic Race. In this they are following the example of their two Bible heroes, Wycliffe and Luther, in given an open Bible in the Vulgar tongue to the people, who can either read themselves or listen to the reading of others.

British and Foreign Bible-Society Reporter.

1890.

(2) NORTH AMERICA.

A great number of Languages is spoken by the Native inhabitants of this Region. In trying to describe them I follow the classification of my *Bible-Languages*, published in 1890, but fill in details, which it was not possible to give in an account which included the whole world.

CLASS I. THE ARCTIC COAST.

Here there are three Languages represented by Bible-translations:

(1) Aliout, spoken in the Aleutian Islands. The Gospel of Matthew has been supplied by the Russian Bible-Society.

(2) Eskimo, with three Dialects:

A. Greenland.

B. Labrador.

C. Hudson's Bay.

In the first, the New Testament and parts of the Old have been supplied by the Danish Bible-Society; in the second, the whole Bible; in the third, the Gospel of Luke, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

(3) Tukudh or Loucheux. The Pentateuch, Joshua to 1 Samuel, and the New Testament, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

CLASS II. THE PACIFIC COAST.

Here there are four Languages:

(1) Shimshi. Four Gospels, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

(2) Nishkah. New Testament, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society. The Gospel of John, by the Church Missionary Society.

(3) Kwagutl in Vancouver's Island. The Gospels of Matthew, John, and Luke, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

(4) Hydah, Queen Charlotte's Islands. The Gospel of Matthew, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

CLASS III. CANADA.

(1) Tinné or Slavé. Four Gospels, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

(2) Chipewyan. New Testament, by the same.

(3) Beaver. Mark, also by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

- (4) Cree, with two Dialects :
 - A. Hudson's Bay. New Testament (parts), by British and Foreign Bible-Society.
 - B. Rupert's Land. The whole Bible, by the same.
- (5) Blackfoot. Matthew, by the same.
- (6) Ojibwa. Old and New Testament (parts), by the same.
- (7) Mik Mak. Ditto, by the same.
- (8) Maliseet. John, by the same.
- (9) Iroquois. Four Gospels, by the same.
- (10) Mohawk. Luke, John, Isaiah, by the same.

Thus seventeen Languages are represented by translations, and the name of the particular Missionary is recorded, who can deal with the form of speech ; in addition to the above recorded there are five other varieties known to particular Missionaries, but not yet honoured by translations. In the United States of North America there are several other Languages supplied with translations.

It may possibly, and probably, happen, that some, or most, or even all of these barbarous unliterary Languages may disappear under the pressure of the conquering French and English civilization ; it is, therefore, a question of judgment, whether further translations, either of additional portions of the Bible, or of new translations in a hitherto unrepresented Language, should be undertaken.

Some remark is necessary with regard to the Written Character used in these translations. The Redskins and the other tribes, being totally illiterate, had no Written Character, therefore modifications of the Roman Character were adopted ; but the extraordinary length of the sentence-words compelled the translators to adopt a form of Syllabary on a simple and intelligible principle, so as to reduce the length of each word. The immediate advantage was obvious, but the ulterior disadvantage of cutting off the tribes from literary communication with the outer world is also evident, and may accelerate the extinction of Language and Written Character so out of touch with the feelings of the age.

British and Foreign Bible-Society, 1890.

(3) THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL.

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel has this year published its one hundred and ninetyeth Annual Report. The facts there given show how largely the Society is indebted to the British and Foreign Bible-Society for its supply of Scriptures in all the five portions of the world, in the prosecution of its twofold object : to convert non-Christians to Christianity, and to prevent Christians, such as emigrants, colonists, seafarers, and exiles, from

falling away into heathendom. It will be of interest to the friends of both Societies to show, by a rapid review of the field of the S.P.G., how much it owes to the willing services of the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

EUROPE.

I. In Europe the agents of the S.P.G. supply themselves with translations, entirely, or in part, from the British and Foreign Bible-Society, in the Italian, Greek, French, Spanish, Portuguese, and German Languages, for the use of the congregations in connection with the permanent chaplaincies maintained by that Society in those countries. The supply may not be large, but it is important.

ASIA.

II In Asia a grander Missionary work comes under our observation. For convenience, I divide that Continent into Regions: (a) West Asia, (b) the East Indies and Indian Archipelago, (c) China and Japan.

The S.P.G. has no Missions in Arabic or Persian-speaking countries, but copies of translations in both those Languages are required for their Mission in the Bombay Province of West India.

I divide the East Indies into five sub-Regions, namely: West India, North India, South India, Indo-China, and the Indian Archipelago. In Western India, amidst a population of Hindu and Mahometan, translations are supplied in the Maráthi Language. In North India, a great demand is experienced for translations in Bangáli, Hindi, Urdu, and Mandári, or Kol, the latter a Kolarian Language spoken by non-Arian mountaineers, still maintaining their old Pagan and non-Hindu beliefs. The Bangáli, Hindi, and Urdu are spoken by at least one hundred Millions of Hindu and Mahometan in the basin of the River Ganges, and adjoining territories. In South India, translations are supplied in Télugu, Tamil, and Karnáta (vulgó Kanarese) to the flourishing Mission in that Province, where there are Christians of the fourth generation. Translations are also available in the ancient dead Language of North India, the Sanskrit, if required by learned inquirers. In the Island of Ceylon, the S.P.G. Missions are supplied with the Bible in the Sinháli (vulgó Sinhalese) Language, and a version in the Indian Dialect of the Portuguese Language is available if required. In the Region of Indo-China, the Bible Society is ready to supply the Bishop of Rangún and his Missionaries with versions in the Language of Burma, and of the Karén tribe, in three Dialects. In the great valley of Assam, where the River Brahmapútra emerges from the Himaláya Mountains in its

course to join the River Ganges, the Bible is supplied to the Missionaries in the Asámi Language, and if the work of evangelizing the barbarous tribes on the slopes of the Himaláya extends further, translations are ready in their Languages. In the Indian Archipelago, translations in the Malay Language are supplied to the Diocese of Singapur.

Passing on to the Regions of the extreme Orient, or China and Japan, the Bishop of North China at Pekin makes use of the translations provided by the British and Foreign Bible-Society in High Wen-Li and Easy Wen-Li, the famous book-language of China, which speaks only to the eye, like the numerals in arithmetic, and the Mandarin in two Dialects, *spoken* and *written* by two hundred Millions. In the Diocese of Japan, the Bishop and his Missionaries have at their disposal the newly-completed translation in the Language of that Kingdom; and in Koréa, the Bishop and his clergy, as soon as they are settled, and have themselves acquired the Language, will find that the forethought of the British and Foreign Bible-Society has prepared for their use the best of weapons, the Scriptures, without which all their labours will be vain.

Before we quit the shores of Asia, we may record, that the Languages placed at the disposal of this Society are but a fraction of the stores laid up in the great arsenal. No two Missionary Societies use precisely the same Languages. The British and Foreign Bible-Society keeps its eye upon the requirements of the whole world.

AFRICA.

III. I pass now into the third portion of the globe, Africa. The Missions of the S.P.G. are all South of the River Zambési, in the different Dioceses of South Africa; translations are supplied by the British and Foreign Bible-Society in the Zúlu, Xósa, (vulgó Káfir), Chuána, and Súto, Languages of the Bántu family of African Languages. Of European Languages there is an ample supply of English and Dutch Scriptures, which, in a country with a large and increasing European population, is most important. For the Chinese, Indian, and Malay immigrants, provision is also made. Translations in the Nama Dialect of the Hottentot or Khoi-Khoi Language are also available. On the West coast of Africa, in connection with the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, is the most interesting Mission, known as the Rio Pongas Mission; it is an attempt of the Christian Negroes of the West Indian Islands to evangelize, by the aid of Negro pastors, a portion of their mother Continent. The Scriptures in the Súsú, a Negro Language, are supplied by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and allusion is only made to this fact, as suggestive of the great work likely to be done in the next century,

when the Christian Negroes in North America wake up to a sense of their duty. Within the Region of Africa is the island of Madagascar, and the translation of the whole Bible has been revised by a committee on the spot, on which the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was represented, the expense being borne, and gladly borne, by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

OCEANIA.

IV. In the portions of the globe known as Oceania, or Australasia, the clergy maintained by the S.P.G. use the Fiji-translation, and an enormous field of work is reported among the coolies from British India, and translations in whatever Indian Language may be required are available. In the new and interesting Mission of the Church of Australia to New Guinea, the Missionaries found on their arrival translations in the Motu, and South Cape, Languages ready to hand. The Dioceses of New Zealand and Melanesia no longer partake of the bounty of the S.P.G., as they are self-supporting; but translations of the Scriptures in the Maori of New Zealand, and in no less than eleven Languages and Dialects in Melanesia, are supplied by the British and Foreign Bible-Society.

In the great island continent of Australia, large supplies of Bibles in the English Language are available in the local Depôts of the British and Foreign Bible-Society for the use of the different Dioceses, which owe their existence to the liberality of the S.P.G., though now independent, with the exception of the Diocese of Perth. For the Chinese immigrants and the Kánaka labourers in Brisbane from the New Hebrides translations are available; but the sad fact must be recorded, that not one single translation is in circulation in the numerous Languages of the Aborigines of Australia. In the far-away Sandwich Islands, in the Diocese of Honolulu, the American Bible-Society has translated the Scriptures in the Hawaii Language; the fact is gladly recorded, that the venerable Society of Great Britain is so far indebted to our American brethren.

AMERICA.

V. In North America the Dioceses of Canada depend upon the British and Foreign Bible-Society for their supply of Bibles in the English and French Languages. The Dioceses of Canada, with few exceptions, owe their very existence to the S.P.G., and are severally noticed in each Annual Report of that Society, though practically independent. It is not easy to trace out the exact Missionary work to the heathen, which is done in each Diocese, but it may be averred with confidence, that whenever

a Canadian Bishop requires translations in the Languages of North America, or in the Languages of China for the immigrants into that country, he has only to apply to the Dépôts of the British and Foreign Bible-Society for one or other of their famous translations, and he will get them there, and *get them nowhere else*. In Central America, the Dioceses of the West Indian Islands look to the British and Foreign Bible-Society for translations in the English, French, and Spanish Languages, and the Negro Dialect of English spoken in Surinam. On the mainland of South America, the Bishop of Guiana looks to the stores of the Bible-House in Queen Victoria Street for translations in the Karib, Akkaway, and Arawak Languages.

The Church of England in its entirety makes use of versions of the Scriptures in one hundred and seven Languages, and by far the greater portion are supplied, often free of charge, always below cost price, by the Society, whose happy privilege it has been to be permitted to be the Lord's Steward for the great work during the last ninety years. On some translations thousands of pounds have been spent, and well spent, for who can estimate the value of a soul saved; saved perhaps by one single verse in the millions of copies issued annually, which has been brought home by the Holy Spirit with power and conviction to the understanding of some doubting, hesitating, and humble-minded, sinner, saved by Grace? Let us reflect upon the vast void there would be in the last decade of this century in the machinery of conversion, if this new manufactory had not come into existence in the first decade. The world had seen Missionary agencies in past centuries, but the conception had never been entertained of a Bible-Society, a great arsenal for forging bloodless, silent, and innocent weapons, which at the same time have found themselves to be sharp-cutting, outspoken, and invincible. If the mouth of the preacher has converted its thousands, the voiceless volume has saved its tens of thousands, and kept them to the end. *Laus Deo!*

British and Foreign Bible-Society, 1892.

(4) WEST AFRICA.

“*Αὐτὸ φέρει Λιβύῃ τι καινόν.*”

“Libya is always giving us something new.”

So said Aristotle three centuries before the Christian era; so it is now. New Rivers, new Regions, new tribes, new customs, new products, and new Languages, are always being revealed to us. Great has become the responsibility of this generation to convey the Scriptures to Millions long lying in darkness.

My present object is to draw attention to the wants of Western Africa, from Cape Juby, in the latitude of the Canary-Islands, to

the River Kunéne, in the latitude of the Island of St. Helena. This was once the Region of the Western Slave-Trade, but that curse has been extinguished, to be followed by the greater curse of the import of alcoholic drink from Great Britain, North America, and Germany. The Nations, that convey the poison, should not be backward in supplying the antidote.

Along the whole of this coast are different Missions from Switzerland, Germany, Great Britain, and the United States; some are Protestant, some Roman Catholic: the way has been opened into the interior along the basins of the great Rivers Senegal, Niger, Kongo, and Coanza; otherwise the European influence does not extend beyond the coast. France, Great Britain, Germany, Spain, and Portugal, have annexed islands, or established themselves on the coast, and Liberia is an independent republic, founded by Negro Freedmen from the United States. It may be stated generally that the door is open to Christian efforts. The climate is the only real difficulty.

There is a great variety of Language spoken: from Cape Juby to Rio del Rey, close on the Kamerún River, the Languages belong to the Negro Group; from that river to the River Kunéne they belong to the Bántu family; one Language intermixed with the Negro Languages, the Fulah, belongs to the Nuba-Fulah group. Arabic is known to a few, but only imperfectly. I pass under review, commencing from Cape Juby at the North, the most important Vernaculars: (1) Wolof; (2) Sérér; (3) Mandé or Mandingo; (4) Susu; (5) Temné; (6) Bullom; (7) Mendé; (8) Vei; (9) Kru; (10) Grebo, at Cape Palmas, where the coast trends Eastwards; (11) Ashánti, with its Dialect of Fanti; (12) Akrá or Ga; (13) Ewé, with its Dialect of Popo; (14) Yáriba. This brings me to the mouth of the Niger.

In the basin of that great River are spoken the following Languages worthy of notice: (1) Idzo; (2) Ibo; (3) Igára; (4) Igbira; (5) Nupé; (6) Fulah; and many others in the Regions beyond, as we work our way to Lake Chad, notably (7) Hausa, the lingua franca of the Region. Returning to the Sea-coast, we find in the oil rivers the important Language of the (8) Efík. This brings us to the Rio del Rey, and the linguistic boundaries of the Negro and Bántu Languages. There are scores of additional Languages, omitted now, but which will have to be dealt with by the next generation. Portions of the Holy Scriptures have been published by one or other of the three great Bible Societies of London, Edinburgh, or New York, in the following Languages: Wolof, Mandé, Susu, Bullom, Temné, Mendé, Grebo, Ashánti, Akrá, Ewé, Yáriba, Ibo, Igára, Nupé, Efík, Hausa, sixteen in all. There have been a great many celebrated Missionary Scholars in this Region, chiefly German; they are all dead or retired: the work of distribution remains to be done, and of

carrying on the further work of translation; the former is the most pressing duty.

Passing into the Bantu Region I find translations in (1) Dualla by Baptist Missionaries, and in (2) Pongwe and (3) Kele by American Missionaries, and this brings me to the mouth of the Kongo. In that great waterway there is a wealth of unexplored Languages. The (4) Kongo and (5) Teke are partially represented by translations made by Baptist Missionaries. Further South I come on the (6) Bunda and (7) Umbundu, represented by translations of American Missionaries, the former published by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Everybody is desirous to do something for Africa. Can we lend our helping hand? It is not now necessary to prove to Protestants, that the Bible is the greatest civilizing agent that the world ever knew, and that the Preacher and Teacher is helpless, and his work profitless, until he is supplied with the Scriptures in a form intelligible to the women, children, and least educated members of the community. They may not all be able to read, but they have all ears to hear; and experience in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, has taught us our duty, and it is always safer to do our duty than to neglect it.

British and Foreign Bible-Society Reporter, 1890.

(5) NORTH AFRICA.

The Arabic Language is the form of speech of the conquering Races, who spread Westward from Cairo to Tangier, but it did not extinguish, or even corrupt, the original Hamitic Languages of the tribes, which have occupied North Africa for many thousand years: they are known generally as "Berber," a residuum of the Latin and Greek word *Barbarus*, for they call themselves "Amazirg," or "The Free." The Language spoken by the whole Race belong to the same family, but have different names. In Morocco it is called Shilha or Shlu, and the Dialect spoken by the wild tribes in the mountains in the North part of Morocco is called the Riff. Mr. Mackintosh, the Society's Agent in Morocco, took up the subject of making a translation of portions of the Scriptures into Riff with laudable eagerness. It was a form of speech never previously reduced to writing, and without any literature, therefore, it was no easy task; however, with the help of an intelligent Native, and a sharp lad, whom he engaged in his service, he obtained such an insight into the Language as enabled him to bring his knowledge to book. I saw them at work at Tangier last October. Of course, this is essentially a "one-man" translation, as the Language is not known to any

other European, but it is an interesting experiment, and opens the door to better things. Further south, in the chains of Mount Atlas, another Dialect is spoken, which may be called the Shlu, and has yet to be dealt with. A debased form of Arabic, called the Mághrabi, or Western Dialect, is the Language of the ruling classes, and the lingua franca of the Kingdom, but the Berber Dialects are spoken in the villages and homes, and into these must the Gospel be translated. It need hardly be added that the Korán is never translated into any Vernacular; it seems to be the curse of a false Religion, and the false form of a true Religion, that there is an instinctive effort of the Priests to hide the books of their Religion from the vulgar, by folding them in the shrouds of a dead Language.

British and Foreign Bible-Society Reporter, 1888.

XIX.

BIOGRAPHIES OF BIBLE-TRANSLATORS.

(1) HENRY MARTYN, B.D.

OF all the sweet and noble characters, which will pass under our review, none appears more chivalrous and more satisfactory than that of the young Senior Wrangler, and College-Prizeman, who in the midst of his earthly studies found out the better way, and unreservedly gave his heart, his talents, and his life, to his Master. He was born at Truro, in Cornwall, on February the 18th, 1781, of honest, though humble parents. He was entered at St. John's College, Cambridge, in October, 1797, and attained the highest mathematical honours of the year in January, 1801, before he had completed twenty years. In March, 1802, he was elected Fellow of his College, and surpassed his contemporaries in proficiency in the classic Languages. He was chosen to be public examiner of his college in classics for several years, and received the degree of B.D. from the University.

He had something to offer to his Master's service; he knew that all his gifts belonged to Him, who had lent them to His creature; and under the leading of Charles Simeon, Minister of the Church of Holy Trinity, Cambridge, he had the grace given to consecrate those talents, which might have led him on to secular fame and wealth, first to the ministry in his own country, and on January, 1805, to the higher office of evangelizing the heathen and Mahometan population of British India. Missionary enterprise was then in its infancy, and we must not measure the extent of Sacrifice made by

this holy and gifted man by any of our modern experiences. He took leave of his country and friends, never expecting to see them again, and his expectations were realized.

Though spoken of as a Missionary, he was not so in the sense now understood. He had offered himself to the Church Missionary Society, but eventually he accepted the appointment of Chaplain in the East India Company's service; but during his short career in India he evidenced the zeal and power of a true Missionary, and above all of a Bible-translator. He was not the first in the field, for Carey had been already many years at work; but he undertook the translation of the Scriptures in two of the most important Languages in the world, the Persian and Hindustáni, or Urdu. Both Languages belong to the Arian or Indo-European family. The Persian had undergone a process of corruption, yet strengthening, by the infusion of the Semitic Arabic; it had, on the other hand, freed itself from the bondage of grammatical inflections to a degree only rivalled by the English. The Urdu was originally the camp-Language of the Mahometan conquerors of India, and upon a Sanskritic basis had incorporated vast loans of Persian, Arabic, and Turkish words, rendering it one of the most powerful and flexible vehicles of speech, that the world has ever seen, and a rival of English in that respect.

Henry Martyn's experience of India was limited to Calcutta, Dinapúr, and Khanpúr; he, therefore, never heard the Urdu Language spoken in its purity, but in 1807 he took up the work of translation in earnest with the aid of two Native coadjutors. I extract the following from his diary:

"What do I not owe to the Lord for permitting me to take part
"in a translation of His Word? Never did I see such wonder and
"wisdom, and Love in that blessed book, as since I have been
"obliged to study every expression. All day on the translation,
"employed a good while at night in considering a difficult passage,
"and being much enlightened respecting it, I went to bed full of
"astonishment at the wonders of God's Word. Never before did I
"see anything of the beauty of the Language and the importance
"of the thoughts as I do now. I felt happy, that I should never
"be finally separated from the contemplation of them or of the
"things concerning which they are written. Knowledge shall
"vanish away, but it shall be, because perfection has come."

In 1808 the translation of the New Testament into Urdu was completed and sent off to the Press in Calcutta: it is beyond my province to enter into the subject of versions and editions which followed.

He then turned his undivided attention to the Persian translation of the New Testament, which was completed in 1809. It was obvious to competent judges, that his work was unfit for general circulation, abounding as it did, with Arabic idioms, and written

in a style pleasing indeed to the learned, but not sufficiently level to the capacity of ordinary readers. Nothing daunted, the translator determined to proceed to Persia, and satisfy himself as to the correctness of this criticism.

He left India finally in January, 1811, with the conviction, that his times were in God's hands, proceeded by ship to Abúshir and marched to Shiráz, arriving there in June, 1811. Finding that the criticism above stated was just, he commenced a new translation with the help of a new coadjutor, Mirza Saiyad Ali Khan, who proved to be a remarkable man, and a sympathetic fellow-labourer.

He had studied Hebrew, and had actually commenced an Arabic translation of the New Testament. His ardent mind was ever diving into the mystery of Comparative Grammar, the key to which had at that period not been found. Had he lived a few years longer and read the works of Bopp, he would have ceased to wonder at the affinities of English, Persian, and Urdu, sister-languages, and have ceased to look for affinities between them and Hebrew and Arabic. At Shiráz he was the solitary European, living in good Persian society, constantly engaged in arguments with a variety of personages, religious and secular, on the question of the Mahometan and Christian sacred books and religious tenets. He must have acquired a better knowledge of the well-bred vernacular of the country, and the usages of elegant conversation, than could be possibly obtained by a married Missionary, who spoke English in his family, and associated with converts and inquirers in a humbler and less-educated class of life, whether Persian or Armenian. His translation has always commended itself to my approbation, and I have a good knowledge of Persian, which forty years ago, was the diplomatic medium of North India, and all our correspondence with foreign Courts was conducted in Persian.

In the beginning of the last year of his life, 1812, he writes :
 " I have been led by the Providence of God to this place (Shiráz),
 " and have undertaken an important work, which is now nearly
 " finished. I like to find myself employed usefully in a way I did
 " not expect or foresee, especially if my own will is in any degree
 " crossed by the work unexpectedly assigned to me, *as there is*
 " *then reason to believe that God is acting.* My life is of little con-
 " sequence, whether I live to finish the New Testament or not.
 " I compared with pain my Persian translation with the original
 " (Greek); to say nothing of the precision and elegance of the
 " sacred Text, its perspicuity is that, which sets at defiance all
 " attempts to equal it."

On February 24, 1812, the last sheet of the Persian Testament was completed. "I have many mercies," writes the humble workman, "for which to thank God, and this is not the least. Now may that Spirit, who gave the Word, and called me to be an

“ interpreter of it, graciously and powerfully apply it to the hearts “ of sinners.” The version of the Psalms in Persian was, to use his own Language, his next sweet employment, and was finished by the month of March. He was then compelled, by the state of his health, to try to get back to his home in England. Fast as he rode from Tebriz to Eriván, from Eriván to Kars, from Kars to Erzurúm, Death rode faster behind, and overtook him at Tokat on October 16, 1812.

His last recorded words (for his Journals were all preserved) were, “ No horses being to be had, I had an unexpected repose ; “ I sat in the orchard, and thought with sweet comfort and peace “ of my God, in solitude my company, my friend, and comforter. “ Oh ! when shall time give place to eternity ? When shall appear “ that new Heaven and new Earth, wherein dwelleth Righteous- “ ness ? ” Within a few hours of writing these words he died.

(2) ROBERT MORRISON, D.D.

He was born in 1782, and was the first British Gospel-messenger to the then unknown Region of China. His father was by trade a maker of lasts and boot-trees, and he himself was apprenticed to the trade ; but he learnt other and better things from his heavenly Father, and at the age of sixteen, in 1798, he was not only converted himself, but felt himself overpowered by a deep conviction of the duty of every Christian to do his best to effect the conversion of others. In 1804 he wrote to the London Missionary Society, that his first wish was to engage as a Missionary. This desire was not the outcome of a strong excitement, or external influence, but from a calm, deliberate view of the state of the heathen, and *his own obligation to his own Lord and Saviour*. Duty was his pole-star : the burden of his prayer was, that God would station him in that part of the field, where the difficulties were greatest, and, to all Human appearance, the most insurmountable. God chooses His own instruments : such a man was required to open the door in China to the Missionary, and to reveal the mystery of the Language. He went to his work alone on January 8, 1807. His instructions were to acquire the Language, construct a Dictionary, and translate the Scriptures. This, therefore, was his vocation. He did not reach Canton till September 7, as he had to go *viâ* New York.

His diligence was such, that before the end of 1808 he had translated the Westminster Shorter Catechism, prepared for the Press a Grammar, and made progress with a Dictionary and a

translation of the New Testament. He would have preferred proclaiming the glad tidings, and thus bringing Souls to God, but *this was not the work given him to do*, and he had the Grace vouchsafed to him to subordinate his wishes and tastes to his duty: he was content to collect the materials for conversion, and leave to others the joy of building the Lord's temple. In this, as in every detail of his life, he presents a striking example to all Missionaries, and a great contrast to the Egoism of some in modern times.

In 1809 he was appointed official translator to the East India Company; this marked the success of his studies; and the income allowed him enabled him to relieve the Missionary Society of any charge on his account, and, on the contrary, to be a large pecuniary benefactor to their work.

He published his Grammar in 1815, at the Serampúr Press, and his Dictionary soon after; both at the expense of the East India Company: they were unique productions at that time. The New Testament was his sole work; in portions of the Old Testament he was assisted by his colleague, the Rev. W. Milne: they were completed in 1819. He also published a Book of Common Prayer, a vast number of Tracts, and a Commentary on Holy Scripture. Thus far he had dealt with the book-Language of China, but in 1829 he completed a Dictionary in the provincial colloquial vernacular of Canton. He was admitted by such high authorities, as Sir George Staunton and Sir John Davis, to be confessedly the first Chinese Scholar in Europe, and in acknowledgment of his learning he received the degree of D.D.

He returned to Great Britain in 1824, and at the anniversary meeting of the British and Foreign Bible-Society of that year, in the presence of the assembly in Exeter Hall, he handed to Lord Teignmouth his version of the Bible, the result of nearly twenty years' labour, toil, and study: he appeared on the platform with the precious volume in his hands. He was specially blessed above other fellow-labourers in thus seeing the travail of his soul, and being satisfied.

He was long the only Missionary in China, and it was in consequence of his constant appeals, that the American Board of Missions, in 1829, sent out their first two agents to share his labours. He had the high privilege of making the first Chinese convert, and a worthy one. He anticipated in his letters many of the requirements, which are now admitted, though at that time they found no favour, the necessity of medical Missions, and woman's work; and he clearly laid down the axiom, that each one of us is only the steward of the good things lent to us in order that they may be devoted to our Lord: and he practised what he preached.

The British and Foreign Bible-Society fully appreciated his worth, and granted him sums only to be totalled in thousands. In

1812 he had written: "I am, though sensible of my weakness, "not discouraged, but thankful that my most sanguine hopes have "been more than realized. In the midst of discouragement, the "practicability of acquiring the Language in not a very great "length of time, of translating the Scriptures, and having them "printed in China, has been demonstrated. I am grateful to the "Divine mercy for having employed me in this good work, and it "will afford me pleasure in my last moments." The Secretary of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, in 1815, wrote: "Should "your translation be on the whole a faithful rendering of the "Sacred original, and should the understanding of the Chinese be "opened by its Divine Author to understand and admire it, what "an honour will be conferred on your labours, and what a blessing "will you have been called upon to inherit! This Society has "furnished you from time to time with pecuniary aid, and you "may assure yourself, that it will continue to assist you."

When Morrison landed in China, with the exception of Sir G. Staunton, no one knew the Language; all the printing was done by stealth, and at the risk of being discovered and destroyed. He was able, in a manner now impossible, to be of such use to the authorities of the East India Company, as an interpreter, not only of the words, but of the feelings of the Chinese, that they honoured him and paid him highly, enabling him to be munificent to the great cause which he had at heart. When the charter of the Company came to an end, and with it the office, which he had held twenty years, he calmly awaited the Divine will, determined, whatever happened, to devote himself to the evangelizing of the heathen. Though still in middle life, ceaseless labour had told upon his health: "tired *in* the work, but not *of* the work," were his last sentiments.

His merits were recognised by the Government of his country, and a high office was prepared for the great Missionary Scholar, but he had done his day's work. In 1832 he writes: "There "is now in Canton a state of things, in respect of the Chinese, "totally different from what I found in 1807: Chinese Scholars, "Missionary students, English printing-presses, the Scriptures in "Chinese, public worship of God, have all grown up since that "period: I have served my generation, and must, the Lord knows "when, fall asleep." And so he did, suddenly, at Canton, August, 1834, aged fifty-two.

His translations have long been surpassed by others more perfect in their renderings, more idiomatic in style; his successors had the advantage of his labours, as a starting-point for theirs. Such must be the sure fate of a pioneer: he not only does good work himself, but he shows the way to others to do better. The influence of such a life, such unceasing devotion, can never die, and the example never become out of date.

(3) WILLIAM CAREY.

Destined to occupy so large a space in the History of Protestant Missions, and of Bible-translations, this humble-minded Scholar was born in the county of Northampton, A.D. 1761. His father was a member of the Established Church of England, and he and his father before him had been parish-clerks. By trade he was a weaver, and he apprenticed his son to be a shoemaker, and from the age of eighteen to twenty-eight Carey supported himself, his wife, and children in this lowly profession.

He joined in early life the Baptist Church, and may be said to have been the founder of the Baptist Missionary Society, and, therefore, of every Protestant Missionary Society in Europe and America, with the exception of that of the Moravians and the Danes. At the age of thirty-three he landed at Calcutta, on November 11, 1793, and died on June 9, 1834, at Serampúr, without ever returning to his Native land.

He was the Pioneer in the great work of rendering the Scriptures into the Languages of India. He was not only a great translator himself, but an organizer of translating work by others, a trainer of Native translators to work under European guidance, a compiler of Grammars and Dictionaries, to facilitate the work of those who came after him. Those who, like myself, have studied Oriental Languages, when we looked back for our authorities and Language-helps, knew well, that when we reached Carey, we had touched the bottom, for nothing existed before him but the great linguistic Works of the Natives in their own Languages. He was for many years associated as one of a noble triumvirate, his colleagues being Marsham the elder, and Ward. Under his guidance, and succeeding him, was a School of Native Scholars and younger Missionaries, two of whom, Yates and Wenger, perfected his work in one great Language. He shared the fate of all Pioneers, as his work formed the basis, upon which more perfect revisions were made.

His position would startle modern notions. He entered India in defiance of the order of the Government. John Newton wrote to him as follows: "If the East India Company send you home on your arrival in Bangál, conclude that your Lord has nothing there for you to do. But if He has, no power on earth can hinder you." And so it proved. The meek and holy Scholar conciliated to himself the esteem and Love of the highest servants of the State in India. He was appointed Professor of the College of Fort William, and Translator to Government, on a large salary, and, by the rules of his Association, he dedicated the whole to the cause of Missions, relieved the Parent Society of all charges; and the man, who was once a shoemaker, and then a translator, contributed to the cause of Missions more than £46,500.

In 1801 he published his Bangálí New Testament, which he was permitted to carry through the eighth edition, and in 1809 he completed the Old Testament. In 1808 he published the New Testament in Sanskrit, and completed the Old Testament in 1818. In 1811 he completed his translation of the New Testament in Hindi, the vernacular of fifty millions in Northern India, and in 1818 he completed the Old Testament. In 1811 he published the New Testament in Maráthi, the vernacular of West India south of the Vindya Range, and he completed the Old Testament in 1820. This was the result of the sole labour of his brain and hands. When he had completed the eighth edition of the Bangálí, his own peculiar offspring, he remarked "that his work was done, and that he had now nothing more to do than to wait the will of the Lord." In his written advice to his son he had recorded the following: "That if, after many years' labour, you be instrumental in the conversion of only one Soul, it would be worth the work of a whole life." The great translator is doubly blessed, since after his tongue is silent in the grave, his gleaming written words still retain their power, and though dead, he still speaks to the heart of a generation to be born long after his course has been accomplished. He was impressed with the importance of laying a foundation of Biblical criticism, and so he published Grammars in Sanskrit, Bangáli, and Maráthi, and his labour in compiling Dictionaries was enormous. I remember his Works with gratitude, when I studied these Languages forty-five years ago, but they are long since superseded by the Works of fresher, but not better, Scholars.

At the same time he carried through the Press, and corrected the proofs of, the Works of others. He had at one time twenty-seven different Languages in different stages of translation, or publishing, besides elementary and linguistic Works. Nothing but a magnificent power of order, an adaptability and sympathy of linguistic gifts, and a holy self-controlled temperament, enabled him for the long period of thirty years to cope with such a never-ceasing variety of intellectual labour. Thirty-six was the whole number of translations, with which the Serampúr triumvirate were more or less concerned. The number of completely-translated and published versions of the Sacred Scriptures, which Carey sent forth, was twenty-eight; of these seven include the whole Bible, and twenty-one the New Testament only. Each translation had a History, a spiritual romance of its own.

When, in 1827, the British and Foreign Bible-Society made its last donation to Serampúr, the Secretary wrote: "Future generations will apply to you the words of the translators of the English Bible: '*What can be more available for the saving of souls than to deliver God's Book to God's people in a tongue which they understand?*'" And so it has been. Preaching and teaching were all very well, but the most abiding method was the

Divine Message in the Language of the people. The mighty success of Missions in India has, under God's grace, to be traced back to Serampúr, and beyond to Carey.

His life was not free from heavy trials, both in his home and his printing-house. In 1812 his faith was sorely tried by the conflagration of all the premises at Serampúr. Then perished his MSS., large editions passing through the Press, materials collected for his dictionaries, metal types, and stores of paper. As he walked over the smoking ruins with Mr. Thomason, the chaplain, the tears stood in his eyes: "In one short hour," said he, "the labours of years are consumed. How unsearchable are the ways of God! Perhaps I contemplated the Mission-establishment with too much self-congratulation. The Lord has laid me low that I may look more simply to Him." Thomason expresses his own sentiments: "Return now to thy books; regard God in all thou doest; learn Languages with humility; let God be exalted in all thy plans, and purposes, and labour. *He can do without thee.*"

This fire had one unexpected result; the story of it made him famous in Europe; it brought sympathy and thousands of pounds. The printing-house, like a new Phoenix, rose out of the ashes. New and better type was cast; fresh and better translations made. Carey writes: "We found that the advantages of going over the ground a second time were so great, that they fully counterbalanced the time requisite to be devoted to a new translation. *Deo gloria semper!*"

When he had completed the eighth edition of the New Testament, and the fifth edition of the Old Testament, in Bangáli, he took a copy into the pulpit and said, "Lord, now lettest Thou Thy servant depart in peace, because mine eyes have seen Thy salvation." One of his last visitors wrote: "On his desk was the proof-sheet of the last chapter of the New Testament, which he had revised a few days before. He appeared as if listening for the Master's summons, and waiting to depart."

Few have been more blessed in their life, their life-work, and their mode of departure. It had been given to him in his youth to conceive a high ideal, which seemed utterly beyond human possibility; yet in the course of his long peaceful forty years it all came to pass, and more also, honour, ample resources, unfailing health, and boundless opportunities. Whenever mention is made of Bible-translation, the names of Jerome, Wycliffe, Luther, and Carey, will not be forgotten.

1889.

(4) ROBERT MOFFAT.

He was born in East Lothian in 1795, and died August, 1883, aged eighty-eight. His father held an office in the Custom-House, and his son was apprenticed to a gardener till 1812. Though always anxious to learn, he had not much education. At the age of seventeen he became under-gardener to a gentleman in Cheshire. When he left home, he promised his mother to read daily a chapter of the Bible, and he kept his promise. He had always been serious, and contact with some pious Wesleyans at his new residence matured the Divine seed within him. One day he had occasion to walk to the neighbouring town of Warrington; in his walk he noticed a placard announcing a Missionary meeting. It was a new sight, but it recalled old memories of stories of the Moravians, which he had heard in his home. The Spirit of the Lord fell upon him, and then and there he made his life-choice, of which he never repented. He conveyed intelligence of his wishes to the London Missionary Society, and in 1816 his call came. Other blessings were added to him, for he moved to Manchester to have the advantage of study under a minister, and there he met one who, for half a century, was the joy and stay of his Missionary home, the mother of his children, and spared to return with him to his country after his long service, when the weakness of age prevented his serving in the field any longer. His departure as a Missionary took place at the same time with John Williams, who completed his memorable course at the age of forty-five by a violent death, while to this man a longer pilgrimage, and a happier end, were vouchsafed.

Moffat's selected field was South Africa, for a short time among the Hottentots in Namáqua-land, and in 1821 he settled down to his life-work among the free and manly tribes of the Be-Chuána, north of the Orange River, and built his home at Kúruman, and from that centre he laboured till 1870. He made a visit to England in 1838, returning in 1843. In Kúruman was born his eldest daughter, destined to be the wife of David Livingstone; in that home he beheld the Pagan tribes pass slowly but surely into Christianity, and abandon their wild and bloody habits under the influence of gentle civilization; in that home he experienced much anxiety, much sorrow, and still greater joy, and the young, strong man of twenty-six years was transformed into the appearance of the grand old patriarch, whom we all knew, loved, and honoured, during the eventide of his holy and profitable life.

He was not a scholar like Martyn, nor a genius like Carey, nor a man of infinite resource like Morrison; the talents, which their Master had granted severally to them, adapted them for their work among the highly civilized races of China, India, and Persia, and selected them to manipulate for holy purposes Languages already

on the highest rounds of the ladder of literary greatness. Moffat entered into a sealed garden, and discovered a new people, not savages, but barbarians, who had no literature, or Written Character, or culture, and yet where every man was a born orator, using the tongue as a formidable weapon, where man in his barbarous state was capable of hideous crimes, and yet under the magic touch of the simple and honest-hearted Missionary, learnt to develop mercy, affection, docility, fidelity, and gratitude.

He acquired their Language by living among them. He had no teacher, nor assistant, nor colleague. As far back as 1825 he had prepared elementary books, translations of small portions of the Bible, and, when he found, that music had a charm to win the savage breast, he prepared hymns. In 1830 he had finished the translation of the Gospel of St. Luke, and it was printed in his Mission-Press. By 1838 the whole of the New Testament had been completed, and was printed in London at the time that Moffat made his first visit home after an absence of twenty-two years. While at home he translated the Psalms to be issued with the New Testament, and David Livingstone, then starting on his grand career, which was destined to overshadow the whole of Africa south of the Equator, took out with him the first five hundred copies.

In 1844 he and his wife found themselves back at Kúruman in the midst of a people who loved them and longed for their return. He was no longer the solitary Missionary, or with only one colleague. The Mission had developed, and to Moffat was assigned the work of translation, while a colleague superintended the printing-press. By 1848 the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes had been completed, and Isaiah was commenced; in 1849 the "Pilgrim's Progress" appeared as a pleasant interlude. In 1857, when he had attained the age of sixty-two, the whole translation of the Bible was completed after the labour of thirty years among the people, who spoke the Language, and read and valued the Book. Those who know the difficulty of translating such a Book into any Language, can imagine how great were the disadvantages of his environment for critical consultation, and for exegetical accuracy; he grudged every moment of his life spent in other duties. I must quote his own words:

"I cannot describe to you the feelings of the time, the writing of the last verse. I could hardly believe that I was in the world, so difficult was it for me to realise the fact that my labour of years was completed. A feeling came over me, that I must die, and I was perfectly resigned. To overcome this I went back to my manuscript still to be printed, read it over, and re-examined it, till at length I got back to my right mind. My feelings found vent by my falling down upon my knees, and thanking God for His grace and goodness in giving me strength

"to accomplish my task. Now I see the Word of God read by thousands of the Be-Chuána in their Native tongue."

As the Natives in their simplicity expressed themselves, the Scriptures speak, speak to the heart; and, when they became familiar with the words, they found that "*they turned their hearts inside out.*"

A revision of the New Testament was commenced in 1861, and no doubt in due course the Old Testament will be submitted to a revision-committee, and will be found to be susceptible of corrections and emendations, and to show the advantage of a plurality over a single judgment in matters of rendering phrases.

The expectation had become real to him, that his body and that of his faithful partner should be laid in the little burial-ground at Kúruman, but it was not to be. The infirmities of age were coming rapidly upon him. He could be of no use in a field, where there was no space for the unemployed, but to return to England was not going *home* to him, but leaving the people, for whom he had toiled so long and whom he loved so well. When the final hour had arrived, the venerable Missionary, and his equally revered wife, left their home, and walked to their waggon, beset by crowds, each one longing for another shake of the hands, a last word or a parting look. As the waggon drove away, a long pitiful wail rose from the people, who felt that their friend and teacher was gone from them for ever. He had brought to them the Word of Life, accompanied by Christian civilization; they gave him their Love, and promised to walk in the way, which he had taught them. He got home fifty years after his first departure, and the following year his wife died, but he remained among us for twelve more years. The British and Foreign Bible-Society had always gladly supplied him with paper, and bore the expense of the printing of the Old Testament and New Testament, and his Work is one of the most treasured in their great collection.

The Be-Chuána had never come into contact with any other Arian, Semitic, or Hamitic, civilization; they had added no loans to their pure Word-store, and when the translator had to introduce new Ideas, he, an unlettered man, who knew small Latin and less Greek, drew upon the resources existing undeveloped in the Language which he handled. The Language in that respect was like the man; the Spirit had developed in him the power of the translator; the same Spirit gave him power to develop the untried combinations of words, so as to make it a worthy receptacle of the Oracles of God without the intrusion of a single loan-word.

1889.

(5) STEPHEN RIGGS, D.D., LL.D.

Seldom have there been more faithful servants of their Master than Dr. Stephen Riggs and his sweet wife Mary, the companion of his labours, and the mother of no less than seven Missionaries. In 1837, in the flower of their youth, they commenced their labours among the Sioux Indians, or Dakóta. Mary sank by the wayside in 1868, but her husband laboured on and completed his forty years' service, and the translation of the whole Bible. He tells the simple tale of his Missionary life in a little Work published at Boston, U.S., 1887, called "Mary and I; or, Forty Years with the Sioux." Dr. Thompson, of the American Board of Foreign Missions, brought me over a copy, a most acceptable gift, on the occasion of the great Missionary Conference in 1888.

Dr. Riggs was the son of a blacksmith, a Presbyterian, in the State of Ohio, U.S. Mary was from Massachusetts, and educated as a teacher in a school. Early in their lives they considered the claims of the heathen and their personal duty; they never had a doubt during the period of their preparation, and after forty years' service the survivor was abundantly satisfied with the way, in which the Lord had led him. They had a hard life of it in a log-hut, among fearful savages, and deprived of the ordinary comforts of civilization. The Missionaries of India and China will do well to reflect on the sufferings of their fellow-labourers in less favoured fields; they had to fly for their lives in 1861, and left their home and all their possessions to be destroyed. A letter from one of their daughters suggest perils unknown in other Missions, which were happily escaped by them, but not by many others of their less fortunate countrymen. "Though it be a glorious heaven, this was such a hard way to it by the tomahawk and scalping knife! Oh God, *our* God, *must* it be? Then came something of resignation to death itself, but a sore shrinking from the dishonour, which is worse than death, and we wondered, whether it would be a greater sin to take one's life than thus to suffer."

From the time that he crossed the Mississippi, and reached the mouth of the Minnesota, in the land of the Dakóta, and built his log-hut on the shore of "Lac-qui-parle," Dr. Riggs began his Vocabulary of the Language, and at the close of his labours considered, that he had made it as perfect as possible. He then compiled a Grammar and Dictionary, and proceeded on the work of translation of the Bible. This work was constantly impeded. The printing-office was burned down, and the missing sheets had to be supplied; still, by 1852 the philological apparatus for translation was completed, and the published edition of Dictionary and Grammar sold out. The Language was found to be growing, or, in other words, the knowledge by himself and his colleague

of the Language was growing, and an addendum of sixteen thousand words was compiled, and, "as the translation of the Bible proceeded, thoughts and images were brought in, which have given the Language an unction and power unknown before." A translation was made of the first part of Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress," which became exceedingly popular with the Dakóta.

In 1863 he revised and completed his translation of the New Testament, and conducted it through the Press at New York. The work of the Old Testament was shared by him with his friend the Rev. John Williamson, and we find yearly notice of additional books passing through the Press. By the end of the forty years the entire Work was completed. Dr. Riggs closes his Memoir with the following words: "Many workers have fallen out of the ranks, but the work has gone on. It has been marvellous in our eyes. At the beginning we were surrounded by the whole Sioux Nation in their ignorance and barbarism. At the close we are surrounded by Churches with Native pastors. Quite a section of the Sioux Nation has become civilized and Christianized. God has been showing by His providence and grace, that the red man too may come into His kingdom."

The Dakóta Language is one of a group forming portion of the great conglomerate of American Languages, which, differing from each other essentially in details, resemble in the common feature of being polysynthetic, thus differing from the Languages of the Old World, which are classified as monosyllabic, agglutinating, and inflectional. By being polysynthetic I mean this: In the Language of the Old World isolated conceptions, bound together in the sentence, are represented by separate words: in the American Languages such conceptions are joined together in one indivisible whole, or, in fact, word and sentence become convertible terms; such word-sentences are intolerably long.

My special desire in these sketches is to comprehend all the Bible-work of the world. The Dakóta translation belongs entirely to our North American brethren; the tribe dwells in their midst; the Churches, which send out the Missionary, the Missionary himself, the Bible-Society, and the printing-office, are all American.

1889.

(6) EDWARD STEERE.

Edward Steere was born in London, in 1828, the son of a barrister, and in 1847 graduated at the University of London, where he was distinguished for his legal acquirements. In 1850 he was called to the Bar by the Inner Temple, but he was meant for higher things. In 1854 he joined the Guild of St. Albans as

a lay-worker among the poor in London, living in their midst, and thus became acquainted with the features of community-life, which he so fully developed in East Africa. He was ordained Deacon in 1856, and entered on his duties as Curate in a parish in Devonshire. In 1858 he was ordained Priest, and had sole charge of a parish in Lincolnshire, in connection with his friend, the Rev. W. G. Tozer, afterwards Bishop of East Africa. This incident fixed his future career, for, when his friend was called to labour in East Africa, Steere volunteered to go with him for a year or two and see him settled. In 1863 he left home and wife, to devote his life to forming a Christian Nation in Equatorial Africa. In a letter to his old school friend, Lord Justice Fry, occur these memorable words, which Missionaries and all Christian workers should lay to heart :

"I confess, that I should be ashamed to read our Lord's words *about forsaking home and so forth* if I had refused, when I had so clear an opportunity, to do the thing which He recommended. One is bound, if one has the opportunity and ability, to give practical proof, that one does reckon one's calling as a Christian Priest something higher and more engrossing than a comfortable home and easy-going quiet."

From 1863 to 1874 he worked at Zanzibár as Missionary, and from that date to the hour of his death in 1882 as Bishop. In 1877 he had made the following remark: "That a Missionary Bishop should deem his office a life one; that England might be the easiest place, in which to live, but Africa is just as good a place to die in, and his death at his post may do much more than his life."

From the date of his arrival in the country he devoted himself to the acquisition of the Swahili Language, and constructed a handbook; and when he was found dead on his bed at Zanzibár, on the table in his room lay the last corrected proof-sheets of his translation of Isaiah, done up and directed to the printer. He had given his best ability and labour to the work of Bible-translation, and he loved it to the end.

The Bishop had discovered that, which many still fail to perceive: that without the sympathizing aid of the Bible-Society it would be utterly impossible for the Church to carry on her Mission-work efficiently, and there was no place, where he was more gladly welcomed, or felt himself more at home, than in his visits to the Bible-House. When he was made a Vice-President he replied, "that he felt, that his work would be unsound without a vernacular Bible, and this the Society had made possible to him." He did not live to see the translation of the whole Bible completed, but he left behind him a School of younger men, who have this last year completed it; and it is, no doubt, one of the most satisfactory translations, as the work fell, from the very first to the last, commencing with the late Dr. Krapf, into the hands of scholarly men as well as devout Christians.

The Swahili is a member of the great Bantu family of Languages, and is greatly affected by contact with the Arabic Language. It is the lingua franca of Equatorial Africa. None of our great travellers knew any other Language, and the words, at least, were intelligible in the estuary of the Kongo on the West coast. Bishop Steere and his School not only supplied the whole Bible, and a store of subsidiary Religious and Educational literature in Swahili, but they set the example to labourers in the cognate and less important kindred vernaculars, in the illustration of which much progress has been made.

1889.

(7) DR. SAMUEL LEE.

He was born in a village near Shrewsbury in 1783, and brought up in a local Charity-School. At the age of twelve he was apprenticed to a carpenter, but his tastes were literary. He read every English book, which he could lay hold of, and remarking in some pages of his books Latin quotations, he bought at the age of seventeen a Latin Grammar, and mastered that Language. Meeting references to the Greek Language, he bought a Grammar and mastered that also. His attention being then called to the Hebrew Language, he saved up money, purchased books, and could soon read the Psalms. Meeting with an Aramaic Targum, he applied himself to the Aramaic and Syriac Languages, and passed on to the Samaritan. He had no instructor of any kind, nor any literary companion, and only the spare hours for Study after completion of the labour of the day, on which he depended for support. He afterwards became master of a School in Shrewsbury, and made himself acquainted with the Arabic, Persian, and Urdu, Languages. With the exception of the loan of books he had no external help, his own mind, and his singular capacity for acquiring Languages, furnishing every other resource.

The Church Missionary Society undertook to support him, while he went through a University-course, with a view of employing him as a Missionary in India and a translator of the Scriptures. In 1815 his friend, Dr. Buchanan, died, and the committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society employed him to complete the carrying through the Press of the Syriac New Testament for the use of the Syrian Church in Southern India.

He had made himself master of the Malay Language, and edited for the British and Foreign Bible-Society a version of the Old and New Testament in that Language, and assisted in carrying through the Press an edition of Martyn's Urdu New Testament. The University of Halle, through Dr. Gesenius, the Professor of Hebrew,

presented him with the degree of D.D. In 1817 he was admitted to holy orders. He then undertook the editing of the Ethiopic Scriptures for the British and Foreign Bible-Society, from a manuscript lately purchased, and prepared for the Press an edition of the Old Testament in Persian, and was associated with Professor Macbride, of Oxford, in preparing a version of the Bible in Arabic. Considering the ample employment, which he had found in England for his talents, the Church Missionary Society now abandoned the idea of employing him as a Missionary in foreign parts.

In 1818 he was specially promoted to the degree of M.A., to enable him to hold, in 1819, the post of Professor of Arabic and Persian at Cambridge. This closed his connection with the Church Missionary Society, as he no longer needed pecuniary support. He used to say, that it was his desire to consecrate his learning to the promoting of the knowledge of God among mankind, and all of us should remember, that intellectual powers, great or small, are only given to us with a view of extending the Kingdom of our Saviour, and promoting the glory of our Heavenly Father. Consecrated talents thus became a certain blessing. What achievements in literature of this world can be compared with the presentation of the Gospel-message to Nations, and tribes, and families, passing from the cradle to the grave, without a saving knowledge of their Saviour!

He compiled a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Maori Language for the Church Missionary Society in 1820; he was busily engaged in other literary work in Oriental Languages, till in 1831 he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, and nominated by the Crown to a stall in Bristol Cathedral and a living in Somersetshire. He resigned his Professorship in 1848, and died in 1852. He laboured to the last, and was an example to others of Holiness and industry.

(8) JOHN WENGER, D.D.

Dr. Wenger was a Missionary of the English Baptist Society. He was born at Berne, in Switzerland, in 1811. He arrived in India in 1839, and died in India in 1880, and had thus served the Lord in his particular vocation forty-one years.

During that long period he was only absent on two occasions from his post, and the whole time amounted to three years. Wenger followed the steps of Carey, and did not look back from the plough; he had made his choice in his youth, and kept to it in his old age.

A translation of the Bible into the great Language of Bangáli had been made by Carey, yet, as time went on, it appeared expedient to revise, and the task was entrusted to Dr. Yates. Dr. Wenger was associated with him in 1840, and when Dr. Yates died in 1845, the arduous duty fell to him alone. Many editions were published, each carefully revised, almost in some instances amounting to a new translation, for the Language itself was still in a transition-state. The Bangáli Language is one of the most important in India, second only to the Hindi. It is spoken by a population counting by tens of Millions, some of them in a high state of literary culture, but the majority in a much lower; in fact, it is one of the most important in the world; and in spite of Dr. Wenger's long and devoted labours, it cannot be asserted, that the work of translation has reached finality.

Dr. Wenger was entrusted with a second task, that of revising, and in part re-translating, the Bible into the sacred Language of the Hindu, the dead Sanskrit: part of the poetical portions were rendered into Sanskrit metre. The great Scholar, Professor Horace H. Wilson, examined parts of this translation, and expressed his approval. It was no reflection on Carey, who prepared the first translation, that in course of time, and the enlargement of our linguistic knowledge, a revision should take place. Such must be the case with all translations. As the Language is dead and susceptible of no further development, and indeed the demand for the book cannot be great, this translation may be deemed to be final.

In addition to these great Works, Dr. Wenger carried through the Press translations of portions of the New Testament in the Nipáli Language, and assisted in proof-reading of the Hindi New Testament.

Over and above the work of a translator, he discharged zealously the duties of a Missionary. His life was not free from the domestic trials, which are the portion of God's saints, and he closed his eyes in peace in the midst of his peaceful labours.

1889.

XX.

Dedication of my Book on Bible-Diffusion.

TO ALL

WHO LOVE THE LORD, THE BOOK, AND THE ASSOCIATION, WHICH
HUMBLY, AND WITH SINGLENESSE OF HEART, DEVOTES ITSELF
TO THE SERVICE OF THAT LORD, AND THE
DIFFUSION OF THAT BOOK,

THESE ADDRESSES

ARE DEDICATED BY ONE, WHO HAS NOT BEEN AFRAID TO WEIGH EACH
WORD OF THIS BOOK IN THE BALANCE OF SCIENCE, TO
HANDLE IT, AND SEE, TO READ ALL THE CRITI-
CISMS, WHICH FRIEND OR FOE HAS
WRITTEN, TO STUDY THE BOOKS
OF NON-CHRISTIAN SAGES, PROPHETS, AND PHILOSOPHERS,
AND YET
HAS FOUND NOTHING, THAT CAN EQUAL, OR DIM, OR SURPASS, THE
TREASURE, WHICH WE POSSESS.

Christmas Day, 1892.

XXI.

Presentation slip of my Book on the Prebailing Methods of Evangelization of the World.

PRESENTED BY THE AUTHOR

TO

WITH THE EARNEST DESIRE, THAT THE COUNSEL AND CRITICISM
OFFERED MAY BE ACCEPTED IN THE SPIRIT, IN WHICH IT HAS BEEN
WRITTEN, OF LONG, EARNEST, AND SINGLE-MINDED, DEVOTION TO THE
GREAT SUBJECT.

May, 1894.

XXII.

DANGER OF DENOMINATIONAL CHURCHES IN INDIA.

ON the Sunday after Christmas-day there was a great gathering of Christians of all denominations of the Evangelical Alliance in the Presbyterian Kirk of Anárkali. Laymen, and ordained Ministers, who had assembled together for the Conference, at this season of Peace and good will to all men, knelt side by side, and received the Holy Communion according to the simple form of the Presbyterian Church. Among the number were six or seven ordained Clergymen of the Church of England, the Episcopalian Chaplain of the station having from his desk announced prayer-meetings at the Presbyterian Chapel. All difference of denomination was by consent laid aside; the question of Bishop, or no Bishop, sprinkling or total immersion, infant or adult Baptism, Grace or Works, free will or election, and every other shibboleth, were for the time forgotten, or rather merged in the depth of the great Truth, to which all gave in their adhesion. Even those two or three eclectic spirits, who belonged to no Section of the Church Militant, who had thrown off the links of creed, nationality, and customs, and, raising a separate pinnacle of private judgment, had described themselves in the census papers of 1861 as belonging "to the Church of Christ," were satisfied at this fusion of discordant elements. The representatives of the only Christian denominations absent, were the Roman Catholic Priest (who, however, made himself heard by the peal of his bells), and the 'close-communion'-Presbyterians, who make the abolition of Slavery in America, and the exclusive use of the Psalms of David in their Churches, the touchstone of their communion with other Churches in India.

But it is idle to suppose, that this union was anything beyond a name. On a Missionary platform special idiosyncrasies fall out of sight. Try and efface the wrinkles from the puckered face of an old woman of ninety, and you will form an idea of the success of an attempt to efface the scars left by time on the face of the Christian Church. Since the first century there has been a constant process of refining, contesting, enlarging, the Doctrines and ceremonial of the Church, according to the genius, the temperament, the Philosophy, the knowledge, and the particular national virtues and vices of the people who received it. Temporalities, social privileges, rituals, traditions, affections, sacerdotal orders, and the divergent tendencies of the Human intellect, all help to widen the

breach, and to render any real union impossible. Try and persuade a Scotch old woman to make use of the Book of Prayer of the Church of England, and to attend service in the Establishment Church; try and persuade a middle-aged Anglican Churchman to darken the door of a Presbyterian Kirk, and you will soon find that you have undertaken a task of no small proportions: the old woman will tell you, that she will have nothing to do with little Babylon, and the old gentleman will quote King Charles II.'s famous remark, that the Presbyterian Religion was not a form of Worship fit for a gentleman, and that nothing will induce him to listen to a sermon from a reverend gentleman without a surplice.

Admitting all this, is there any necessity for perpetuating these differences, which are part and parcel of Latin Christianity, in the new Oriental Churches? Is it quite impossible to cut back to the simple type of infant Churches, which we find described in the New Testament? Is not the translation of the Anglican Prayer-Book, with its repeated prayers for the Queen, and the Shahzadah of Wales, a very confusing Manual of devotion for a simple and uneducated flock? Could not all evangelical Christians agree on one simple Biblical type of a Church, with total immersion, and a simple and economical form of Church government, and very cheap and unadorned Churches, open for the use of evangelical Christians of all denominations? The Native mind, especially when in a state of doubt, is most likely to stumble over the Sectarian differences, and to fail in comprehension of the universally admitted truth. There would be something ridiculous to hear two Native Pastors of different denominations, who had just mastered the doctrines of their sect, chopping Calvin and Arminius, and going over in the vernacular the great and venerable controversies of Predestination and Regeneration. Rumour has it, that in some Native schools questions of this kind have been asked: What is a King? Answer. A wicked man, who chops off heads. What is a Bishop? Answer. A bad man, who collects tithes. One of the worst features of the Native character is the ingenious subtlety, with which they widen any breach betwixt their European masters.

Above all things, we would suggest for infant Native Churches one Catechism and form of prayer, or none at all; one system of Church-government, entire intercommunion of places of worship, and as complete a silence on all controversial points, as Englishmen in India have adopted with regard to Whig and Tory, Radical and Conservative, politics. This may be to some a surrender of cherished prejudices, and it may seem to be inconsistent to maintain distinctions in Europe, and to efface them in Asiatic Churches, but it appears to us to be the only basis, on which a Christian Indian Church can be erected, with any hope of indigenous vitality.

Letter to Lahór Chronicle, 1860.

XXIII.

THE SHRINES OF LOURDES AND ZARAGOSSA.

IN the Issue of the month of April last I contributed a Paper upon "The Roman Catholic Missions in North Africa." I have since been preparing a series of remarks on the Missions of the Church of Rome in other parts of Africa, and in Asia; on the principles upon which they are conducted; and on the spirit, in which their agents should be received by our own Missionaries occupied in the same field. I have lived too long among Hindu and Mahometan to have a spark of the "Orangeman" in my constitution. I have many valued friends, and some relatives, who are Roman Catholics, Laymen, Priests, and Indifferents. The phenomenon, however, presented by Roman Catholic Missions in Asia and Africa, is one which cannot be overlooked by any who are interested, as I deeply am, in the progress of Christian Missions. Complications of a startling kind will arise in this or the next generation amidst the nascent Christianities, and it is as well to consider calmly, drawing our notices from their own published reports, whether in very deed the Roman Catholic Missionaries do preach the same Gospel as ourselves. If it can be shown, that they do not, the line of division between us and them must be drawn, reluctantly perhaps, but as clearly as betwixt us and the Hindu, the Mahometan, and the Buddhist. The most dangerous of errors is the perversion of the truth.

I turn aside at the outset to discuss a point which, though it may appear a minor one, is indeed of the utmost importance, viz., the appearance in Roman Catholic Missions of a Fourth Supreme Personage outside of, and in addition to, the Trinity. There is no use in mincing words here; for the Native of Asia or Africa will never be brought to see the position we speak of in any other light. Roman Catholic publications are full of the worship, the goodness, and the power, of the Mother of our Lord. Chapels are erected even in China to "Notre Dame de Lourdes." Venerable Bishops, after spending years in Abyssinia, hurry off to Lourdes as soon as their vessel reaches Marseilles. In moments of trial and difficulty prayers are offered to "Our Mother at Lourdes." In fact, this petty town, from the mind of the French Missionary at least, has driven out the thought of Rome and

of Jerusalem, and the newly-fashioned image in the cleft of the rock of the Pyrenees has drawn away the worshippers of older shrines.

To enable me to comprehend this phenomenon, and to obtain trustworthy and original documents, I proceeded last autumn to Lourdes, carefully inspected the outward symbols of the new cult, and purchased at the grotto copies of all the literature sold by permission of the authorities. Lourdes is the newest, and most frequented by the French, of the shrines of the Virgin. Here we find French refinement and Nineteenth Century culture in the graceful lines of the modern statue, and in the tasteful arrangements of the beautiful gardens and walks that surround it. I crossed the Pyrenees on leaving Lourdes, and about one hundred miles due South I came, from the youngest, upon the oldest shrine in Europe, that of Nostra Señora del Pilar, at Zaragossa. Here I was face to face with what has been the consolation and hope and joy of the Spanish Nation for fifty generations. I carefully inspected the outward symbols of the Worship offered, and purchased a copy of the authorized Spanish narrative in connection with it. Absence of culture and presence of dirt, a Madonna and Child of wood, of an antiquity and rudeness, which render it priceless, and clothed in tinsel garments, which assimilate it to the appearance of a Hindu idol, here was what I encountered, and the contrast with Lourdes was of the greatest. Yet it is necessary to consider these two shrines together, since they form the earliest and latest development of a cult, which is totally unauthorized, and the effect of which it is idle, and worse than idle, to ignore in connection with Christian Missions to the Heathen. I proceed to describe the two "sacred" places.

Lourdes is a small town in the valley of the Pyrenees. It is traversed by two lines of railways, and was totally unknown beyond the Province prior to the occurrence of the events, which I am about to record. Pope Pius IX, *upon his own authority*, had just promulgated the Dogma of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Mother of our Lord, when this place became famous. Now let me not be misunderstood. If there be one Scripture-character to which, above all others, the pious Christian looks as the type of sweetness and goodness, it is that of the most blessed among women, upon whom the honour fell of being Mother of the Saviour. The Church of Rome has been led, however, to go further than this, and not without opposition was the dogma referred to declared. While men's minds were stirred by the event, on the 11th of February, 1858, a swineherd, aged twelve, named Bernadette Soubirons, was tending her pigs close to the Grotto Masabielle, on the banks of the River Gave, when, according to her statements, a vision appeared to her eighteen times at different intervals in the form of a beautiful Lady, dressed in white, with a blue sash, a

rose of gold on each foot, and a rosary on her arm, consisting of white beads with a gold thread. She had appeared at La Salette in the same costume a few years before. She made the sign of the Cross, and on her third appearance asked the little girl to come to the grotto fifteen times, which she did; and the Lady appeared every day and made several communications. She imparted three secrets to the girl, which she was to tell no one, and these have never been revealed. She promised her happiness in the next world. She gave leave to her to bring her companions with her, and as many persons as wished, and, as a fact, many of the neighbours went, and beheld the girl in ecstasy, *but saw and heard nothing*. The Virgin told her to pray for sinners, to tell the Curé of the Parish to build a Church on the Rock, and to have Processions. When the girl delivered this message to the Curé, who was preparing her for her first Communion, he cautioned her, and told her to ask the Lady to make the rose-trees of the grotto blossom in winter. The request was made, but not complied with. The next message was, "Penitence! Penitence! Penitence!" The girl was told to walk upon her knees and kiss the ground for the sake of sinners. On a subsequent occasion the waters of a new fountain in the grotto were set free, and the day following a miracle was performed by these healing waters. The Curé then consulted his Bishop, and a great stir took place in the neighbourhood. The interview ceased for some time, till at length, on the Feast of the Annunciation, the girl saw the Lady again, in spite of the grotto being walled up by the police, and by order of the Curé asked her her name, and the reply was, in the presence of many thousands, who saw nothing but the girl, and heard no sound whatever, "I AM THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION." This message was conveyed to the Curé, who is described by the girl as being well content. That Priest has now been raised to honour and dignity in the Roman Church. At the last day it will be known what part he played in this matter.

We seem to hear the echo of some old Church-legend of far-off time, but it sounds strangely in the Nineteenth Century. For myself I wish, that I could possess the sweet credulity of the Latin Bace, which in days gone by could find Diana and a Nymph by every fountain; and, in modern times, can find an Apparition in every grotto.

It is true, indeed, that God does confound the wise and the strong and give grace to the weak, yet it is to be wished, in all humility, that so momentous a truth had been revealed to man by a more trustworthy channel than the words of a swineherd of tender years, in an ecstatic state, tutored by a Village-Priest. No chain is stronger than its weakest link, and this link is of the most fragile kind. Yet the following consequences are unhesitatingly drawn and taught, from what we have stated, in the official Reports,

sanctioned by Pope Pius IX in 1873: " 'She shall bruise his head.' It will be the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, and the Grotto of Lourdes, that will put down the French Revolution. France is devoted to Mary and to the Papacy. Mary, who resembles a lily, according to the 'Song of Solomon,' owes a good turn to France, and has chosen France, whose royal emblem is the 'Fleur de Lis' of the Bourbons, to say to the world, 'I am the Immaculate Conception,' and by these very words to prove the Infallibility of the Pope, who pronounced the dogma on his own authority."

Miracle after miracle is reported to have followed the wonderful announcement of this Apparition. The Clergy, Bishops, and Pope, after examination and re-examination of the girl, gave full credence to her story. The grotto became a shrine; bathing-houses were filled with the holy water of the fountain. In a neighbourhood abounding with mineral springs of all kinds, it is worthy of note, that the water of this spring is neither warm nor medicated. Life-long sufferers are placed in the water, and cured at once. The grotto is thronged with worshippers. A marble-statue represents the Virgin as she appeared, and it is to be observed that, unlike most other sacred Images, she is here without her Child, and stands alone, as the sole object of Worship. A Church has sprung up on the summit of the rocks. Processions of the faithful are organized from every part of France, and the Pilgrims shout out, in true French style, "Vive l'Immaculée Conception." Those that are cured leave their crutches, and sick-chairs, and other surgical appliances in the grotto, the roof of which is darkened by the flaming tapers. Mission-Houses, Rest-Houses, and Refreshment-Rooms are erected in convenient sites. Over all, on a high rock, towers an Image of our Saviour on the Cross, but few seem to think of Him. Shops are opened with the tempting inducement of being kept by a "Tante de Bernadette," or called "A La Soubirons," in which names Cafés and Restaurants also rejoice. It is impossible to check the natural channels, in which French culture will flow. The grounds are laid out in French style, crannies of the rock of the grotto are stuffed with letters to the Virgin in the French Language. The remark was made to me in the train, that the attendants of the shrines of the Virgin in the adjoining villages were very jealous of the new arrival: and well they may be: "C'est une chance pour Lourdes," said the landlady of a neighbouring town, whose business was injured. The Railway-Companies have lent themselves to the movement; there are special waiting-rooms and special accommodation for Pilgrims at the station, special trains and reduced Pilgrims' fares. As the train approaches the station, the Image is hailed from the windows of the carriages, and one is reminded of what one has seen practised by the Russians at Troitska, near Moscow. The innkeepers, the retailers of comestibles,

tobacco, and spirits, the silversmiths, the dealers in rosaries, Religious literature, wax-candles, Photography, pictures, and *reliques*, make a tremendous harvest. The poor little girl was carried off to a convent, where she soon died in the odour of sanctity. Death has sanctified her message, and she is classed among the Benefactors of France, such as Genevieve, Germaine, and Jean d'Arc.

The only cause of alarm is the chance of a later Apparition. Lourdes has so soon eclipsed La Salette and Paray-le-Monial. Spain is incapable of such things. With her five great shrines, sanctified by years, she is jealous of innovation. Italy has passed the mystic period. The Teutonic Races are too cold. But Ireland already gives signs of Apparitions, and it may be expected, that the message, when it does come, will be of a most practical character. The French Priesthood make use of their Apparition as a lever against the Republic, against the new order of things, against the Liberals of France.

I have looked through, as far as a reasonable man can read, the excited, highly poetic, and extremely patriotic, literature which I purchased. It is with amazement I read in a volume sanctioned by Pope and Cardinal: "There are two Lambs upon the altar of Sacrifice, Jesus the Lamb of God, and Bernadette the Lamb of the Immaculate Virgin." Again: "Since the manifestation of the 'Word' nothing parallel has occurred, until the manifestation of 'the Mother of the Word' took place." Again: "After the great words of Jesus, 'I am the Son of God,' no words are greater than 'I am the Immaculate Conception.'" Again: "'I am that I am,' said God to Moses. 'I am the Immaculate Conception,' said Marie to Bernadette," which the writer interprets to mean, "'Nothing takes place without Me, for I am the Mother of the Creator of all things.'" Again: "'The Angels sang at the birth of our Lord;' the Virgin herself uttered her divine hymn of praise; one word was wanting to the Magnificat, one glory was wanting to all the glories with which generations have honoured her, and it was in this generation, in which Satan reigns, and in France, which Satan tries to destroy, that she proclaimed herself, 'I am the Immaculate Conception.'"

The Bishop of Tarbes, the Diocesan, in his Mandement, notices rather naïvely, as one of the proofs of the genuineness of the Apparition, the "*convenience*, or opportuneness, of the words of the Virgin, as having for their object the support of the Infallibility of the Pope, who had promulgated the Doctrine of the Immaculate Conception." A sceptical generation might perhaps be excused, if it remarked, also, on this extreme opportuneness, the miracle, or Apparition, coming, as it did, midway between the promulgation of the two dogmas, and confirming the one prospectively and the other retrospectively. What strikes the observer most, however, is the extreme narrowness of view of the French interpreters of

the vision. Jesus Christ came into the world to save all mankind, but it is notable, that the French Apparitions take place for peculiarly French purposes and for the Pope; no advantages, material, or spiritual, are held out to Italy, Spain, Belgium, and Roman Catholic Germany. This really appears in a most offensive manner, and, one would think, must be felt as such. The Virgin is called the "Queen of Heaven, of the Angels, and of France." France is called the "Queen of Nations." In the dedicatory letter of the Bishop it is clear, that the object of the Miracle is to serve as a weapon against the Revolution, which oppresses the Pope by deprivation of his Temporal Power, and which menaces France. This is worked out more fully in a volume published last year by the Superieur of the Capuchin Mission at Lourdes. The pamphlet is entitled, "On our Social Sores." Bernadette is made out by quotations from Scripture to have appeared mainly to counteract these evils. The sores are eight in number: (1) The small families, to which French people notoriously restrict themselves: Bernadette was one of nine. (2) The desertion of the villages for the great cities: Bernadette was a peasant. (3) The credulousness as regards Miracles: Bernadette proves Miracles. (4) The great Pauperism-question: Bernadette was poor, and yet chosen of God. (5) The undue exaltation of the State: Bernadette is said to have resisted the police, and thus "protected the liberty of the Human Soul." (6) The contempt of Monastic Life: God placed Bernadette in a Convent. (7) The sin of Lay Education: God placed Bernadette in a Convent of Teaching Nuns. (8) The indulgence in Sensuality: God ordained to Bernadette a brief life of suffering. In very truth, the poor child never recovered from the delirious state of excitement, into which she had been drawn.

It is remarkable how the French Priests dilate upon the personal charms of the Virgin, and with what ravishing epithets they speak of her beautiful statue. The words express a love beyond that of children to a mother. Bernadette, who by her photograph is proved to have been a very ordinary person, is described as "angelic," "beautiful as the morning star," as taking her place in the choir of virgins round the throne of the Lamb, close to Genevieve, Jean d'Arc, Germaine, and other illustrious shepherdesses. We can wonder, however, at no amount of credulity, when Cardinal Manning preaches that those, who can coldly object to the history of Margaret Alacoque, at Paray-le-Monial, would, had they lived in the time of the disciples, have denied, that Jesus appeared to Paul at Damascus!

I will now recount from the latest Spanish authorities, purchased on the spot some months since, the received account of the Virgin of Zaragossa. It was almost necessary to hold my breath while I read this marvellous history. One year after

the death of Christ the Apostles met together to distribute the world into Mission-Fields, and after consulting the Queen of Heaven, and hearing Peter the Vicar of Christ celebrate Mass, they all prayed with the Queen of the Angels for the Holy Spirit, and they heard a voice ordering Peter to divide the Provinces among the Apostles. To James the Greater fell Judæa, Samaria, and, strange to say, Spain. It appears that, in the early days of Missions, travelling was very much assisted by the Apostles being lifted up and carried from one country to another by Angels. James went to Spain, A.D. 35, in the month of August, and landed at Cartagena. He preached at Granada, where he was much persecuted by the Jews. He was thrown into prison, but the Virgin, being appealed to, came on a magnificent throne and released him. He then preached all over Andalusia accompanied by a guard of Angels supplied by the Virgin. He passed through Toledo into Portugal, thence to Galicia, and at last arrived at Zaragoza. He established Churches and appointed Bishops in many places, performing miracles everywhere. Now James was to be the first Apostle, who should suffer martyrdom. Our Lord therefore appeared to His Mother while she was still living at Jerusalem, and directed her to proceed at once to Zaragoza, and order James to return to Jerusalem to suffer martyrdom. The faithful Chronicler gives all the conversation, which passed betwixt our Lord and His Mother on this subject with extreme minuteness. James was to be ordered, before his departure, to build a temple at Zaragoza in honour of the Virgin, where she would be revered and invoked for the good of Spain. The Virgin asked for special protection to this Temple, and special blessings to the worshippers; and her Son replied, that His Mother possessed all His Power, and that whatever she promised in behalf of this Sanctuary should be accomplished. The Virgin, still living in her mortal body, was then raised on a throne by Seraphim and Cherubim, and accompanied by thousands of Angels, conveyed from Jerusalem to Zaragoza. Over and over again the Chronicler draws attention to the fact, that she came in her mortal body before her death, and not, as in the case of appearances at other shrines, merely as an Apparition. She arrived on the second of January at midnight. St. James was roused from his sleep, with his disciples, on the banks of the River Ebro outside the town, when this wonderful arrival took place. With her came a small Column of jasper or marble, and a small Image of the Queen of Heaven with her Child in her arms, made of a different material.

The Apostle received the Mother of our Lord with profound reverence, and she conveyed to him her message, and as a proof of the Truth of her promises in favour of the new Temple, she told him, that she herself had brought this Pillar, and placed her own Image upon it, which would remain there till the end of the

world. The Angels planted the Pillar, and placed upon it the Image, and James humbly implored her protection for Spain. The Virgin returned to Jerusalem in the same way, leaving an Angel in perpetual charge of this Sanctuary, where he is on duty to this day. A Chapel was built over the Column, and eventually a vast Cathedral has inclosed the Chapel.

James then left Zaragossa, having appointed Athanasius as the first Bishop, and, embarking on the Catalan coast, sailed for Ephesus, where he met, and prostrated himself at the feet of the Virgin, and asked her assistance and presence in his approaching Martyrdom at Jerusalem, and, again, her special protection for Spain. James went to Jerusalem, and at the hour of his death he prayed, that the Virgin would come to assist him, and she was brought upon a throne from Ephesus, by Angels, to see him die, and was then taken back. His disciples conveyed his body from Jerusalem to Joppa, and thence to a spot in Galicia in Spain, where it was discovered many centuries afterwards and buried under the present shrine of Santjago di Compostella.

Such, for the glorification of Spaniards, is the Legend of their Patron-Saint, and of their two great shrines of Zaragossa and Santjago. If indeed it is purely and selfishly national, it is at least not the outcome of deliberate fraud, nor was it devised for a purpose. There are no less than five principal shrines of the Virgin in Spain: (1) La Pilár, at Zaragossa. (2) The Atócha, at Madrid. (3) Monte Serráto, near Barcelóna. (4) Guadalupe, in New Castile. (5) Tolédo. We can sympathize with the circumstances of the people of Spain. For many centuries their country was overrun by Mahometans from Africa. They passed through periods of deep affliction. They fought hard for their Faith; and these Images, which are most interesting to the antiquarian, were one moment concealed, and then suddenly appeared at the head of their armies, as a consolation to the people, and as a centre of union, the palladia of the Nation. In the time of sieges, plagues, and tribulation, having no Bible in the vulgar tongue, they turned to these Images, and having loved them in the time of their deep degradation they cannot abandon them. Even now, though Spain has lost her rank among the Nations, she has her Pilár, the most ancient of the Virgin Shrines of Europe, and she christens her daughters after it. Nothing will turn her from the worship of these Images, in some respects, so like the special worship of the local Devi by the Hindu. For Spain, this worship has formed a leading factor in the Nation's Life, and it stands invested with the sanction and the prestige of centuries. It is indeed a Religion underlying, and separate from, the great Cult of Rome.

In contrast to the elegant and classical white figure of the Virgin, which seeks to realise the French idea of beauty, the images in Spain are generally black, and so covered with jewels, that

nothing is left visible but the face. They have extensive and costly wardrobes, have aged Priests specially told off to wait upon them, who dress them in different costumes according to the particular Church Festival. I have often stood in the temples of the Hindu, and watched the proceedings of the Brahmins, and the attitude of the worshippers. And it is a very sad feeling, which comes over me, when I think how much they are akin to the proceedings I have also watched in the Greek Churches at Jerusalem, and in the shrines of the Latin Races in Spain, France, and Italy. The "motif" of the Ritual is a mystery to the uninitiated, in the one case as in the other; but the trained Brahman would, drawing from the common source of superstitious error, speedily understand it. For the Brahman is a philosopher, and the Worship of the "DIVINE MOTHER" irresistibly recalls to the philosophic mind the sentiment, that led former ages to Worship Cybele, that urges the savage to recognise the influence and to propitiate the power of "Mother Nature," and that brings the Hindu himself to bow before the shrine where the "divine" and the "maternal" are blended, even though, in his case, the result may be to prostrate him before the Image of Prithivi, or of Durga. Of course Miracles are reported at these shrines. Especially is this so with regard to La Pilár. Pope after Pope has acknowledged the miraculous power, in Bulls. The pious Chronicler tells of suits decided in favour of the Virgin, brought by parties who questioned her power. It is marvellous how anyone in Zaragossa, who cared for his life, should dare to do this. There is an extensive street occupied by Silversmiths, who make large gains by fabricating silver medals, and who would be as stout in defence of their Image, as the Ephesians were of old in defence of Artemis, whose statue, like that of Zaragossa, fell down from Heaven. Yet the world has outlived that veneration of Artemis, which two thousand years ago it would have been dangerous to question. Among the most remarkable of the Miracles vouched for by the Chronicler is that of a labourer, who lost a leg by accident, and was supplied with a new one by the Virgin, with a line of red marking the place where the old limb had been cut away.

In reading the depressing account of miracles performed at these shrines, I was struck by the extraordinary capriciousness of the Healing Power. Of the thousands, who flock to the shrines with ailments, and the thousands who fill the Hospitals, and lie about the streets, to elicit charity by exhibiting disgusting sights, how few are healed! The Priest of Lourdes tells us, how his Virgin worked three miracles to residents of a village, which happened to be his own residence, because for many centuries the "Ave Maria" Bell had been rung three times at daybreak. He mentions the conversion of an English Protestant, and of two very old Sinners, and records one remarkable case of Parents having taken

to the shrine a child with an incurable disease, and going home without a cure, but happy in the fact, that they and their child had been converted to the true faith, a more precious blessing than bodily health. That *such* Miracles may take place *all* will admit, but the question at Lourdes applies to physical Miracles. The French and Spanish Chronicles both dilate upon the number of the Pilgrims; but had they visited Jerusalem at Easter, or Hurdwár, Banáras, Gya, or other places of Hindu pilgrimage, they would recognise how comparatively insignificant was the display of Faith numerically evidenced in European countries, when contrasted with the vast numbers, the enormous distances traversed, the sufferings by the way in the long marches on foot, the hunger and thirst, the illnesses and the deaths of the Oriental Pilgrimages.

The object of this Paper is to show, in the facts actually exhibited at the present day, how the Church of Rome, from the very earliest times, to which the Legend of Zaragossa can be attributed, down to the present century with its Legend of Lourdes, has invariably lent itself to any and every development of Mysticism, to any and every expansion of the limits of Holy Writ, in defiance of the closing verses of the Revelation, and that it is impossible to say what further extension, both of dogma and practice, it may yet hold, so to speak, in reserve. The "Message," or teaching, embodied in the practices we have above referred to is moreover very clearly different from that, which was given by the Master to His Apostles, and by them was preached to the world. Whately remarks, that the spontaneous corruption of Christianity is caused by the natural, unrestrained, workings of the Human mind. This feature is evidenced in the decay and degradation of the Mahometan, Hindu, and Búddhist Beliefs. With the exception of the three last developments in France, La Salette, Paray-le-Monial, and Lourdes, the superstitions of the unreformed Church were not the results of systematic contrivance, but sprang spontaneously from the indigenous growth of the Human heart. They arose successively, gradually, and imperceptibly, and were, in many instances, in an age of darkness, first overlooked, then unsuccessfully opposed, then tolerated, then sanctioned, and finally embodied in a system, of which they are either to be regarded as the cause or the effect. How far they were originally pious frauds, sincerely intended to promote a good end, how far they have been adopted by less scrupulous agents for their own views, all this is known to God alone.

The conclusion, to which one is compelled to arrive, is that Asiatic and African converts, if taught such Doctrines, and influenced by such practices, will fall into greater errors than those, to which they are now liable. They will have changed the names of the Images they Worship, but will have conserved the practices and the feelings, which the Worship inspired. The Mahometan will, of course, utterly

reject them; and his simple Monotheistic Faith will be better for him than the combined delusion and degradation of Gospel-History and of Gospel-Truth, by which it might be sought to replace it. The Hindu will recognise the Virgin and Child in his Dēvaki and Krishna, and the Worship of the Infant Christ will have pre-existed for him in the cult of the Infant Krishna. If he could be made to understand the meaning of the Worship of the Sacred Heart, he would be irresistibly led to connect it with one of his most revolting forms of Worship. The philosophic mind of the Brahman will develop and rearrange the new facts into new triads, the female element being largely developed, as it is now in the Devi and Sakhti. The Hindu will argue, that an Heavenly Father and His adorable Son care as much for the people of India as for Spain and France. They will conclude, that the Virgin Mother should do as much for St. Thomas, the Apostle of India, as for St. James, the Apostle of Spain. This might give birth to an Indian Pilár. The necessity of opposing Secular Education, an heretical Government, and an alien Conqueror, would quite justify an Indian Lourdes. The French Priests attribute the Phylloxera among the Vines of France to the wrath of God with the French Republic. Surely the continuous famines of India would, in like manner, evidence His displeasure with the Anglo-Indian Tyranny. The nominal Christian of the Indian Roman Catholic Church will indeed look for Christ and His precious promises, but he will fail to find them amidst the congeries of European Legend, and the wide-spread development of spiritual Hero-worship. The African will recognise with delight his old fetiches in the Skull, Bones, Hairs, and fragments of Dress, of Saints and Martyrs. But enough. For these simple and unphilosophic minds the simplest form of our Religion is necessary. And we ought to be thankful, that it is so simple as to admit of the highest and the humblest receiving it alike, where nothing is added to the old story of the Bible.

Mission-Life, 1886.

XXIV.

ADDRESS GIVEN IN THE CITY-TEMPLE, HOLBORN, AT THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY, 1889. WITH PREFATORY REMARKS BY THE SECRETARY OF THE SOCIETY.

IF we deeply regret the absence of Sir William Hunter, I am equally sure we ought to be devoutly thankful for the presence of the gentleman, who occupies the chair to-night, a gentleman known all over the world as an earnest advocate of Missions, and a warm personal friend of Missionaries, a gentleman who has held high and distinguished office in Her Majesty's Indian Civil Service, and a gentleman who has, I think, the unique distinction of being a member of the Committee of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Church Missionary Society also. I am perfectly sure we shall be extremely grateful to Robert Needham Cust, Esq., for presiding to-night. I may add another element, at any rate, of personal gratitude, speaking as a bewildered Secretary. When I applied to Mr. Cust, at the eleventh hour, his first question was, "Can I help the Mission by doing it?" When I assured him, that he could render signal service he said, "Well, I will be there"; and here he is.

THE CHAIRMAN ON MISSIONARIES AND THEIR CRITICS.

The Chairman said: I think it a great honour to have the opportunity of addressing you. When Mr. Baynes came to me, and asked me to preside, I said, "Will it be to the advantage of your mission?" and he said "Yes." I at once agreed, for I am ready to serve the Lord in any capacity He may ask me. I am a member of the Committee of the Church Missionary Society, and one of our organic rules is to extend the right hand of friendship to every Missionary Society in the world. I am also a member of the

Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, which contains all Missionary Societies; and I have just come from that Society's hall, where we have been discussing how to extend and enlarge our work. Sir William Hunter has written to me to express his regret at being unable to attend the meeting, and his delight at my taking his place, for he is one of my warmest and best friends, and his views are mine. You must consider that I am here to-night as an emergency-man. I am no stranger to your Society's work, and I have been for many years a subscriber to it and a regular attendant at the annual meetings. I know your work, and have known it for forty-five years in India. When I went out to India, Carey had only died a few years before, and I made an early pilgrimage to see the house, in which he had lived. We have to thank Carey, not only for what he has done for Religion and Missions, but also to thank him for what he has done for the Bible. It is not only to this Society, but also to the American Baptists in Burmah that I give full honour; the name of Judson is a household word in India. It is easy to be a Missionary nowadays, when it is fashionable, but it was very different in those old days, when it was unfashionable, and was not supported as it ought to have been by the Churches. I wish to say a few words about Africa. About fourteen years ago there was a spiritual partition of great Equatorial Africa; the Church Missionary Society took one portion, the London Missionary Society a second, the Presbyterians a third, and then it fell to the lot of the Baptists to take the Kongo, and nobly they have fulfilled the work. I have watched them ever since they first sent out Missionaries. I have watched their Mission grow. Sometimes they have had failures and discouragements and losses. At one time Mrs. Comber's death, and many others who have gone, one after another; but they had no doubt of success, and would not give up the work so long as they had the power to do it. I have also seen your Missionaries, and they have won distinction, not only as Missionaries, but as geographers and linguists, and I have heard some of your Missionaries read papers before the Royal Geographical Society. You have been particularly fortunate in your workers. When Saker's work was left unfinished, he left a daughter behind him to carry on his work, and when Mr. Holman Bentley was stricken with temporary blindness, his wife was able to continue the work he had begun. There must be some peculiar ability in this lady, that fitted her to be the wife not only of a Missionary, but a translator, and I only hope she is here to listen to the praise that I am bestowing upon her. Well, I cannot get back to England without touching at the Kámeruns, and expressing the deep indignation which we and other Churches have felt at the treatment which your Society has received in that country. We have felt it a wrong done to all the Churches, that the international comity of Missions was so rudely set aside, and

the Germans turned you out of that heritage, that had been won for you by your labours. Just as the harvest had been gathered after long silent sowing there came this rude Power and turned you out; and I have not hesitated, with the freedom of speech, that I use here, to upbraid the Germans with it. I am as equally a friend of German Missionary Societies as I am of English, and I have reproached them and reproved them for their conduct. I have reminded them of the unceasing hospitality and maintenance, which we Englishmen extended to German Missions in India, for we treated them as our own children, giving them the same advantages that they had; and I will give them no rest until I have impressed upon their minds, that they must not do it again. I have said to them, if the English Government were ever so base and so fallen from their high position as to eject your German Missionaries from Western India, what would the conduct of the English Missionaries be? I feel sure that the London Missionary Society, the Church Missionary Society, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, would join together, take over that Mission in trust, and preserve it until the tyranny was overpast, and they could come back to what was their own. I must remind you of another thing. There is one regiment in the Queen's army which accompanied the Duke of Wellington throughout his great battles, which bore under the great banner of England the words "*Primus in Indis*," and there is a Missionary society which, I think, we all know in this room, which under the banner of the Lamb might also inscribe the words, "*Primus in Indis*," the first society that went to India and that set us in the Church of England an example, which we were ready to follow. Turning to the general subject of Missions, and you will allow me freedom of speech, there are three Epochs in the history of Missionary Societies, and you have gone through them all. First, the period, when Missionaries are not fashionable, when everybody turns their back on the Missionaries and speaks evil of them, and men, like Sydney Smith, make jokes about them, talk of consecrated cobblers, and that kind of thing. That went on for a considerable time in the early years of this century, when Missionaries were spoken of with contempt as poor people; and even now this is not quite out of fashion in America, for I met an American doctor at Rome, who told me they only sent out from America their second and third-rate men to be Missionaries. I told him I have found in India a very different class of American Missionaries, very first-rate men indeed. That opinion is still held amongst some, but I do not think the English people think so now. They know, that we send out the very best men that can be found. I do not wish to compare one with another, but we do it. Somehow or other men come forward, young men full of vigour, full of zeal, ready to give their lives to the cause. That is the first Epoch. Then comes the second Epoch, of what I must call rather overdone

praise. For forty years of my career I have heard nothing but sometimes extravagant praise of Missionaries. After all, the Gospel must be preached by the ministration of men, not of angels. And the Missionary work is extremely Human. I have watched all the Societies in India for a long period of my life. They were all good men, but they were not all wise men. They were all earnest men, but not all judicious men. Still there has been too great an amount of self-laudation rained on the Missionaries, and perhaps this had some effect upon the Missionaries' heads. They thought that they were making an immense Sacrifice in going to India, or China, or Japan. I quite admit that the Missionaries, who go out to the savage Races of Africa, are making a great Sacrifice; but I do not think it is the case in India or Japan. Still, a third Epoch has now dawned, the Epoch of critics. Now there are critics *and* critics. There is a class of critics, who love the cause of Missions above everything else in the world, who are, as it were, critics, you may say, of the inner Court, and who know something about what they are criticizing. I confess I am one of that class. I do not hesitate, by word of mouth or in print, to call a "spade a spade." Missionaries do not like criticism; they would be more than men if they did. I have distributed books that I have published amongst Missionaries, and I can imagine one of the Missionaries reading a sharp criticism upon the Church Missionary Society, and he says, "Ah! I have noticed that myself." Then he would come to the case of the London Missionary Society, and he would say, "O yes, I have often pointed that out"; and then on the question of the Episcopacy, "Of course they are in the wrong," they all see that. But at last he comes to the page that deals with the Baptist. "Ah!" says he, "he is entirely mistaken, he does not understand the subject." These are very friendly critics, and I recommend people always to read what friendly critics say. I love the cause so well that I wish it to succeed. When I had the administration of a great Province I criticized my superiors and also my inferiors, and I did this in secular matters as well as in spiritual matters, because there was always room for criticism. To tell you the truth, I am a radical reformer, not only in things secular, but also in things spiritual, so far as modes of administration that come within the Province of our Missionaries are concerned. I am, I say, a radical reformer. I am always ready to inquire what is the best. If a thing is good, get a better; if it is bad, put a stop to it. I may say all wise committees see it in the same light. Time goes on and we change our methods. Well, then, there is another set of critics: they are hostile, and they do not love the cause of Missions; they do not understand the subject, they have not qualified themselves. They are generally travelling Members of Parliament. I have known that class of critics for many years. They criticize our work in the Government, and they

criticize your work in the Missions. A Member of Parliament, be he young or be he old, if he gets a holiday, like a schoolboy, takes one of Cook's tickets, and goes out to India. He takes with him a large notebook. He does not know a word of the Language, but his eyes look, as if he could see through a brick wall. He has no discrimination as to how he gets information there. He meets a man on the railway, and asks him how things are going on in Serampúr. "Oh! very bad," says the informant, and down it goes in the notebook. Again, he meets somebody at a station who tells him, "Oh, dear! Missionaries are of no use: they are men who draw their salaries, but do no work; they are always quarrelling among themselves"; and it goes down in the notebook. Then he comes home, this Member of Parliament, and at a great meeting he gives out his information as the last man from India, with all the authority of a prophet coming down from the mountain. There is a great deal of the old Adam in Mr. Caine. There is another kind of critic, a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England, who rather prefers Mahometanism to Christianity. Now, my friends, I am a Liberal, but I learned at my mother's knee, that there is only One Name under heaven, whereby man can be saved, and I am too old now to discuss the question whether Mahometanism or Christianity is best fitted for that. It is not a question open for discussion; therefore I say you must not look upon that as criticism, it is simply infidelity. I hope it will be considered as such. But I will tell you what the result has been. We had a meeting of the Church Missionary Society, which this year had the largest income it has ever had. I am under the impression, that all these Societies are getting more this year than they ever did before. One of the speakers at that meeting proposed, that we should entertain and take with us on our deputations a hostile critic, because that would put our friends' backs up. We got £4000 specially on account of one attack; therefore, you see the Lord brings good out of every kind of evil. Make use of criticism, whether it be hostile or not. Take it to your hearts, and inquire whether it is true. There may be room for improvement; there is room. I dare say twenty years hence, when the old ones are passed away, our lads who are here will have grown up, and will say, "What stupid fellows they were! They did not know how to manage Missions." New methods are coming in, and I will give you an instance of them. First of all, there is the free-lance, a man who goes out alone. He does so because he cannot work with his fellow-creatures. Those free-lances do a world of mischief. They die, and then the poor converts, if any, that they have made, are left, and perhaps the Roman Catholics come and swallow them up. Then comes the sisterhood, ladies promising not to marry; they go out and live together. That is all very well when they are young, but I think the time comes when they should

marry. Then comes the brotherhood, they settle down; they promise not to marry, but somehow they get near the sisterhood, and they do marry. All these people draw their salaries regularly, but there are Missions, which do not provide salaries for their Missionaries, but they leave the Missionary to take just what turns up. That is not dealing with the Missionary as you ought to do. But there is a still harder lot. Bishop Taylor's Missionaries have been called in America by rather a hard name; they are called the "root, hog, or die Missionaries." They go out; they have to sow the ground to grow their crops, to keep stores, sell books, teach Languages, and support themselves. Now, that must lead to the secularisation of the man; he ceases to be spiritual. The poor fellow has to think of his wife, his children, and his food. The object should be to keep Missionaries free from all these cares as far as possible. When they are in West Africa, south of the Equator, they do die, they carry out the principle of the Mission. The great Societies of London follow a wiser course. They provide for the Missionaries a certain amount of support, so that they may have their hands free for spiritual work. Now, as I am speaking to you very freely, I wish to say, that there are five tests of the Missionary, and I think you will agree with me, when I say that you carry them all out yourselves. Of course it is to be assumed in the case of all Missionaries that the love of Christ constraineth them. The first condition is an intense love and pity for the non-Christian world. That was strongly developed in the Pioneers of the great Missionary Societies. They felt such a love for the poor heathen that they could not stay at home. It is not alone the "love of Christ" that constraineth us, but it is pity for the people who, generation after generation, have had no chance of becoming Christian. The second condition, I think, is that they should preach Christ crucified and nothing else. In these days we hear in the pulpit and elsewhere preaching, that is anything but Gospel-preaching. I do think the first principle of Missionaries should be to preach Christ crucified and nothing else. I know what Paul did. He would preach nothing else but that. The Apostles in the early days over and over again were telling the simple story, which must come home to simple, uneducated minds. And the third condition is, that Missionaries and Missionary Societies should live in peace one with another. There should be a bond of love between them, and they should take warning and try not in India and China to bring about unhappy divisions. I think there has been a vast improvement in this respect in late years, and that the Conferences of different denominations and the respect and Love, that Missionaries bear to each other, have brought this about. The fourth condition is: I do not think it is the duty of a Missionary to make himself the judge of the political affairs of the country. I think Missionaries in India are assuming

a position, which no European Power but England would bear in criticizing the acts of the Government. The Governors of India have been Christian men from the time of Lord Lawrence and Sir Bartle Frere, and they have felt the deep responsibility of governing that country. Do not suppose for a moment that we are governing India as the Turks govern their people. Our Governors have been Christian men like Lord Northbrook, men of Christian character like Lord Dufferin, full of benevolence, who have given their best abilities to their work; and, if any Missionary privately were to inform them of a grievance or a trouble, they would look to it. But the position Missionaries sometimes take is prejudicial, and I cannot conceive how, if Carey had acted in that way, Missions could ever have taken root in that land. It is a most difficult thing to govern that Empire of India. It is like holding a wolf by the ears. We dare not let it go, for it would turn and rend us. There is very great difficulty in managing a country so as to give them that toleration, which we should like to, and put down heathen customs. As to Polygamy and many other things, we may have great objections to them, but we must leave it to time and education to cure, and at the same time put our foot absolutely down on what is crime. I do think that Missionaries would do their work better, if they would do the things of God and leave the Government alone. The fifth condition is that of economy in the administration of your funds. Money collected under the influence of prayer, from little children and from aged men and women, is money given, consecrated to God. The committee is only a trustee: let us be careful, that we do not waste the money committed to us! Money will go much further if economically used; and unless the Missionary uses self-denial, how can you expect the Natives to do so? Now I have given you my five conditions, and I have finished my emergency-speech. I am very glad of an opportunity of saying, that I wish to close with the praise of Missions. I have read about them, of all denominations, all nationalities, and we ought to be thankful for them; thankful that God has raised up men and women who will carry out the glory and power of England. Why have we English people such an enormous power given to us? Why such extensive Commerce? Why can we go where we like? Simply because we have been chosen to be the ambassadors of the Gospel in every part of the world. Other Nations on the Continent, like Sweden and Switzerland, might wish to do so; but they have not got the power. Large countries like France might do it; but they have not got the will. We have both the power and the will, and we must lose no time; we cannot tell how soon our hands may be shortened. Other countries have wasted away. Now is the time! Give of your money freely, give of your prayers, of your interest, of your children; carry on the warfare, and it will bring reflected blessings upon your Churches at home.

PREFACE TO PART I: NOTES ON MISSIONARY SUBJECTS.

I RECEIVED a kind invitation to be present at the Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions at Boston, U.S., in October, 1885, and I considered it a high honour, and was anxious to accept the cordial bidding of my friend, Dr. A. C. Thompson, to be his guest; but as time drew near, and I considered my other engagements, and the claims on my time, I felt obliged to send an excuse. I had already that year traversed nine thousand miles during a tour of twelve weeks in Egypt, Palestine, and Syria, which is more than my annual allowance of time and distance, and next year, 1886, I had to brace myself for further tours, in Asia and Africa, so I fear, that I shall never be fortunate enough to cross the Atlantic, and see in their own homes the good American citizens, whom I love and honour so much, as friends, and as benefactors of Asiatic and African peoples.

With them, however, in this gathering in heart and soul, and devoted for more than forty years to the same cause, that of publishing the Gospel of Christ to the Heathen, I ventured to draw up a paper for submission on certain points and principles of Missionary Policy, which seem deserving of notice. Dr. Thompson suggested this to me in his letter dated May 22, 1885. I cannot expect, that all will agree with me, but I can speak out, as an impartial observer, one who is not a Missionary, but who has lived all his life among Missionaries of all denominations, and nationalities, one who reads the Reports of the Roman Catholics, as well as of the Protestants, one who has visited all the celebrated shrines of the Romish Church, and held friendly intercourse with Cardinal and Priest, and is not afraid to have Jesuits as friends, and who finds his way during his travels into the Schools, and Orphanages, of the Nuns, as well as of the Women's Boards.

On Church-Government, and Dogmatic Theology, I do not touch, but I am not afraid to state, that I am *ex animo* a member of the Evangelical Branch of the Episcopal Church of England, and yet that fact does not prevent me sitting upon the Committee of the British and Foreign Bible-Society, which embraces all the Evangelical Churches, and at the same time taking part in the

deliberations of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, as an incorporated Member for many years. I delight to be present at the Annual Meetings of every Missionary Society to the Heathen in Asia, Africa, America, and Oceania, and to mark the Phenomena of the work, and the idiosyncrasies of the workers. Mission-work is gradually becoming a Science; laws of international comity, and links of inter-Mission brotherhood, are being framed. Annexation on the noblest and grandest scale for spiritual and benevolent purposes is being carried out. A territorial division of all vacant Regions is being made. Throughout all my writings it is my desire, that my love for Christ, and for Christ's people of all sorts and conditions, should unmistakably appear. Though an open antagonist of the errors of the Church of Rome, I have received the thanks of a Cardinal for standing up for the rights of the poor Roman Catholic paupers of London against the narrow views of Protestant Boards and Vestries.

My remarks were admitted to be very severe, and yet from Missionary Societies, and from Missionaries in the Field, I received constant demand for copies, as my book was not published for sale. One Society proposed to reprint it, but I considered it best to reserve to myself the privilege to issue a corrected and enlarged edition.

I have had some experience in the Field, and the Committee-Room. No ordained Missionary can exceed me in devotion to the object, and yet I look at each problem from the point of view of a Statesman, an Administrator of Oriental Provinces, and an out-and-out friend and champion of the Heathen, and Mahometan, people. No plausible theory has any chance with me. I am sternly practical. It is not what we desire, or what ought to be done, but what can, under the laws of Human Justice and Divine Toleration, be done. *Non quod volumus, sed quod possumus*. What trouble would be saved, if enthusiasts would understand this! Empty resolutions, passed in Exeter Hall, by a packed, irresponsible, body, brought together, "not to discuss, but denounce," have no more value than the waggings of a dog's tail. The example of the life of a true, honest, earnest, blameless man, and his calmly recorded opinion, or his advice conveyed in the proper quarter, in a proper manner, has a potent effect upon men in power, and leads to action.

I fearlessly point out the errors, and shortcomings, of Missionary Societies, and Agents, and unscrupulously sweep away the fogs on the brain of good men, who have never looked on both sides of the shield, and the mistaken views of young men, entirely unversed in the conduct of mundane affairs, and who cannot see the difference between the Things of Cæsar, and the Things of God. The Acts of the Apostles tell us how men acted under the peculiar circumstances of the Roman Empire. Though the circumstances of the

nineteenth century, as regards Human affairs, are totally different, the same principles apply.

I stand up for the Native Races against Governments, against the white man, against Missionaries, and indignantly reject the notion, that any white man has a right to lord it over the black man, whether he comes as a Governor, a Traveller, a Merchant, an Emigrant, or a Missionary. I am obliged to speak plainly upon this subject. The Alboeracy of the age is terribly heartless.

It distresses me to hear, as I heard a few months ago, from the lips of a man, who had spent six months in India, preaching through an interpreter, that the people of India in their heathen state were all liars and false witnesses, and that directly they became Christians, they spoke the truth. It distresses me to hear National Customs, not only not criminal, but actually legalised under British Law, and profitable, and which could not be abandoned without great evils, denounced by those, who do not understand them.

If, on the one hand, the grandeur of the enterprise to convert the World, overpowers the intellect, and makes us proud of our generation, yet nothing can be more humiliating than the close examination of the inner workings of the great movement. No proof, that the matter is from God, and that his Holy Spirit is guiding us, can be produced, stronger than the story of the manifold instances of weakness, unwisdom, arrogance, and want of sympathy with the poor heathen, contempt of the great laws of Tolerance, and Human kindness, absence of self-control, and self-sacrifice, which so often manifest themselves in the poor creatures privileged to be agents of His will, whether in Committee, or in the Field. Still the work advances!

Last come the words "Culpable Niggardness." He has given us all, all that we possess in this world, all that we hope for in the next. Shall we not give Him something? Do we value the privileges, which we possess, if we do not assist those, who strive to extend them to others. The free Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic is not content to enjoy freedom, but wishes to impart it to others. The Christian wishes the message of Salvation to be conveyed to the whole world. On the Clock of History the Hour for Missions has sounded. I write with a profound conviction, that the Church, the Family, and the Individual, if they do not place the Duty of conquering new Kingdoms to the Lord in the first line of their obligations, abdicate their position. Those, who are most liberal to Home-requirements, are not less forward in aiding Foreign Missions.

Nor is it money only that the Lord requires. What shall be said of those, who withhold personal service, if the message has come to them; if the Lord has unmistakably called them; if He has given them talents, and leisure, and opportunities? What shall

be said of parents, who withhold their children, who are willing to go, and who have no field of usefulness at home? Where that exists, and they have a vocation in the Home-Missions, among the poor and suffering of their own people, it is mere idle will-worship, and desire of change, that tempts them to new and not better things. But, where they are sitting at home with folded hands, doing nothing, crushed by the conventionalities of home-family-life, eating, drinking, and sleeping, Parents! Parents! if the Lord calls them, let them go. Early Death, tedious disease, some other kind of misfortune will come upon you, as a punishment for robbing the Master of His own. What happened to the servant, who wrapped his talent in a napkin?

The Missionary appears to me to be the highest type of Human excellence in the Nineteenth Century, and his profession to be the noblest. He has the enterprise of the Merchant, without the narrow desire of gain; the dauntlessness of the Soldier, without the necessity of shedding blood; the zeal of the Geographical Explorer, but for a higher motive than Science. Now, if there is anything greater than a British Missionary, it is an American. My words may be read on both sides of the Atlantic, and I write them deliberately: if my convictions were the other way, I should not hesitate to express them.

I have come in contact with both any time during the last forty years: it seems to me, that the American Churches send out their best men, and that Great Britain keeps her best men at home. We hear of British Colonial Bishops giving up Missionary duties to take Dioceses in Great Britain, but no instance of the reverse process has been recorded. We hear of Missionaries giving up their blessed labours to retire in middle life to a comfortable British Home, but rarely of the beneficed Clergyman flinging up his Home-advantages, and comforts, to go out and live and die among the Heathen, and yet Paul and Xavier, and scores of others in times past, have done so; and, until this is done, the Missionary spirit of Great Britain has not reached its high-water-mark: the cares of this world, and the deceitfulness of riches, have choked the good seed. It is the rich endowments of the Church of England, that draw so much of our ability and our energy into Cathedral-enclosures, or comfortable Rectories, where all the acquired learning, Missionary fervour, and God-given intellect, is allowed to rust, and become like the talent put away in the napkin. The rich provision made by our forefathers for the Church, Established by Act of Parliament, has proved the Capua of many a Soldier of Christ, who might have been a Missionary, but fell to the lower status of a Dean, or Prebend, or well-fed Rector.

Above all things, let us do our best, that the historical dissensions of the Christian Church in Europe should not be repeated in Asia, Africa, and Oceania. This is one of the great blights of Modern

Missions, and one of the occasions to blaspheme given to the Infidel, the Indifferent, and the Papist. Can any one read such Biographies as those of Steere and Saker, Judson and Ragland, Hannington and Carey, Duff and Williams, Patteson, and Krapf, without feeling, that after all, it is the same Spirit, appearing in different Human forms? A certain amount of rivalry is required. A great uniform self-satisfied National Church would probably have done nothing. The astute Church of Rome entrusts the work to twelve great Congregations, independent of each other, and of Provincial Episcopal control, and not loving each other very particularly. Men require to be provoked to good works, and something more.

The words of a late Bishop, one of the ablest conductors of Missionary enterprises, are given in his Life: "We shall have the benefit of independent and intelligent criticism, a thing which Missions generally are very much in need of."

1888.

XXVI.

IT IS NOT SUCCESS: IT IS SERVICE.

WHAT were we created for? Why are we kept alive, except to do some special work, which is marked out for us by the inexorable teaching of circumstances, which are controlled by the omniscience of God? How can we succeed in any work if our attempts are not sanctified by prayer? "*Labora et Ora*"; for true prayer is something done in the service of the Master, followed by praise for our being selected to do it; not the empty litany, nor the conventional prayer-meeting. Say what we like, we are all *day-labourers*; and he serves his God best, who does his day's work in the best manner and in the best spirit. None miss so entirely the mainspring of Human action, as those who strive to dissociate Religion from the simple round, the common task, of the most prosaic, the most unromantic, the most depressing, lot in life.

It is not success that sanctifies the work, for many of the best of us in our noblest undertakings do not succeed. We are thwarted by some narrow-minded obstructors, standing on the next round of the ladder above us; we are baffled at every turn; and at length laid aside by poverty, sickness, or death. It is not striving that wins. The Race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong. We must not look for the selfish satisfaction of thinking, that we have done something; we must not hope for the applause of bystanders, for the foolish multitude generally praise the wrong person, or praise the right person for the wrong thing. We must find our reward in the work itself: something each day accomplished; something done; some kindly word spoken; some cup

of water offered to the suffering; some noble thought cherished; some achievement, which the world ought not willingly to let die, shadowed forth, thought out, conceived, if not actually brought forth. Good work, earnest work, prayerful work, can never be without a blessing to the worker, which will follow him, after life's endless toil and endeavour, to his rest.

I once stood at the mouth of the great Panjáb salt-mine, on the river Jhílám, and watched the long procession of women, children, and men, of young and old, slowly advancing towards me, toiling up the steep incline, each with head bent and back curved under the burden of rock-salt, which they brought from the bowels to the surface of the earth. This was their hard and palpable day's labour. To the strength of each the burden was adjusted. The young daily grew into capacity to bear heavier, the old daily felt their strength less equal to their diminishing load; but all rested night after night wearied with their daily round, and all each morning rose to the consciousness of a day's sweating and straining, and a risk of accidents and disease, and the dark river to be crossed at last.

Tears started in my eyes, as I thought of another procession, the sad procession of my contemporaries, whom, during my own life, I had seen toiling and striving, lifting their heavy burdens, or sinking by the way under them. I thought of the strong and enthusiastic, too eager for the strife, who fell years ago; the patient and uncomplaining, who toiled on until within the last few years; the yearly diminishing group of fellow-labourers with yearly diminishing force, and the dark unknown future before me.

But there is no prison so deep, that its depths are not reached by some ray of God's interminable day; and as I looked into the faces of the salt-bearers, I became aware that one ray of light reached to the lowest slope of their dungeon, and, as they advanced upwards, it ever became brighter and brighter, shining hopefully in their uplifted eyes, and gladdening their hearts with the thought of home, rest, and labour, sanctified for the sake of the little ones, the old ones, the sick ones, to whose comforts their earnings ministered.

Nay, more. God's great lessons are taught in His works and in His creatures. As each labourer reached the outer world, and flung down his burden, his eye insensibly turned up with a look of thankfulness and acknowledgment to the kindly light, which had led him; and then each unconsciously shrouded his eyes with his hands, as if unable to bear the full glow of unutterable gladness, which the grace of God sends to testify to the sanctity and dignity of labour, however humble and contracted the sphere. "*Well done, thou good and faithful servant: thou hast been faithful over a few things: enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*"

Lecture at Cambridge in Henry Martyn's Hall, 1888.

XXVII.

DIFFICULTIES OF MISSIONS.

LET me widen the expression of the subject, on which I have been invited to address you, and for the words "Missions to the Heathen" substitute "Missions to the Non-Christian World," as neither Jew nor Mahometan can be classed as Heathen. The subject is many-sided, and it is desirable to fix the thoughts on certain aspects, and on this occasion omit reference to some of the aspects most familiar, such as :

- (1) The duty and privilege of Evangelization.
- (2) The Geographical distribution of the Missions of the different Churches, or Associations.
- (3) The reflex blessings on the Church, which sends out the Mission.
- (4) The comparative excellence, or the contrary, of the different methods.
- (5) The necessary qualifications, and training of the Agents, male and female, lay and ordained.
- (6) The importance of translations of the Bible, and a good Vernacular Religious, and secular, Missionary literature.

All such subjects are discussed annually from the Pulpit, the Platform, in special Periodicals, or in separate volumes, sometimes with great fulness, and freshness, sometimes totally inadequately and erroneously. The methods of Evangelization are rapidly becoming the greatest of Human Sciences, and the most difficult.

I am addressing a select body of Christian workers, and I present to you certain aspects of the subject, which are not always thought of, or are intentionally passed over. I place in the hands of each one of you a copy of the heads of my Lecture, that you may, after hearing my words, and the discussion, which will follow, take them home and ponder over them. Some of these are not pleasant aspects. I am not one, who speaks smooth things : perhaps there

may be some among you, who would rather, that some of my statements were not made in public. We are in the midst of the great battle of the Faith of Christ against the World: we admit, that there are errors in the tactics of the Church of Rome. Are there any in our own? Do we prefer darkness to light? We cannot go on in a kind of mist.

- I. The number of Non-Christians in the Round World (not the technical World of a writer, or speaker, who has never left Great Britain) is much greater at the end of the Nineteenth Century than it was at the beginning.

India may be taken as a fair test, as we have a decennial Census: the population has increased between 1881 and 1891 by thirty Millions, or three Millions per annum. The result of the labour of Christian Missionaries of every kind during the last three hundred years, the old Syrian Church, the Church of Rome, and Protestants, does not reach three Millions, and this includes all the British Soldiers, and the European population. And yet enthusiasts talk and write of the conversion of the population of the great globe within a near future!

- II. The European Civilization, which accompanies the Missionary, or precedes him, or follows him, is one of the most insidious, and deadly, enemies to *real*, as opposed to *nominal*, Christianity.

Can this be doubted? The Missionary in his address to the people talks about "a new life," a subjection of the body to the Soul by the overpowering Grace of the Holy Spirit: the Europeans present object-lessons of the contrary tendency: relaxation of morals, undue indulgence in liquor, which latter seems to accompany the Missionary even in Mahometan countries, where its use is forbidden: European Education levels those bulwarks of Morality, which ancient Religions have erected: these Religious Conceptions are attacked, abused, and if possible driven out, and the last state of the man becomes worse than the first.

- III. The contact of the great Truths of Christian Dogma, and Christian Morality, with the prevailing Religious Conceptions of a Non-Christian people has often the result of generating new forms of Religious Conceptions, resembling both parents, more dangerous than the antiquated, and often decaying, form.

Is it not so? Who has not heard of the Arya Somáj, the Brahmo-Somáj, Theosophism, Mormonism, Neo-Buddhism, etc., etc., and the insidious form of Unitarianism, and Agnosticism, which crop up even

in such virgin-soils as the New Zealander, and the North American Red Indian.

- IV. High Education of the European type, and the transmission to a Non-Christian people of European literature of sceptical, immoral, and atheistical, type, renders the intellectual and spiritual position of that people worse than it was before, as all Religious Sanction for Morality disappears.

It might have been expected, that a Missionary would have contented himself with teaching in his Schools a sufficient knowledge for the status in life of his adherents or converts: we hear nothing in Apostolic, or Sub-Apostolic, times, of Schools of Learning, and Science, and Mathematics, started by the early Christians: Christianity suits all grades of life, all degrees of culture, all gradations of Human knowledge, or want of knowledge: the European Missionary wishes to impart something more: and yet his sole duty is to preach Christ, and through Him, Repentance, Pardon, Holiness. The power of reading, and the free supply of literature, are two-edged weapons: the long discipline of ignorant centuries has taught the European how to use those weapons: we are placing thus in the hands of children these lethal weapons, which they have not been taught to use.

- V. The contemptuous way, in which the Missionary talks, and writes, about the Religious Conceptions of a great people of more than a hundred Millions for twenty Centuries, and attempts to Europeanize, as well as to convert to Christianity, Asiatic, African, Oceanic, and American, Races, leads to a national antipathy of the foreigner, which seems likely to bring forth sad consequences in the Twentieth Century.

This is a very sad subject indeed: it is obvious, that had it been the Will of the Almighty Ruler of the World all the Nations, and Kingdoms, of the Round Globe might have been brought centuries and centuries ago to the knowledge of the Truth: the comparatively few, that have been converted, have been converted by the power of the Holy Spirit acting through the very imperfect organization of a zealous, but comparatively ignorant, Missionary. The fact must be accepted, as Paul the Apostle at Athens, and Lystra, accepted it, and made excuse for it in his famous speeches at those places. He never railed against the Hellenic deities, but he tried to teach the heathen better things, to show them a better way. Besides, the people of India, China, and the extreme Orient, are not such savages as our British and Saxon ancestors were at the time of Julius Cæsar, but an ancient, highly cultured people, with a wonderful Religious

literature, and a knowledge of Arts and Sciences equal to our own : and yet they are derided by a Missionary with his small knapsack of knowledge accumulated in a Missionary College, and an entire ignorance of the great Story of Man in all ages, climes, and degrees of culture, seeking after God, if haply he could find Him, and rendering thanks for benefits received, though in a wrong way, and to a wrong object of Worship, but as Paul says, "God overlooked their ignorance in times past, and suffered all the Nations to walk in their own ways." Cardinal Vaughan in 1868 quoted Xavier : "Who can sit at home complacent and self-satisfied, while Hell is being filled with the Souls of the Heathen?"

- VI. The refusal of the European, or American, Missionary, to give independence to self-supporting Native Churches, of four or five generations of Christians, and the attempt to prolong their own Spiritual tutelage, seems likely to eventuate in the creation of phantom-Associations, consisting of Salaried Officials paid with foreign money, and a nominal indigenous Christianity, which will disappear, when the cessation of the Missionary gold, and the withdrawal of European Political Protection, leaves the White-Man-Religion like a house built upon the sand.

The Egoistic Albocracy of the Anglo-Saxon on both sides of the Atlantic is notorious. The Churches of Asia and Africa existed long before any European, or American, Church, and have survived the hard times of Mahometan oppression : not very spiritual, but still national, self-supporting, and self-respecting. Can this be said of the alien establishments, paid by foreign gold, with aged Native clergy domineered over by young strangers in a constantly changing stream from the different seminaries of the far West?

- VII. The foundation of so-called Churches of different denominations in the same Cities and Provinces, always alienated from each other, in some instances violently hostile, must in the next generation produce consequences most unfavourable to the common Christianity.

This is a frightful difficulty : we have nothing parallel to it in early Church-History : there were then parties and sectaries, each calling each other "heretics," and themselves "orthodox," and appealing to the Arm of the Flesh to help them, but there are no facilities now for driving out, or burning, or proscribing, and in each City and Province there will be different sets of so-called Christians, not loving each other at all ; and half-hearted converts will migrate from one Church to the other.

- VIII. Too much leaning on the part of the weak-kneed Missionary on the Arm of the Flesh; the Treaty-Right wrung by European Powers from the Chinese and Turk; the favour of the Governor, or Magistrate, in British India; the Protectorate, forced upon an unwilling British Government by political importunity in Eastern Equatorial Africa; the dispatch of United States Ships of War to the Islands of Oceania; the connivance of the French Republic with Roman Catholic Propaganda, in all parts of the world: all these features are deadly obstacles to pure Evangelization.

No person can have studied the Mission-Field everywhere without being aware of this, of course, justifying the proceedings of his own particular Society, or Nation, and denouncing the conduct of the other side. I used to wonder how the Missionaries in the Middle Ages could have found it consistent with their spiritual duties to act as they did with the help of superstitious monarchs: Boniface admits, that he could not get along at all without the aid of the King of the Franks: but after the story of U-Ganda in 1892-93-94, I have ceased to wonder. In past History no armed interference was ever so earnestly solicited, and even paid for by thousands of pounds collected specially for the purpose, and secular power was never so ruthlessly employed in destroying the opposite party; never was political organization so unscrupulously used to force a Protectorate, or annexation, on an unwilling Government. Nothing of the kind has ever happened before in the prosecution of English Missions in any part of the world.

- IX. The tendency on the part of misguided Missionaries to meddle with the mundane politics of the people, and their social habits, must make them unpopular, and injure them in their proper spiritual duty, as laid down in the New Testament, of Preaching the Gospel. Take, for instance, the Anti-Opium, and Anti-Opium-Trade-craze; the crusade against the Drink-Traffic, the denunciation of Child-Marriages, Caste, Respect paid to Ancestors, etc.

This requires no remark: it speaks for itself.

- X. The tendency of Native Neo-Christians to relaxation of their original fervour, to being led away by some new Teacher; the maintenance of Slavery in the Christian Churches, as in Madagascar; the openly-expressed desire to practise Polygamy, as in the West African Churches; the adoption of bad European habits: all these are problems, which will have to be dealt with.

The Missionary periodicals, and the stump orator of the platform, and even the preacher, who has crammed the subject of Missions for his Annual Sermon, knows nothing of these features, and yet they exist: in the future we shall hear more of them. We may lose the Empire of India, if the Faddists get the upper hand. "Fiat Fad, ruat India."

The Missionary of the nineteenth century is but carrying on the great work, which commenced when Abraham was called. At sundry times and in divers manners God sent Messages to His poor children, created in His own Image, and scattered over the globe, in thousands of cities, and in tens of thousands of villages, and in the fulness of time sent His Son; but there is a marked difference in the present environments and the existing opportunities. The Hebrew Prophets repeatedly appeal to History, asking whether God ever dealt with any other Nation, as he had dealt with the tiny Hebrew tribes of a few Millions; but neither the Prophet nor his hearers had any knowledge whatever of the History of past times, or of contemporary Nations, and their Geographical Knowledge was confined to Ammon, Moab, Edom, Egypt, Phenicia, and Assyria: so isolated were they, that Plato had never heard of their Sacred Books, and no echoes of Homer's great song had from any one of his reputed birthplaces, none of which are far from the shores of Palestine, reached any Hebrew ear. The Missionary band in the first century knew something about the countries included in the Roman Empire, but little enough about Britain, India, and China, except by vague report. As to the literature of past ages, Apollos possibly may have read Plato in the Schools of Alexandria, and Paul quotes Greek Poets, but that is all: the wisdom of the Heathen world was nothing to them; though, as Hebrews, they were socially inferior to the Greek and Roman in Arts and Arms, they were new creatures, preaching a new Gospel, propagating a new Idea, not by Might, or Wisdom, or the Arm of the Flesh, but by the Holy Spirit.

The Missionary of to-day belongs to a different Epoch, and environment. Every country is mapped out, the name of every city and tribe, and Language, is known: all ancient literature is printed, translated, and revealed to astonished eyes: we come face to face with Inscriptions and documents, full of Faith in their National Deities, prepared by ancient men, who died long before Anno Domini: the majority are on Religious subjects: some of these Religious Conceptions are cherished by Millions to this day: some have been trodden out by younger, and yet still non-Christian, Conceptions. Traces of profound wisdom and high Morality are not wanting. These ancient men were neither fools, nor atheists, nor barbarians, and haughty Time has been just in sparing for the encouragement and reproof of the men of this generation, the wonderful outcome of the brains, and consciences, and speculative

heart-searchings, of past Epochs, and different Races, as they felt after God.

Has the young Missionary even heard of the Sacred Books of the ancient Religious Conceptions in Asia, and N. Africa, transcending the Hebrew Scriptures in secular literary beauty, and in antiquity, and holding influence over ten times the number of God's creatures, and which have been permitted by the Almighty to retain their power (whether for good or for evil) to this day?

We are saved by Faith; we wish to save a dying world through Faith: what is Faith? "Now Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen" (Hebrews xi, 1); and Paul writes to the Ephesians (ii, 8), "By Grace ye are saved through Faith, and that not of yourselves: *it is the gift of God.*" No philosophic argument, no historic analogy, no appeal to ancient Sacred Books will convince even the Jew, much less the Hindu, and Confucianist, and Mahometan: Faith comes from the direct gift of God by revelation to the Soul in the neo-Christian, or by early teaching to the children of Christian parents: one great, perhaps the greatest, English Philosopher of modern times tells us in his Memoirs, how he tried to have Faith, but his intellect was so hardened by seeking for material proof of all his theories, *that he could not*: the same story is told of a sincere Christian in Egypt in the time of the Arian controversy, that he could not grasp the belief, that Christ was God, which is so easy to the nominal Christian, who has never thought it out, but accepted the blessed Truth even as a little child. The son of a Mahometan came to me in India to describe the death of his father, one of my honoured friends: "he took the Kóran into his hands, covered his head with a sheet, and died in full 'imán,'" the Arabic term for Faith, in one mightier than the believer. This word "imán" is used for Faith in the Old Testament: Deut. xxxii, 20; Habakkuk ii, 4. Among the dying words of Socrates were these:

"κάλον τό ἄθλον, μεγάλη ἡ ἐλπὶς."

This last word is rendered as Faith in Hebrews x, 23. In conversation with a Brahmin Priest, he would at once put forward his Faith "biswás" in Vishnu both for this world and the next. The Búddhist, and Confucianist, and Parsi, would fall back on the sayings of their great Sages, as the Hebrews did on Moses: "Gautama, and Kong-Fu-Tsee, and Zoroaster, said so." I mention this not to cast any doubt on the Faith, which we hold in Jesus, but on the extreme difficulty, which meets the Missionary, ignorant of everything but his own Shibboleth.

Is the ordinary Missionary Agent, male or female, lay or ordained, fit for the contest in intellect, acquired Knowledge, and sympathy?

He is brought up in the narrow environment of a Church, rather than of a National Religion, where any attempt to question a received interpretation of Scripture, or a practice of the particular Church-party, or a question as to the fundamental relation of man to God, would be coughed down: the Evangelical, or High Church, Teacher is as great an intellectual tyrant as the Roman Priest. Such an intellect suddenly, at the age of twenty-four, brought face to face with a totally different environment, is helpless: "*Ex quôvis ligno fit Mercurius, sed ex quôvis juveni non fit nuntius Dei.*" Has he ever given a passing thought to the dealings of the Creator with His poor creatures scattered over the World since the day of Creation? The Spirit of God moved on the face of the waters: the Divine Wisdom, that is to say, the Son, was with His Father when he laid out the world, and created man in His own Image. Has the young Missionary thought out the problem of the Millions, who have passed to their account during the 4000 years of Archbishop Usher, the 6000 of Egyptian Scholars, and the 8000 of other Scholars, which intervened betwixt the day of Creation, and the Fulness of time, when Christ came? What a small figure do the nineteen centuries since *Anno Domini* appear in comparison, and one-third only of the Human Race brought into the fold!

We hear a hoarse voice from a platform in a crowded hall of "More men: More men." But what kind of men? Is any of the applicants, like Paul, ready to be all things to all men, forgetting his own people and country, leading a life even to the grave of poverty, celibacy, and self-sacrifice; like Paul, condescending to Pagan conceptions, as at Athens and Lystra; gently pardoning gross moral sins, if repented of, as at Corinth; though a Roman citizen not domineering over the Races, to whom he comes as God's ambassador, not speaking evil of dignitaries, not contending against the lawful Governors, not denouncing the worship of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, however degraded, or the worship of the temple of Athéné at Athens, however magnificent, or particular articles of commerce, or particular social habits of a great Nation, which have the sanction of centuries.

Let us imagine the young Missionary fresh from the University, or the training Colleges of Canterbury or Islington, or an older Missionary, who has been occupied ten years in a Mission-station teaching the rudiments in a school (those who stay on to old age are so few, that they are a negligible quantity), closeted with such a man as Claude Montefiore among the Hebrews, Sayid Ahmed Ali among the Mahometans, Dayananda of the Aryan Somáj, Keshab Chandra of the Brahmo-Somáj, a Parsi Dastúr, or a learned Pandit of the Vedanta, or the Sankya, school of the orthodox Hindu, to discuss, in a friendly manner, as men educated in English colleges, the great fundamental questions of the World, which underlie all Religious Conceptions: "Self, the World, God: the mysteries

of life and death, pain and poverty, impurity and holiness (what constitute them?), and the great Hereafter."

Ποῦ γένομαι; τίνας εἶμι; τίνας χάριν ἦλθον, ἀπῆλθον;

Such a discussion betwixt such men would be outside the conventional quotation of Scripture-texts, would bear no reference to the practice of the Mediæval Church of Europe, and the small stock of theological knowledge in the Missionary's knapsack: each disputant would have in his hand his authorized translation of his own ancient Religious books of bygone years, well thumbed, read, and prayed over, but none of them would be accepted by both parties, except the Old Testament by the Jew and Christian. The real question on common ground would be "the great secret of the relation of the soul of man to God, the secret of a man's conscience of what is really good and positively evil; the influence of the Spirit of God on that conscience, and what is God's plan of Salvation for man? The Providence of God is not limited to the care of Christian Churches in these latter days any more than it was to the care of the rebellious Hebrew before Anno Domini: He hateth nothing that He has made.

*Lecture delivered in Chapter House of St. Paul's Cathedral,
Nov. 5, 1894, but in a greatly abridged form for want
of time.*

XXVIII.

IPHIGENIA IN TAURIS, AT CAMBRIDGE, DECEMBER, 1894.

IN the first week of December the Undergraduates of Cambridge placed all those, who care for the subject of Greek Tragedy, under a great obligation. Seeing the performance of a Drama makes ten-fold the impression of hearing it read, or reading it. I leave it to the daily Press to praise, and deservedly praise, the cast of the piece, the excellence of the scenery, and the very superior acting of two or three of the performers, and to indicate the blemishes, if any, for I am aware of none. My object is (1) to call attention to the character of the Drama, for it is not a Tragedy; (2) to the high standard of Purity and Holiness, both of the Author Euripides, and his Athenian audience; (3) the extreme desirability of continuing these annual performances at both Universities and Public Schools, so as to familiarize the educated youth with the high level of excellence, which the Athenian Drama had attained 2500 years ago.

There were six performances. I attended the only *matinée*, and it is worthy of record, that his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury also made that day an excursion to Cambridge to witness the play. I had prepared myself by twice going over the beautiful Drama line by line, familiar though it was previously. I have on two occasions visited Athens, and seated myself in the Theatre of Bacchus, under the height of the Acropolis, and looked out on the *Ægean* Sea from the benches in the higher rows. A theatre was not then removed so far from a place of Divine Worship as it is now; the dramatist was the great moral Teacher of his fellow-citizens; nothing impure in word or thought, nothing mean or vile, or unworthy of the dignity of man or woman, ought to be represented on such a stage, and surely the conception of the Drama of *Iphigenia in Tauris*, unsurpassed as it is in beauty, is also unrivalled in the high level of its moral tone, fit "*Virginibus Puerisque*," as well as for those of maturer years. This cannot, however, be said of all the survivals of Athenian Tragedy, few as they are, when compared to the number, that time has not spared from the sad doom of being lost and forgotten.

Euripides is reputed to have been born on the day of the battle of Salamis, in that very island, in the year 480 B.C. He died

406 B.C. His great and elder rival died in the same year, a short time after him, and no successors filled the place of the three great tragedians, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides. This play is one of his latest. No date can be fixed, but it was not earlier than 423 B.C. Rome at that period had not developed its strength; Egypt was in its decadence; the Hebrew Race was closing up the canon of its Sacred Book, but the Book of Daniel had not yet been written. The kingdom of Persia had withdrawn itself from European contact. Of India, China, and the far East, nothing was known.

The Drama of *Iphigenia in Tauris* is based upon legends of events, which were reported to have taken place in a dim and remote past, between which and the date of the performance of the Drama there was a great gulf of absolute ignorance. The interval covered the whole space of time between the Exodus and the Captivity. Agamemnon, king of Argos, was conducting his forces to the siege of Troy, and was tempted by his priest to sacrifice his daughter on the altar of Artemis, to secure a favourable wind. Here we see an echo of the legend of the daughter of Jephtha, from the other side of the Archipelago. Still more remarkable is the legend of Artemis substituting a hind, and carrying off the maiden to her temple at Balaclava, in the Crimea, among the Tauri, a barbarous Race, who sacrificed strangers, when they landed, or were wrecked, on the island; and the victim of Human Sacrifice became herself the priestess.

In the course of time Troy was taken, Agamemnon returned home, and was killed by his wife; and she in her turn was killed by her son, for which offence he was driven by the Furies about every part of Greece, an awful representation of the power of conscience, and the recognition by the Greek Race, that sorrow and vengeance surely follow sin. Orestes, in despair, goes to the Oracle of Apollo, and implores that his life may cease, but he is ordered to proceed to the Crimea, and bring away the Image of Artemis, and locate it in a new temple in Attica. He obeys the order, accompanied by his friend Pylades; on his arrival they are seized by the barbarous tribes, and carried to the temple of Artemis, to be prepared by his sister for immediate sacrifice. The brother and sister come face to face under circumstances impossible in any modern Drama; and, as Orestes had been an infant, when his sister was sacrificed, they are total strangers. Herein lies the marvellous beauty of the plot. Finding out that they were Greeks, she asks of them their name and country: the reply is that they are from Argos. The name of Pylades had transpired, but Orestes declines to give his name. She asks whether Troy had been taken, and whether Agamemnon had returned home. She is told, that Troy had fallen, that he had returned, and had been killed by his wife, and that she had been killed by her son Orestes, who was still

alive. Iphigenia offers to one the opportunity of escape, if he would convey a letter to her relatives, for she also came from Argos. The contest between the two friends, as to which should escape, and which should stay to be sacrificed, tells us how true a conception the Athenians of that day had formed of the nobility of self-sacrifice and the faithfulness of friendship. As Orestes is determined to stay, the letter is read aloud by Iphigenia, for fear of it being lost in the voyage, and the friends hear with astonishment, that it is Iphigenia, who stands before them. She hands the letter to Pylades, to take to Argos, who, reading the address, at once hands it to Orestes, and Iphigenia becomes aware, that she is in the presence of her brother, but from fear of being deceived she compels him to describe certain parts of the furniture of her own room at Argos. The brother and sister embrace, but feel the awful dilemma, in which they are placed. A deceit has to be practised. The priestess tells the king, that Orestes, having killed his mother, is impure, and must be washed in the ocean before he can be sacrificed, and that the image of Artemis, having been touched by him, must also be purified. By this ruse she conducts them to the sea, where she finds the Greek vessel, which had brought Orestes, and goes on board. The king is informed by his people, and prepares to pursue the fugitives, when the awful figure of Athéné appears in the portico of the temple, ordering all attempts at recapture to cease, as the oracle of Apollo must be complied with. Her orders were obeyed at once: the barbarous king knew not the Greek theogony, but he recognised the absolute power of the divinity, and the curtain dropped.

Euripides still has power to charm. I shed many tears, and my thoughts went back to the Theatre of Bacchus and the Athenian populace, men and women, young and old, sobbing on the benches of stone, and going home better citizens and better creatures. All the sentiments were holy; there was no place for lust, or avarice, or ambition, or jealousy, or spite, there. If the lower classes of the population did indeed appreciate such representations, it speaks volumes for their culture, and indicates a dim, yet real, knowledge of Divine things and Human possibilities.

The secret of this Drama does not rest upon myths, or prodigies, or martial prowess, or conquering beauty, or the art of the lyre, or the triumph of Human policy, or burlesque situations, such as that of Hercules in the *Alcestes*, but on the ever new, ever fresh, themes of sisterly and brotherly Love, the generous virtues of self-sacrificing friendship, and the implicit trust in, and obedience to, the dispensations of Providence. There is no such thing here as craven despair, or mutual recrimination, or personal cowardice. However sweet to the taste of some may be the pleadings of the lover, or the lamentations of the deserted Ariadne, here we are lifted up to a higher platform, and a purer atmosphere. Children are indeed

suffering for the sins of their parents, but suffering nobly, and as those, who understand the story, would wish to suffer in like circumstances. Prayer is offered to Artemis by her Priestess, and that humble prayer is answered. The oracle of Apollo is obeyed to the letter, and the aid of that god is depended upon, and not found wanting. If, indeed, deceit is practised on the ruler of the country, which the poet Goethe takes credit for not practising in his dramatic version of the story, surely the gravity of the circumstances, and the position, in which Iphigenia was placed of having to slay her only brother, justified any evasion short of taking away the life of the king, which the heroine nobly refuses to take into consideration. A less refined taste would have introduced further crimes, and the slaughter of the king, or more awful circumstances, if the goodness of heart of the three chief actors had not found a way of escape. The "*Deus ex machinâ*" was a favourite expedient of Euripides. Competent critics consider the stykographic dialogue betwixt the brother and sister before their mutual recognition to be one of the finest displays of the Art of the Greek Dramatists. On the other hand Goethe falls from the high level of the conception by degrading King Thoas into a lover of his Priestess. The Hebrew Scriptures, from the time of Abraham downwards, tell us of many such departures from absolute truth for a beneficial purpose. Euripides had never rejected the facts, which formed the basis of the popular Religion: he had rather sought to interpret them in a manner consistent with belief in a benevolent Providence, and the dignity of man.

Among those, who sat in those days in the Theatre of Bacchus, listening to the linked sweetness, long drawn out, of the Euripidean chorus, were men, who must ever be classed among the Immortals: Socrates, the son of Sophoniscus, and by his side the youthful Plato, who was regarded by the early Christian fathers as another apostle of the Gentiles; Augustine calls him his converter, and thanks God, that he became acquainted with Plato first and the Gospel afterwards. Not far off were Alcibiades, and Sophocles, and many others, whose names have come down to us, and who helped to make up the greatest Nation in the world: for out of them came the philosophers and historians, who taught the Roman, the Teuton, and the Kelt, the Art of

αἶεν ἀριστεύειν, καὶ ὑπείροχον ἔμμεναι ἄλλων,

which holds all subsequent ages in sweet captivity. Add to this the purity, the holiness, the high conception of the tutelary protection of Apollo and Artemis, as if it were a penumbra of the Holy Spirit, ever present with those who trust, the dauntless bearing, the readiness to die, the tender love of brother and sister; and is there not something, that Christian youths and maidens,

even at the "fin du siècle xix," might with advantage appropriate, and take home with them in this old and unforgotten Drama, rendered so sweetly, and with such perfect taste, in the Cambridge University?

This extreme purity of thought, expression, and figure of speech, is the more remarkable, when contrasted with the indecent and coarse expressions, which soil the pages of the uncultured Hebrew Prophets, who can find no suitable similes to represent the relations of the great Creator with his disobedient people, except that of a husband with an unfaithful wife.

Some of the lines of this Drama have come down to us through the corridors of time, still vibrating under the influence of the deep faith of the Dramatist and his audience :

V. 104 : Flying away is not to be thought of ; it is not our practice.

V. 120 : "The Word of God will not fall empty."

V. 380 : I mistrust those gods, who punish poor mortals who are impure, and yet themselves rejoice in Human Sacrifices.

V. 391 : I cannot conceive any one of the gods being bad.

V. 484 : "Him I esteem unwise,

"Who, when he sees death near, tries to o'ercome

"Its terrors with bewailing : he adds ill to ill,

"Yet dies : we must give way to fortune."

V. 504 : You may sacrifice my body, if you like, but you shall not sacrifice my name.

Trains went down to Cambridge, during those six days, laden with ticket-holders. The following story is told : On one day a stranger looked into a carriage full of excursionists for that purpose, and said, that there was a spare ticket available in one of the carriages, as the holder had given it to a friend to find a purchaser. It so happened, that there was one man who was going down on the chance of getting a ticket, and he gladly hurried to the carriage to purchase. When he had paid, and secured the ticket, he said casually, "What in the world made your friend throw up such a chance?" The answer should be remembered : "Oh, he had the chance of going to Cambridge to 'see 'Iphigenia,' or going to the Haymarket with his sisters to 'see the play of 'The Woman with a Past' (I will not name it), and he naturally chose the latter."

Has the morality, the nobility of sentiment, the purity of taste, the feeling of aversion for what is impure in a woman, advanced with civilization and Christianity during the last 2,500 years? There was a dead silence in the carriage, when that reply was heard.

Christmas Day, 1894.

PART V.

MISCELLANEOUS.

I.

DARKEST RUSSIA.

No. 13 of a periodical, named "Darkest Russia," dated February 1, 1893, is on our table: the object of this publication is to bring to the knowledge of the civilized world authentic facts relating to Russia, viz. persecution of her Subjects on account of their Religious Belief. It is difficult to imagine what advantage can come from such a periodical, as Russia is separated, as with a Chinese wall, from all influence of European Public Opinion. The special subject of this issue is the state of the finances of the country, and Russia is described as bankrupt in resources, in credit, as well as in character: the story contained in the eight pages, each fact being supported by a reference to authority, is most gruesome: it would seem, as if the great Empire, held together by brute force, and made up of such heterogeneous materials, must fall to pieces.

The writer of this notice has traversed Russia frequently with a great knowledge of Oriental countries and populations: there is the presence of Railways, Telegraphs, Steamers on the great Rivers, all the appliances of Modern Civilization, or rather the whitewash of it, and the absence of the least personal liberty, Religious Toleration, or any signs of improvement, even in the ordinary methods of Agriculture, on the part of the Millions of cultivators. The resources of the State are wasted in the expenditure of a gigantic Army, which can have no other object but invasion of neighbouring countries in Europe, or the enslaving of free tribes in Asia: in the waste of a most extravagant Court of the Sovereign, and the Imperial Family (the dowry received by the Duchess of Edinburgh is something enormous): in the entertainment of highly paid Officials, who are corrupt, servile, and tyrannical, survivals of a period, which it was hoped had passed away.

The area of the country is enormous, but the resources have not expanded: Manufactories have not taken root in an independent and profitable fashion: the culture of the land is the main industry, but of late there has been a succession of famine-years, and it is stated, that the soil is exhausted, and that a great natural change is coming over the famous Black Loam Country, and, to quote the very words: "Southern Russia is being transformed into a Sahára."

The trade and commerce, under unsympathetic and barbarous regulations, have begun to decay: the credit of the Empire in Europe is annihilated, except in France, where, for political reasons, an attempt is made to support the new Russian loan: the largest banking institutions in France, such as the Credit Lyonnais, will have nothing to do with it. The statements, put forth by the Russian Ministers, which are not tested and checked by free Parliamentary inquiry, and the comments of a Free Press, are utterly untrustworthy.

A crisis must be near at hand: much is written about the amiable character and ability of the Emperor, but the control of the clumsy machine is beyond the power of an Autocrat, secluded in his Palace for fear of the assassin. Desperate councillors may suggest foreign war, and an invasion of Austria-Hungary, as a safety-valve: herein lies the danger, against which Germany is trying to prepare herself by large additions to her Army; herein is the importance of the Triple Alliance.

The saddest feature is the persecution of those, who do not conform to the Greek Orthodox Church: the Church of Rome is able, though with difficulty, to hold its own, but the vials of persecution are poured out on the weak, miscellaneous nonconforming Churches, by whatever name known, Baptists, Lutherans, Mennonites, etc. Some of them draw persecutions upon themselves by refusing to supply their quota to the Military Conscription, which is the law of the land. The Emperor's old Tutor, Pobiedonostseff, is the evil genius, who urges him on this course of Religious Intolerance, which, as a man of ordinary intelligence, with numerous Protestant blood-connections, he cannot justify. But the most abominable of his persecutions is that against the Jews: no doubt the Russian Jew is a dirty, disagreeable, provoking, creature, not the least like those members of the Hebrew Race, with whom we are familiar in Great Britain and France: but the frightful oppression, and personal cruelty, which these poor people, male and female, old and young, have had to undergo, passes all description: the deputation of English and American philanthropists to the spot have placed certain facts beyond doubt. Jews have been conducted as prisoners, handcuffed, to the nearest frontier, and expelled, losing all their possessions. Europe can only look on with astonishment at the survival in the nineteenth century of the ignorance and savagery of former centuries.

The Stamford Post, 1893.

II.

DE LUNATICA INQUIRENDA.

ONE of her Majesty's Justices of the Peace for the counties of London and Middlesex sends us the melancholy information, that a considerable proportion of the females of these two counties are going mad, and become the inmates of the pauper, or private licensed, lunatic-asylums. In a tone of reproach, he remarks that crime is so rapidly diminishing that year by year county-prisons are being shut up: for instance, the Westminster Penitentiary has been cleared away, and Millbank is now being pulled down; while, on the other hand, the number of asylums is increasing. There are now three North of the Thames: Hanwell, Colney Hatch, and a third in Essex. South of the Thames there are several. The proportion in the population of all is one-third males, two-thirds females, and constantly every bed is occupied: patients have to be sent into the counties, or provided for in private asylums, or kept back in the workhouses.

From the lips of one of the medical officers it was gathered, that, strange as it may seem, the admission of the two sexes is about equal; but man, the noble creature, is like a bee, which has lost its sting: no sooner has his intellect disappeared than he sickens, wastes away, and dies: he is troublesome as long as he lasts, but he does not last long. The females, on the contrary, give no trouble, but live very long: there are exceptions, of course, for there are quiet old men; and sometimes a young woman of twenty-five is both suicidal and homicidal, especially when madness has followed puerperal fever; some have lucid intervals, and theirs is the most piteous case, as during these intervals they become aware of their environment: but the majority are shrouded in unchangeable darkness. They are well-fed, well-clothed, have plenty of outdoor exercise; cages of canaries, and old pianofortes, supply music: all who are fit are allowed to attend theatricals, concerts, and dances in the asylum. Still, if any young man were going to make a rash and premature marriage, his friends would do well to take him to a female-asylum and show him twenty-five lunatic females sitting round the dinner-table: faces so perfectly inane, and devoid of that light, which illuminates the lowest and ugliest type of countenance; entire brainlessness; such an objectless stare as to justify

the expression of the witty Frenchman who argued that women could have no souls, because

L'homme est fait dans l'image du bon Dieu;
Mais la femme est seulement une cotelette.

The more serious medical officer gravely remarked to our correspondent, the J.P., that, in his opinion, women had not much intellect to start with, did not miss it when it went, and lived on very well to eighty or even ninety without it.

But the circumstances, which attend the investigation which precedes the order for the asylum are very grim, and give rise to serious reflection on the part of our friend the J.P. A man comes to lock up his Mother, aged seventy-six. Now a Mother is a relationship which all know: our friend the J.P. tries to believe that his ears have deceived him. "Perhaps you mean your step-mother?" "No, I don't." "Then perhaps you mean your wife's Mother? I go a long way with your desire in that respect: you cannot mean, that you want to lock up your very own Mother, who bore you as an infant, because she bores you in her extreme "old age?" However, it was so: the old lady got drunk and troublesome; so the man was willing to pay £100 per annum, and immure the poor Soul for the rest of her days. She lived only one week after entering the asylum. Then wives come to lock up their husbands, and daughters their fathers. Our friend the J.P. has to get his own wife and daughter out of hearing, that they may not learn the trick of locking up husbands and fathers. Sisters lock up sisters; men lock up their wife's brother; and sometimes the wife's brother locks up his sister's husband. One particular case was described. A man determined to lock up his wife, so he decoyed her down to the workhouse, and for a long time she was unconscious of his plans; the relieving officer got up the facts, the medical officer recorded the symptoms; then came the day, when the J.P. came to consider the whole question, and give the order for discharge or removal to an asylum: it flashed on the mind of the old lady, that she would be locked up, and she went up to her husband and stroked his cheek, and said in a sad voice, "You do not mean to say, Tom, that you mean to lock me up after living with me thirty years?" The old man was immovable, and said that he did, for she drank all his money at the public, and threw all the furniture out of the windows; and so the old lady was walked off.

What causes this? First, drink; second, the Salvation Army. Spirits and spirituals taken in excess in the wrong way work the same effect with weak and over-excited brains; they cannot stand the preaching, or the gin is too much for them. A little quiet, perhaps, restores them, and they are sent home quite recovered;

then, perhaps, they fall into the old ways, and are sent back again. In an American book it was lately proposed to destroy all such cases by electricity: perhaps it will come to that some day; the county-rates must provide for them under existing circumstances. It must not be supposed, that every person, who is run in by the police or his friends, is certain to be declared a lunatic, for at least as many are discharged after a few days' observation in the workhouse as those who are sent to asylums: and the medical officer gets his fee either way; and the great object of the county-asylums is to get rid of the patients, and not retain them; but the tendency of the age is for a certain class of females to go mad.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1893.

III.

THE WORKHOUSE.

OUR friend the J.P., having experience of our extreme toleration in admitting to our pages his shocking remarks about the increasing lunacy of the weaker sex, intrudes upon our patience again with remarks upon another department of his daily routine of work: he visits, apparently, two workhouses, not only for the purpose of disposing of lunatic cases, but is one, at least, of the guardians of the poor, ex-officio. These two last words are of importance, as his position at the board does not depend upon the sweet voices of his fellow-citizens, and he is not under the necessity of speaking to the gallery, and adapting his opinion to the fleeting passions of the democracy. And yet our friend the J.P., as we shall see, is a downright Radical in municipal and social matters, though sound on the subject of the maintenance of the Irish Union.

He draws our attention to the hardship of the poor law-system: no discrimination is made betwixt the worthy veteran workman and his wife, who have done a good life's work, started a large family in the world, and, at the age of sixty, have to break up their humble home, and hide their grey heads in the workhouse, mixed up in their degradation with useless, dishonest, drunken associates. "Omnes eodem cogimur." The J.P. tells us, how he one day sat down among these old fellows, talked to them, looked at them, and pitied them: an idea has been struck out to send a selected colony of these old fogies to some quiet country workhouse, where there is space: they might find solace in gardens and fields, and greater liberty, and thus be gently let down into

the adjacent churchyard: of course, the American suggestion of periodical annihilation of these poor survivals of a busy life by electricity is out of the area of practical politics.

The central board directed some time ago the erection of a certain number of quarters for married couples exceeding sixty years. This sounds well: one of the board of guardians (which consists generally of grocers and bakers, with a butcher or auctioneer as chairman) remonstrated at the expense, and expressed his opinion, that married couples above sixty had no occasion for nuptial chambers. When he was overruled, another difficulty arose, which was, that married couples declined to accept the proffered accommodation. The J.P. went with a deputation to reason with the parties selected by the master of the workhouse for the privilege. "No," said a fat old woman, "the workhouse is not comfortable, I admit, but there is one good thing, that I am entirely free from my dirty old man." One of the old men was equally obdurate. "Let things be, sir," he cried, "things are not so bad with me and my mates; but if I was shut up with that old chatterer of a wife, I should get no sleep, as she would be jawing all night." This shows, that the subject is a delicate one, and requires to be thought out.

Here the J.P. began to moralize, and startled us by revolutionary suggestions: he actually proposed, that Mr. Labouchere or one of the M.P.'s on the London County Council, should be requested to bring in a Bill to reform the marriage-laws of the Kingdom, and assimilate the contract of Matrimony to the ordinary form of the contract of the lease of a house, for seven, fourteen, and twenty-one years, with the "betterment" clauses, and provision for periodical repairs of structure inside and outside, and decorations. He argued, that the labouring classes came together in extreme youth; the youth wants a woman to "do for him," the girl wants to get away from her Mother. There is less affection and mutual esteem than in a Hindu home: the man does not improve socially by age, the woman does not develop into the ministering Spirit, with whom one would care to share the Arab tent, and, when the last child is launched into the world, they are glad to get away, and fight shy of workhouse-married-quarters. As to the proposed reform in the law, the J.P. sarcastically remarked, that it may suit other classes of the community as there ought to be a *locus penitentiae*. Contrasting the contracts with that of a house lease, he remarks that, if a man wants a larger, or a smaller, or a smarter house at the end of seven years, he can suit himself; why should this principle not extend further? He illustrates the case further by commending the periodical readjustment of *l'aimable* of the domestic circle of his Native servants in India. We reserve our judgment on this *vexata questio*.

Much more might be said of the internal economy of the work-

house. The casual ward-Institution is as great an abuse, as can be imagined: lusty beggars live their useless lives in migrating from one casual ward to another, carrying with them the seeds of small-pox and other diseases; however, it is forced upon the parishes by the permanent officials of the central board. Something is now done to alleviate the dreary dullness of the last years of the poor London pauper, who is pumped out of any power to maintain a home, by the establishment of the Brabazon-Pauper-Employment-Fund. Money is supplied to buy material, and a committee of local ladies is established to go in among the aged inmates of both sexes, and to encourage them to work, and thus dissipate the deadly dullness of idleness, and the quarrelsomeness. Newspapers and periodicals are sent in. What is the result? In spite of all this, the J.P. is of opinion, that the whole system requires reform, and that the Local Government Board requires it more than all the rest.

Pall Mall Gazette, 1893.

IV.

THE PRISON.

THE majority of those, who are familiar with the interior of a Prison, are shy in communicating their experiences, and yet it is a study of painful interest. The number of Prisons is shrinking owing to the enormous reduction of the Criminal population, and the actual number of Gaol-birds is further reduced by the fact, that many individuals are in and out on repeated sentences, some amounting to 19 or 20. In fact Prison-life has a certain charm to a man, or woman, who has not a comfortable home. He is entirely free from anxiety. He gets his meals regularly, and has a quiet night. Reasonable hours of labour. So many hours of exercise in the open air. He is unable to get to the Public-Houses, and so has a chance of weaning himself from indulgence in Liquors and Tobacco, and the perfect condition, in which after a few months he finds himself, must convince him, that such indulgences are not necessary. For the time he is kept out of temptations to dishonest practices, or brutal acts. He is kept away from his evil companions. If he or she have been unlucky in the choice of their mate, they have a period of freedom, they have plenty of leisure for calm reflection, and after a five years spell they ought to be able to commence a new career. Moreover, they have learned habits of personal cleanliness, obedience to order, and silence. Really for the female prisoners this last is a special gift. A wise

Persian was asked, what was the best qualification in a woman, and he replied at once, "Silence." Being asked as to the next best, after considerable reflection he replied, "Silence"; and being pressed for the third best, he exclaimed, "That man might put up with other failings, if the first merit was secured."

Silence is the feature of a Prison. Outside these is the hum of voices. No workman could do a stroke of work without using his tongue. In a family-kitchen there is a strife of voices over the joint. In the Prison, whether in the Bakehouse, the Kitchen, the Tailor's Shop, the Laundry, you can hear a pin drop. This must be a privation, and no doubt the long hours in the solitary cell must be tedious. But perhaps thereby a torpid conscience is aroused.

No violence is used by the Male or Female Warders, and it is rarely required; in the extreme case of a male prisoner assaulting a warder the Magistrates order him to be whipped with a birch, or to undergo so many strokes of The Cat. Women are exempted from personal chastisement, though they often immensely deserve it. Both sexes, for minor offences of tearing up their clothes, breaking their furniture, window-panes, or refusing to conform to orders, are liable to solitary confinement with reduced diet.

All classes are represented in Prisons: the visitor stumbles on an ex-M.P., who has made away with his friend's money, or a gallant Captain, who has kissed a young woman in the train, or a County Councillor of the City of London, who has stolen a woman's money. Old and young, tall and short, well-behaved and troublesome. It is quite a sight to be present, when prisoners are discharged at the close of their term; this takes place at a fixed time. On each side of the Gates are persons waiting to greet the discharged prisoners. On one side old pals to invite them back to their old ways; on the other the ladies of the Released Prisoners' Association, who try to get a discharged female to come to them, and talk over their future prospects. Many are rescued in this way; but the majority are beyond hope.

When we reflect what prisoners used to be in the last century, before the days of John Howard and Miss Fry, we may feel thankful. Of course they are very costly to the State, but they are a necessity. As regards the long terms, there is no getting rid of them in Botany Bay, or Van Dieman's Land; the Mother country has to keep them to the end of their terms or their deaths.

Chaplains of the Protestant and Romanist Churches are part of the non-resident establishments. The hospitals are excellent. As might be expected, a number of babies are born during the periods of the short-termed females; but they are well looked after and every precaution is taken against infection. It may seem almost, that the prisoners are too comfortable, but it is impossible to do otherwise than is done.

Stanford Post, 1893.

V.

EPITAPH ON A DECEASED NOBLEMAN.

Here

lies the body of a great and wealthy Nobleman, awaiting the
Trumpet, that will summon all of us to Judgment.

BORN

to Honour, Wealth, and large estates, the representative of an ancient lineage, and an unsullied name, endowed with personal beauty, unusual strength, unfailing health, and length of years prolonged to 92½, far beyond the age of man; possessing an even temper, an aversion to strong drink, or games of chance, talents, wit, a fine taste for the Arts, a dexterous hand, and an unequalled power of fascination of all ages and both sexes; blest with early independence, a distinguished profession, the society of the highest in the land, a faithful wife in spite of his infidelity, loved and espoused in his youth, and bearing his name for forty years, blest with children, who grew up to maturity, and all married, with grandchildren, and great grandchildren,

HE

might have been a blessing to all around him, the honoured centre of a united family, the active Head of a noble house, a man of mark in his county, and an honour to his country.

INSTEAD OF THIS

he neglected every duty, abused every blessing, alienated every friend, drove from his side every relation, even the poor shop girl, whom in his dotage he had persuaded to be his slave and wife by a purely civil marriage-contract: he was an undutiful son, an unloving and untender brother, a bad and unfaithful husband, an unkind and negligent father, a careless and absentee landlord, a seducer of female virtue, an unchaste and dissolute man: in every relation of life he was wanting: in many open to the highest censure; in some detestable and abominable.

For forty-eight years he absented himself from his ancestral estates, shut up his family-house, and neglected his duties as landlord, nobleman, and Englishman. For thirty years he lived a life of open and unblushing adultery, remorseless seduction, or deliberate incest. For forty-eight years he neglected his lawful children, and spent his substance on mistresses and bastards: at the

close of his life he leagued with his grandson to burden his ancestral estates so heavily, that when he died they passed away by sale to strangers, after the possession by twelve generations in three and a half centuries.

Old age came upon him without amendment, grey hairs without repentance: at seventy he was still profligate; at eighty he was still reprobate; at ninety he was still defiant, selfish, and capricious: having quarrelled with his young Slave-wife, he dismissed her. Having refused admittance to his aged sisters, and middle-aged daughter, he lived and died alone, tended by a faithful servant, who bore his daily gross abuse, as a keeper bears the snarls of a Hyena which he feeds.

Did he live without God? did he die without Faith in a Saviour powerful to save? In his last hours did he shed tears of repentance, and, like the thief on the Cross, crave for forgiveness? We know not, and we leave him with the Ruler of the Universe, who in judgment does not forget mercy, and who knows the hearts of men. At least he could not be charged with hypocrisy: he could not be worse than he appeared to man; so we may trust, that to God he appeared better. No prayers were uttered by his faltering lips, or read over his dead body, and no tears were shed: no one had lost a friend: his last written words, found after his death, to his old sisters were indeed a confession of his sinful life, full of regret and reproaches, and a prayer to God, that he might not die like a dog, and his unknown daughter, who had not seen him for forty-seven years, crept into the room, and stood behind his head, and witnessed his departure.

His body was not conveyed to the ancient burial-place of his Race, placed by the side of his parents and ancestors, and his eldest son, who had preceded him: no kinsman or tenantry, or neighbours, accompanied him to his last home. His remains early one summer-morning were hidden away in a migratory mausoleum constructed by him on wheels in unconsecrated ground, by the side of the poor young lady, whom years before he had seduced: he was followed to this home by the issue of that adulterous connection, the grandson and heir, who had helped him to waste his estate, and the Irish nurse, who had fed him to the end.

The laws of God and man cannot be defied for half a century, without entailing even in this world a certain retribution: men by their great acts create noble families, and men by their unworthy lives destroy them. Perhaps honours and wealth, and a long life, and physical blessings, are granted by the great Controller to the most unworthy of His poor creatures, to show how worthless such gifts are, if not used to His Glory.

1877.

VI.

SPEECH AT THE HAILEYBURY DINNER, LONDON, 1889.

MR. ROBERT N. CUST, of the Panjáb, followed with the toast of the "Memory of the East India Company." He said: I am an "Emergency-man." This toast was assigned to Sir R. A. Dalzell, but at the last moment he had been obliged to send an excuse. When Mr. Sapte came to me, I replied, that I had already spoken two years, that it spoilt a good dinner to have to make a speech after it, and that it spoilt a speech to have eaten a good dinner before it. When Mr. Sapte pressed me, I suggested, that he should ask Sir R. Thompson, of Bangál; the reply was that he was dining with the Lord Mayor. I then suggested that able lawyer, the Hon. Mr. Justice Pinhey, of the High Court of Bombay: he had declined. I then called attention to that admirable man Stiggins, who had been twenty-five years Collector of the Northern Circars, the centre and front of Madras intelligence; the reply was that he could only speak Têlugu. I felt that I had no escape. When I considered my subject, I was disappointed. Had I had to propose the health of our Chairman, or our old friends the Professors, the sight of their genial faces would have inspired me; one likes to see the object of one's toast. I was required to propose the toast of something, which had never had a personal existence, and which was dead. That great moralist, Sam Weller, tells us, that no one ever saw a dead donkey. Has anyone ever seen a dead Company? But though none of us ever saw, all of us have known, honoured, and feel indebted to, the great East India Company. It has been the fashion to abuse it; I never could agree with that view. I will give two brief reasons. (1) It founded a great Empire, the envy of all European Nations: it is not probable, that the Germans in East Africa will be equally successful. It ruled that Empire for a century with wisdom and equity, and in the interest of the people, robbing no one of his lands. We cannot say the same of the British rule in South Africa, Australia, New Zealand, and North America. (2) It made a capital selection of servants to carry out its orders. Of course there were 10 per cent. hard bargains; perhaps some of them are now present; but, if there were no hard bargains provided for, what would become of our sons and nephews! Eighty per cent. were good, honest, hard-working men, content with their wages, who have come

home with their hands unsoiled by bribes, like the Russian Officials, and unstained by blood like the Officials of another country. Ten per cent. have been men, of whom Great Britain at any age would have been proud, men like John Lawrence and Frere, George Clerk, John Peter Grant, and last, and not least, Frederick Halliday. Without any conscientious scruple I propose the toast of "The Glorious Memory of the East India Company."

SPEECH AT AN ELECTION-MEETING AT GRANTHAM, 1886.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentleman, I ask you to listen to me as a Liberal-Unionist. Lord Derby wisely remarked two days ago, that it was real cowardice of anyone at this moment not to declare his colours and speak distinctly. As a Liberal-Unionist, I sincerely ask you to vote for Mr. Low. Though unknown to many persons, I am not a stranger to Grantham. More than fifty years have elapsed since I was here first, at the time of the passing of the first Reform Bill; and my ancestors have represented this borough many times during the last two hundred years. My lamented brother was your last Conservative member. I differed from him in politics, but we were united as Unionists, as Englishmen, and as patriots. I speak in his name as well as my own, asking you to vote for Mr. Low: and I would recall to you something with regard to this borough of Grantham. It is not one of your Brummagem new boroughs, or spick-and-span divisions: it is an old borough, which has sent representatives to Parliament for more than three hundred years. It has sent honest, stout, and strong men, sometimes Whigs and sometimes Tories; but they always knew their own mind, and they did not say one thing in October or November, and act differently in June, blowing hot and cold, and showing white and black. They were true to their principles, whatever they were, which they had stated. Gentlemen, it is of extreme importance, that you should remember this. Don't disgrace your ancient borough by altering the character of the men, whom you send. Your representatives voted for the Union with Ireland eighty-six years ago: they did so, whatever they were, Whigs or Tories, they voted for that Union, which has brought blessings to England and to Ireland. A hundred years before, your representative voted for the Union with Scotland, from which we may date all our prosperity, and strength, and greatness, when the British Isles were united, and went forth to be the greatest Imperial unity in the world. And would you be recreant, and undo all this great work, and send men to Westminster to undo

the work of your forefathers? If we go back a century earlier, there was a member for Lincolnshire, who, when Oliver Cromwell tried to dictate to him, as Mr. Gladstone tries to dictate to his members now, refused to do his bidding, and the military, under Colonel Pride, were sent to turn him out of the House, and to lock the door upon him. Forty years later, there was a member for Lincolnshire, who got together Lincolnshire men and Grantham men, and rode down to Devonshire to welcome William of Orange. I am proud that I bear the name of those strong men; and I recommend you to act as they did, and be firm and strong. Send men to Parliament, who will stick to their colours. Mr. Low has assured us, that he will resist any disruption of the Union to the last. Lord Salisbury has told you distinctly, that he will never be the Minister to carry it out; and if, in inconceivable circumstances, the Conservatives be so base as to do so, Mr. Low would stand out from them, as I am standing out from Mr. Gladstone. I have honoured and followed Mr. Gladstone for more than forty years, and it is with sorrow and indignation on my part, that he leaves me now. I don't leave him. I stand with Hartington, and Goschen, and Chamberlain, and Bright, and Argyll, and Selborne, and all true Liberals; but what Mr. Gladstone is proposing is not a true policy: it is a false Liberal policy, a false truckling to a party, that would bring ruin to England. With regard to your sitting member, Mr. Mellor, he is my valued friend: and when he turned out my brother, I rejoiced, because I valued party before kinship. But there is something, which I value more than party and more than kinship: it is the union of England, the greatness of England. There is only one thing worse than a squeezable Conservative, and that is a limp Liberal: and your sitting member is one of the limp sort. I believe, that in his convictions he is opposed to this Bill, but he is afraid to stand out with the many strong Liberals that have done so. Now upon the policy before the country, I will not go into details; but I would urge you to remember this, that a separate Parliament means, in measurable time, a separate kingdom: there can be no question about that, that a separate kingdom means, in measurable time, an Irish Republic; and that an Irish Republic means a hostile enemy at our door and the destruction of this Empire, and we shall be obliged at last to reconquer Ireland by force of arms and an immense expenditure of lives and treasure. May the stream, while it is small, before it gets too strong, be controlled! Turn out your sitting member, and send Mr. Low in. I hope there will be a strong Conservative Government for the next five or six years; and after that time parties may again resume their old positions. Now, gentlemen, let me end with a warning and an illustration. Home Rule in Ireland will not end with Home Rule in Ireland. It will, as Mr. Low reminded you, lead to Home Rule in India.

Mr. Low and I are well acquainted with that country; and already, in different cities of India, is going up the cry, "Why should we not have Home Rule? If a small country like Ireland may have Home Rule, why should not India have it?" And the greatness of England will pass away, and we shall fall into the position of Spain and Greece, and some of those exhausted countries, and we shall have our own folly to thank for it. View it from an English point, as well as from an Irish point. Think of our duty to ourselves, to England, Scotland, and Wales, as well as to Ireland. Let Ireland have everything that we have. As a Liberal, I say that we all ought to have more of self-government; but don't give Ireland the least bit more than you give the rest—don't allow her any more independence than you allow to Scotland. You must vote to-morrow for Mr. Low; and if there are any Liberals present—only two hold up their hands, but I daresay there are more present—go and vote to-morrow for Mr. Low. Pack up your Liberal differences, and put them into your pocket for five or six years: get over this difficulty first, re-establish the nation, bring the ship, which Mr. Gladstone has run into the shoals, back into deep water, and then pull out your Liberal colours again. While there is time, while you have the opportunity, speak! It may be too late five years hence. It is very difficult to go back. Don't let this Irish Parliament be established! And as to poor Mr. Gladstone, at the age of 77—we must pardon him for his old age: we are grateful for his past services, and will not speak too hardly of the old race-horse, which has swerved from its path in his last race. Be firm and strong; and go and vote to-morrow for Mr. Low.

VII.

REVIEW OF MASPERO'S DAWN OF CIVILIZATION.

THIS is a noble and Epoch-making Work: it marks a period in our knowledge of the Subject: it is true, that those who, for many years have studied the great drama of Egyptian Archæology, will find much restated, which they knew before, but for the fresh Student it will be sufficient to read Maspero, and accept facts and opinions from him, which are fortified by ample reference, at the foot of each page, to all previous Authors of all nationalities.

Perhaps the name of this great Work might have been less ambitious. For instance, the people of India would not admit for a moment having in any degree, or at any time, derived their civilization from a country so far West as Egypt, and, as Professor Maspero has no personal knowledge of the Archæology of Mesopotamia, and confessedly derives his facts from the esteemed Authors, whom he has consulted, it would have been better to have named the book "The Dawn of Civilization in Egypt." Professor Sayce, who is an authority on both the Egyptian and Mesopotamian problem, in his Preface, page v, draws attention to this. Professor Maspero's acquaintance with Assyriology is wonderful and accurate, but there are depths, which only a specialist on that subject can sound: he speaks as an authority, one of the greatest authorities, on Egypt, but is only an industrious quoter from other authorities, when he ventures into Chaldæa, which geographically is in the centre of Asia, and is credited with certain relations with China, and not impossible influences from or to India, while Egypt, from its first to its latest hour of independence, sate apart, as regards its Language, its Religious Conceptions, its Ideas on a Future State, and its Architecture. It is one of the peculiar weaknesses of Semitic and European writers, to limit their conception of "all the world," "tout le monde," "kul he ertz," to the Semitic, Hellenic, and Latin, Settlers on the shores of the Mediterranean, or the tiny populations of Egypt and Palestine, forgetting that one moiety of the fifteen hundred millions of the round world (as it is now) dwelt on the Eastern side of the River Euphrates, perfectly uninfluenced by Western Asia or Europe until within historic times, and only partially even now. In the story

of the two brothers, given by Maspero in the *Revue Archæologique*, March, 1878, the younger brother is described as a good workman, who had not his equal in *the whole world*. TO-R-TER-W, la terre entiere, for Egypt to the narrator of the story was the whole world.

There are nine chapters of this stately book of 800 quarto pages. The first chapter is Geographical. The derivation of the name of the country, Egypt, and the River Nile, is discussed, and is still uncertain: the name of the country *Ἀιγύπτος* is traced by some to "haikuphtah," the home of Phtah, by others to "ai kaphtor," the island of Kaphtor, by a third party to "γῶψ, a vulture." The River Nile can only be approximately traced to the words "Nahr," or "Nakhal," the Semitic term for a River or Torrent. The people of Egypt called themselves Romitu or Rotu (p. 43), and their country "Khimî," or "Kham," the black land. They knew their River, from which they derived their prosperity, as "Hâpi, the father of the gods, the lord of substance." At page 44 the Author discusses the date of their origin, and, remarking, that the oldest monuments scarcely transport us further than six thousand years B.C., he postulates a date for the first appearance of the Egyptian Race in the basin of the Nile at least eight or ten thousand years. What becomes then of Archbishop Usher's Chronology, taught to this day in Public Schools, of the Creation of the World 4000 years before Anno Domini, and how are we to explain the Hebrew narrative, that Abraham, who was born during the lifetime of Shem, one of the survivors of the Noachian deluge, went down into Egypt, then an ancient Kingdom, which had a History of 4000 or 6000 years even then: it is obvious, that the Noachian deluge was restricted to Mesopotamia, and did not extend to the basin of the Nile.

Whence did the Egyptian Race come? Prof. Maspero states, that it is difficult to recognise the hypothesis of an Asiatic origin (p. 46): it must have been of African origin, and came into Egypt from the West or South-West, and after its settlement destroyed the black Race, which preceded it in occupation, and later on received an accretion of Asiatic elements, introduced by way of the Isthmus. The Language has, according to his authority, some connection with the Semitic family: this may be more accurately stated, that the Hamitic Languages of North Africa differ less from the Semitic family than they do from any other known family or Group of Language: we can hardly go further. Lastly, he notices the extraordinary resemblance of the present people of Egypt after the lapse of many centuries with the pictures of their ancestors painted on monuments: I was struck with this fact, when I first visited Egypt in 1843, and watched the great Egyptologist Lepsius collecting his materials in the neighbourhood of Cairo: perhaps I am the only survivor of an expedition headed by him to the great

Pyramid. I mentioned this fact to Professor Maspero, when I paid him a visit forty-two years later, in 1885, in his Dahabéah at Luxor in my last visit to Egypt, following the expedition of Lord Wolseley as far as Assouan and Philæ, where I saw the telegram of the battle of Abu Klea nailed on a tree.

In Chapter II. Professor Maspero treats at great length (seventy pages) on the gods of Egypt, their number and nature: I am not sure, that he has added to our previous knowledge, but he has systematized the outcome of the labours of others, such men as Brugsch, Naville, Mariette, Renouf, Lefébure, Petrie, Pleyte, Lepsius, Champollion, Wilkinson, Rosellini, Chabas, De Rougé, and at the same time has incorporated his own invaluable studies: at the foot of each page are the references to his authorities.

In Chapter III. he deals with the Legendary History of Egypt, in which the myths of Osiris and Horus occupy so large a part. In other countries there is a sharp dividing line betwixt the legends of Divine dynasties, and the Annals of Mortals: in Egypt they blend into each other: in fact the idea of an impersonal, yet omnipotent, Ruler of the whole world, not only of the petty basin of the Nile, had not been attained: such indeed was the intellectual and spiritual position of all the elder Nations before 800 B.C., when the Hebrew Race slowly arrived at the fact, that there was one only God; and they ceased to be monolatrists, and became monotheists. But the Egyptians did arrive at a conception of a Future State, Rewards, and Punishments at a period long antecedent to the time of Moses, and yet the only reward, that that law-giver can offer to the Hebrews in return for obedience to his law is, that the days of the faithful should be long in the land, that was given to them. At page 188 we read how the dying Egyptian was furnished with answers to be given at the great day of Judgment to the questions of the Judge, some of them going to the very foundation of Human morality, others relating to mere ritual trifles: that a departed soul should be taught (p. 190) how he could cry out before the Judge, "I am pure: I am pure," indicates a great advance in Religious Conceptions. Escaping from the darkness of the tomb the enfranchised soul found itself in bright meadows, and thence embarked in the boat of the Sun to accompany that bright luminary in his daily journey. As time went on, in that clear climate the Egyptians became acquainted with the stars, and at page 205 we read of their Astronomical tables, and how they got over the difficulty of the number of days to make up the Solar year: this led them on to Astrology, Magical Arts, and elementary Pharmacy and Healing of an empirical character; but it is interesting to read, that the symptoms of the diseases of the people of those remote ages correspond with the diseases prevalent to this day among their descendants (p. 217). To the same benevolent Divine Ruler, Thoth, the Egyptians

were indebted for their knowledge of Arithmetic, Geometry, Music, Drawing (p. 220), and we seem to touch solid ground, when we read, that he also taught them the art of writing, without which posterity would not have known what manner of men they were. Many a Race had passed away unappreciated, misunderstood, because they had not invented the art of communicating with Posterity, and storing up the Knowledge of the Past. Speaking to the eye soon superseded the limited capabilities of speaking only to the ear. As we read, we feel, that we are sitting at the cradle of the great Alphabetic systems, which have made Asia, and Europe, what they are, if from one point of view the heirs of all the ages, from another point the instructors of the whole world in its widest Geographical sense in all the Sciences, and all the Arts, which discriminate Man from the Beast, and for all this we are indebted to those early Egyptians, who worked out the conception of Pictorial Ideographs, developing thence Syllabaries, and Phonetic Alphabets. This is a matter of received Science: Phenicia borrowed the conception of Phonetic signs from Egypt, and handed it on, on the West to the Hellenic and Latin Races, and on the East to the Semitic Races, and to India. The Syllabaries in Cuneiform characters of Mesopotamia died, leaving no successor: the Ideographs of China still exist, and it is impossible to predict the consequence of the literary contact of Europe with the Extreme Orient: but the fact must be recorded as the greatest Glory of the Egyptian people: they may or may not have imparted their culture, and knowledge of Divine things, to the Hellenic Race, but the Greek Language would not have attained its inapproachable perfection, had the Hellenic Race not learnt the art of conveying sounds to Phonetic symbols through Phenicia from Egypt.

The Hebrew Race never realized, that to their old enemies, the Egyptians, they were indebted for the invention of the Phenician Written Characters, which they used down to within a century of Anno Domini, and in which the Samaritan Pentateuch has survived to our time. But for that the Old Testament would never have been committed to writing, any more than the Books of Zoroaster, the Hindu Sages, or Buddha; for the Written Character, used by all four, can be traced back to the Hieroglyphics of Egypt, and there never existed any other Alphabetic system in the world, which is not traced back to that one fountain-head, either in germ, or development. If the Hebrew Race were ordained to convey to future ages the great Religious Conception, which dominates the present Epoch, the honour belongs to the Egyptian Race of having invented the machinery for recording and handing on the written memorials, in which those conceptions are contained.

The date of the Exodus seems in these last days to have been fixed on scientific grounds. The discoveries made at Tel-al-Amarna

in Egypt, and Lachish in Palestine, show clearly that at that date, the reign of Amenophis IV. or Khu-n-Aten, Egypt was in possession of the country. The date of the death of Rameses II. is fixed on astronomical grounds at 1281 B.C. It must have been at a date later than that, when the Hebrews migrated from Egypt into Palestine, as no trace of Egyptian occupation is recorded. The migration of tribes from one Region into another was not an event, which would cause surprise, either in those days or comparatively modern times. The difficulties connected with the use of the Phenician Alphabet at so early a date by a law-giver, whose sole experience was in Egypt or the Desert, and by the Hebrews, a tribe of shepherds, who had been centuries in a house of bondage, is not, however, removed.

In Chapter IV. we pass to the Political Constitution of Egypt. There were three great Periods:

- I. The Memphite Period, or the Ancient Empire: Dynasty I. to X.
- II. The Theban Period: Dynasty XI. to XX.: the Invasion of the Shepherd Kings is represented by the XV., XVI., and XVII. Dynasties.
- III. The Saite Period: Dynasty XXI. to XXX.: the Persian Conquest divides this Period into unequal parts.

It gives an idea of the superior antiquity of Egypt to note, that Abraham came down to Egypt in the time of the XII. Dynasty, that Jacob and Joseph dwelt in Egypt in the time of the XV. Dynasty, and the Sovereigns of the XIX. Dynasty were contemporary with Moses: Shishak of the XXII. Dynasty was contemporary with Rehoboam, and Hophra of the XXVI. with Jeremiah.

The King was himself deemed to be a God, and always entitled "Son of Ra," which title was preceded by the symbols indicating the Sovereignty of the two Egypts, North and South: after all his titles came the symbols of "Life, Health, and Strength." Polygamy was practised to a frightful extent by Kings and Princes: children swarmed in the Palaces: Brothers married Sisters: Sons married the widows of their Father. There were the usual consequences in trouble at every change of the Crown, and bitter hatred amidst the different children. The daughter of Pharaoh mentioned in Exodus is credited with being a great personage, but she was one of many, and probably given in marriage to some courtier or official, and a person of no more political consequence than the daughter of an European Sovereign.

Two things, however, were necessary to maintain the Royal authority: I. the protection of the Gods; II. the Arm of the Flesh: it is very much the same now: we put up prayers for the

welfare of the State, but we take care to keep our powder dry: but one sole Deity is now recognised by Christians and Mahometans: with the Egyptians it was different: the celestial world was the faithful image of the terrestrial: it had its Empires, and its organizations, and the gods were dependent on the gifts of mortals, and the power of each deity depended on the number of its worshippers: when they received large offerings, they gave strength to overcome enemies, and came down to assist in battle: all readers of Homer's *Iliad* can recognise this feature: Ritual and offerings were the duty, and sound policy, of Pharaoh, and all his Subjects. The actual territorial domains of the gods formed at all periods about one-third of the country: the Priests had a fine time of it: the King was the dispenser of priestly patronage. The High-priest of Om, or Heliopolis, whose daughter was married to Joseph, was a member of the Royal Family. Joseph's sons Ephraim and Manasseh and their descendants, no doubt, thought much more of the greatness of their Egyptian mother, than of their father, the son of a Hebrew herdsman, as the rank of men in that country was through the mother rather than the father.

Coinage of metal was unknown: all transactions were by barter. The only kind of national metal-exchange in use in Egypt was a copper wire or plate bent, and this "tabnu" is the sign invariably used in hieroglyphics (p. 324). Gold and silver rings were used in barter, but there was no guarantee of their intrinsic value, or of their weight: on the other hand, not without reason, the invention of Geometry was justly credited to the Egyptians. The vagaries of the Nile destroyed all boundaries, and compelled them to measure the area, and record it: a square of 28 acres was the unit (p. 328). This was the basis of the Land-Tax, the amount of which, however, depended on the annual rise of the Nile, which also was carefully measured. The system of government adopted was as bad as could possibly be. The poor man had no incentive to lay by for the future, for he knew, that his wife and children might at any moment be carried off: his own plan was to consume at once what came to hand, and then, if necessary, to starve: he had nothing, which he could call his own, and, when he died, he had only the prospect of a similar state in the next world.

Chapter V. gives an account of the Memphite Empire. In that period commenced the occupation by the Egyptian King of a Region in the Peninsula of Sinai for the purpose of supplying turquoises, and other minerals. This fact is placed beyond doubt by the engraved stela on the sides of the mountains. This opens out the question, discussed by Professor Sayce in his late Work on the Monuments and Higher Criticism, as to the actual identification of Mount Sinai of the Exodus: the usually received site of Mount Katharine is close upon the territory occupied by the Egyptians above alluded to.

Under the fourth Dynasty were erected the great Pyramids: the earlier Kings were buried in flat-roofed square monuments called "Mastaba," made of earthwork. Khufui, called Kheops by the Greeks, reigned twenty-three years: whatever he did was neither better nor worse than the works of his predecessors, but the gigantic size of his tomb, the Great Pyramid, has bestowed upon him immortality, and his name is familiar to all. On the same Hills of Gizah still appears the head of the Sphinx, which was erected in the third Dynasty. The Great Pyramid, with very few exceptions, maintains its position as the loftiest work of man in the world, 476 feet high, on a basis of 764 feet square, the area of Lincoln's-Inn-Fields: but time and decay have reduced these dimensions. His son Khephren erected the second Pyramid 394 feet to the South-West of that of his Father, at a height of only 443 feet. His son Menkawri erected the third Pyramid with an elevation of barely 216 feet. These Monuments were justly among the wonders of the elder world, and share with the Memnon-Statues the honour of being the only two of the seven recorded, that have lived to be the wonders of the modern world. I climbed to the top of the first Pyramid in 1843, and 1852, and 1885, and to the top of the second in 1843, and entered both in 1843 and 1885. All the world may have advanced, but there was no change there: the perfection of their architecture, and design, indicate a long period of previous culture: no barbarous Nation of Asia or Africa could have erected such an enduring trophy, for there is no reason to calculate any period for their decay. Abraham must have looked at them, when he visited Memphis in the twelfth Dynasty: Joseph and Moses must have known them well: the great Egyptian Kings of the eighteenth Dynasty could erect nothing so magnificent, and so enduring: how tiny and insignificant seem the Temple of Solomon and Zerubbabel, or even Balbek, when brought into comparison! Nothing has survived, or ever came into existence in Europe or Asia, which can contend with them the honour of being the mightiest trophy of Human enterprise. They have escaped the danger of earthquake, lightning, sieges, and floods, and insidious decay by lapse of years, and their materials have escaped the greed of Monarchs requiring stone for new buildings. Rome and Athens have been less fortunate.

In Chapter VI. the Professor describes the first four Dynasties of the Kings of Egypt, who belong to the Theban Period. This brings us down to the period of the Invasion of the Semitic Shepherds, and the date of Joseph's power in Egypt. Up to that time the Kings of Egypt may have warred with the tribes in the Deserts on both sides of them, or with Nubia to the South, but they were destined soon to come into collision with a great Power, which had risen up in Mesopotamia: both were proud, strong, and highly civilized.

Chapters VII., VIII., IX. relate to Chaldæa, and will not be noticed on this occasion: Egypt found a formidable rival in Mesopotamia, and eventually a succession of Persian, Greek, and Roman Conquerors before the date of the Christian era, which accomplished the destruction of her independence and further development. In conversation in the Persian Language with the Khedive Ishmael Pasha, during his residence in England, I remarked "barai Misr hechak umed nêst," "for Egypt there is no hope at all," and this is my deliberate opinion, and the same remark applies to Turkey and Greece: they have had their day.

To those, who, like myself, have had the privilege during the last twenty years of studying this great Subject, and of repeatedly visiting the country during the last fifty years, this book has peculiar fascinations. I attended the Linguistic Classes, which were formed in London for the Study of Egyptian Hieroglyphics, and at the different Capitals of Europe, London, St. Petersburg, Florence, Leyden, Berlin, Vienna, and Stockholm, I listened to communications made on the general Subject of Egypt by such men as Lepsius, Brugsch, Renouf, Birch, Lieblein, Pleyte, Reinisch, Golénischaf, and Maspero himself, on the occasion of the great International Oriental Congresses. I have followed with appreciating interest the occasional narratives of such travellers and explorers, as Sayce, Petrie, Naville, Villiers-Stuart, Amelia Edwards, and in far-off years of Col. Vyse, whose person I recollect in my Eton days. I have referred to the standard-works of the past by Champollion, Young, Champollion-Figeau, Rosellini, Chabas, Lenormant, De Rougé, Wilkinson, Piehl, De Morgan, Lane, Grebaut, Rossi, Lefébure, Goodwin, Reinisch, Dümichen, Ebers, Stern, Eisenlohr, Revillout, Erman, and Pierret. On no Subject has there been such a galaxy of magnificent Scholars: the Subject was worthy of the highest Scholarship, and the Scholars have proved themselves worthy of the Subject: there has been enough difference of opinion to stimulate closer inquiry, and yet enough of unity amidst Scholars of different Nationalities and antecedents to justify the conviction that the right road has been found.

This magnificent volume, compiled with such skill, and breadth of view, and translated so sweetly and accurately, is, as it were, a codification, or general conspectus, of the knowledge of Egyptology up to the fin du siècle xix.: there are discoveries still to be made: the twentieth century has secrets to unfold, but it does not seem probable, that it will shake the foundation of our present archæological beliefs, though it may modify them and add to them.

Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, April, 1895.

Farewell.

His life was one great battle with old Time :
From morn to noon, from noon to weary night
Ever he fought, as only strong men fight :
And so he passed out of his golden prime
Into grim hoary manhood, and he knew
No rest from that great conflict, till he grew
Feeble and old, ere years could make him so :
Then on a bed of pain he laid his head,
As one sore spent with labour, and with woe :
Rest came at last : " I thank thee, God," he said.

(Author not known.)

Vale.

TRANSLATION INTO LATIN HEXAMETERS.

ILLIUS incessanter erat cum Tempore pugna :
De primâ in mediam, nocturnam denique in horam
Pugna eterna fuit, magnorum uti pugna virorum :
Lapsus et auricomæ tetigit de luce juventæ
Canitie tempus fœdum rugisque virile :
Nullam de pugnâ cognoverat ille quietem :
Protinus ante diem surrepsit acerba senectus :
Luctifero in lecto sua multo fracta dolore
Deposuit membra, exustusque labore susurrat
" Laus tibi sit, Domine : oh ! liceat dormire quieté."

R. N. C.

London, June 26, 1892.

ALPHABETICAL LIST.

A

- Adolescence of Native Church, [176](#).
 African Explory : Ethics of, [273](#).
 „ „ (French), [285](#).
 „ „ Missionary Occupation
 (French), [299](#).
 „ „ Missionary Map, [382](#).
 „ „ Philology, [28](#).
 „ „ Unjust Treatment of Native
 Church, [386](#).
 Amín Chand, Travels, [231](#).
 Asiatic Society, Improvements, [64](#).
 Asóka-Inscriptions, [53](#).
 Austin, Stephen, Obituary Notice, [85](#).

B

- Bangál Manuscript Records, [215](#).
 Baptist Missionary Society, Address,
 579.
 Bible-translation, Difficulties of, [517](#).
 „ „ Features of, [527](#).
 Bible-Work, East Africa, [537](#).
 „ „ North America, [539](#).
 „ „ India, [206](#).
 „ „ Society for Propagation of
 Gospel, [540](#).
 „ „ West Africa, [544](#).
 „ „ North Africa, [546](#).
 Burton, Sir Richard, Obituary, [80](#).

C

- Caldwell, Bishop, Obituary, [83](#).
 Campbell, Sir George, Indian
 Career, [127](#).
 Campbell, Sir George, Obituary, [232](#).
 Carey, William, Biography, [553](#).
 Caucasus, Languages of, [3](#).
 Census of India, [163](#).
 Christian Converts, Disabilities, [198](#).
 „ „ Literature, [521](#).

- Congress, Roman Catholic, Malines,
[476](#).
 Conversion of India, [204](#).

D

- Dedication of Bible-Diffusion, [565](#).
 Denominational Churches, Danger of,
 in India, [566](#).

E F

G

- Grammars and Vocabularies, [102](#).
 Grantham Election, Speech, [620](#).

H

- Haileybury Dinner, Speech, [619](#).
 Hodgson, Brian, Obituary, [75](#).
 Honours on Linguistic Scholars, [68](#).

I

- Ilbert-Bill, Speech, [219](#).
 Iphigenia in Tauris, [601](#).
 Italian Asiatic Society, [94](#).

J

K

- Kremer, Professor, Obituary, [88](#).

L

- Lee, Samuel, Biography, [562](#).
 Lepsius Standard-Alphabet, [92](#).
 Linguistic Works, Notes on, [114](#).
 Liquor-Traffic, India, [226](#).
 Literature at the time of our Lord, [514](#).
 Lunaticâ de inquirendâ, [611](#).

M

- Marriage-Customs, India, [132](#).
 Martyn, Henry, Biography, [547](#).
 Maspero, Dawn of Civilization, [623](#).
 Ma-Tabéle Scandal, [330](#).
 Missions, Difficulties of, [592](#).
 Missionary-Literature, [505](#).
 Moffat, Robert, Biography, [556](#).
 Monkeys, Language of, [62](#).
 Morrison, Robert, Biography, [550](#).

N

- Native Servants, [228](#).
 Nobleman, Deceased, Epitaph, [617](#).

O

- Opium-Question, [143](#).
 Oriental Churches, Letter, [488](#).
 Ouseley, Colonel, Obituary, [84](#).

P

- Papal Bull on Study of the Bible, [530](#).
 Pelly, Sir Lewis, Obituary, [234](#).
 Polygamists, [138](#).
 Prayer, Book of Common, [503](#).
 Preface to Notes on Missionary Subjects, [586](#).
 Presentation of Methods of Evangelization, [565](#).
 Priaux, Mr., Obituary, [87](#).
 Prison, The, [615](#).

R

- Rajendra Lal Mitra, Obituary, [73](#).
 Redhouse, Sir James, Obituary, [86](#).
 Religions, Ancient, before A.D. (Geneva), [408](#).
 Religions, Ancient, before A.D. (French), [432](#).
 Religions, Ancient, before A.D. (British Museum), [457](#).

- Religious Thought, Evolution, [405](#).
 Renan, Ernest, Obituary, [71](#).
 Reports, International, of Asiatic Works, [95](#).
 Revenue Official Manual, Panjáb, [222](#).
 Riggs, Stephen, Biography, [559](#).
 Rome has spoken, [534](#).
 Russia, Darkest, [609](#).

S

- Self-Sacrifice, [493](#).
 Semitic Chairs, Founding of, [89](#).
 Shrines of Lourdes and Zaragossa, [568](#).
 Slavery, Protestant Churches of Madagascar, [369](#).
 Slavery, Christian Missions, [376](#).
 „ Status in Zanzibar, [378](#).
 „ Yáriba-land, [380](#).
 Slaves, Purchase of, Missionaries of Rome, [365](#).
 Steere, Bishop, Biography, [560](#).
 Success, not, but Service, [590](#).

T

- Thomason, James, Life of, [129](#).
 Treves, Holy Coat of, [465](#).
 Túrki Languages, 17.

U V

- U-Ganda, Annexation of, [237](#).
 „ Scandal, [251](#).
 Vaux, William, Obituary, [82](#).
 Vernacular Languages of India, [97](#).

W

- Wenger, John, Biography, [563](#).
 White and Black, Relations of, [384](#).
 Women in Religious Committees, [489](#).
 Workhouse, The, [613](#).

· X Y Z

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